Report of
The Royal Commission on
Violence in the
Communications Industry

Volume

3

Violence in
Television
Films and News

The Royal Commission on Violence in the
Communications Industry was established by Order in
Council in May 1975 and published an Interim Report
in January 1976. It held hearings throughout the
Province of Ontario from October 1975 to May 1976.

A selection of public briefs, reports of foreign
consultations and the conclusions and
recommendations of The Royal Commission on
Violence in the Communications Industry are
published in Volume I, which is available in French
and in English.

The Commission's Bibliography comprises Volume II.

Twenty-eight independent studies of the media were
undertaken for The Commission and are contained in
Volumes III to VII.
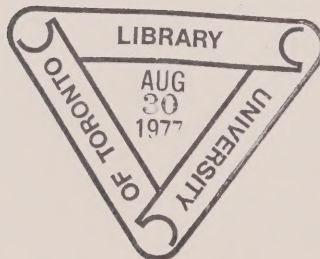
Order-in-Council

Upon the recommendation of the Honourable the Premier, the Committee in Council advise that pursuant to the provisions of The Public Inquiries Act, 1971, S.O. 1971, Chapter 49, a Commission be issued appointing

The Honourable Julia Verlyn LaMarsh, P.C., Q.C., LL.D.,
Judge Lucien Arthur Beaulieu, and
Scott Alexander Young,

and naming the said Julia Verlyn LaMarsh as Chairman thereof, to study the possible harm to the public interest of the increasing exploitation of violence in the communications industry; and that the Commission be empowered and instructed:

1. to study the effects on society of the increasing exhibition of violence in the communications industry;

2. to determine if there is any connection or a cause and effect relationship between this phenomenon and the incidence of violent crime in society;

3. to hold public hearings to enable groups and organizations, individual citizens and representatives of the industry to make known their views on the subject;

4. to make appropriate recommendations, if warranted, on any measures that should be taken by the Government of Ontario, by other levels of Government, by the general public and by the industry.

The Committee further advise that pursuant to the said Public Inquiries Act, the said Commissioners shall have the power of summoning any person and requiring such person to give evidence on oath and to produce such documents and things as the Commissioners deem requisite for the full investigation of the matters to be examined.

And the Committee further advise that all Government ministries, boards, agencies and committees shall assist, to the fullest extent, the said Commissioners who, in order to carry out their duties and functions, shall have the power and authority to engage such staff, secretarial and otherwise, and technical advisers as they deem proper, at rates of remuneration and reimbursement to be approved by the Management Board of Cabinet.

The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry

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Valerie Clare
Kathleen D'Souza**
Linda Gaylard
Penny Nettlefold
Kelvin Pearcey

* 1975
**1976

Contents of Volumes

Ce volume est publié également en français.

Contents of Volume Three

A Content Analysis
of Entertainment
Television Programming

Tannis MacBeth Williams
Merle L. Zabrack
Lesley A. Joy

Department of Psychology
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, British Columbia

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Acknowledgements

Chapter One

Introduction

Considerable concern has been voiced by the public and by the scientific community regarding the effects of aggression and violence depicted on television. It is therefore somewhat surprising that so little of the actual content of television has been analyzed. Indeed, there has been a great deal more research on the effects of televised violence than research on the portrayal of violence and aggression on television. The greater attention by researchers to the effects than to the content of television may have come about in part because the content analyses that have been done have been excellent, thorough, and conducted annually for the past several years. We refer, of course, to the work of George Gerbner and his associates at the Annenberg School of Communications (e.g. Gerbner, 1972). Gerbner's content analyses have focused primarily on dramatic fictional programs shown either in prime time or on Saturday morning, have been based on a definition of violence emphasizing physical modes of aggression, and have been restricted to the three major U.S. networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC). Thus there is relatively little data available concerning the content of programs other than dramatic fiction and programs shown at times other than Saturday morning or prime time. More importantly, there have been no detailed content analyses of Canadian networks and programs. And, the available information about televised aggression other than physical aggression (e.g. psychological and verbal abuse) is very limited. As Stein and Friedrich (1975) have pointed out, "Virtually all of the research on television content and behavior limits the definition of violence to physical injury or damage. The verbal abuse, aggressive humor and control over other people by threat or imperative that are so prevalent on television are not included in most investigations" (page 190). The research described in this report was designed to address some of these gaps in the content analysis literature.

For the purposes of the research described in this report, aggression was defined as any behaviour that could inflict harm on an individual or individuals, either physically or psychologically and, therefore, was defined to include explicit and implicit threats to harm,

nonverbal behaviours et cetera. Violence was defined as severe instances of physical aggression; specifically, behaviours, that do, or potentially could, cause injury or death to an individual or individuals.

Method

The sample of 109 entertainment television programs was selected on the basis of audience viewing figures for the Toronto area. The BBM Bureau of Measurement data for January 1976 were used to select the top 100 programs for each of the adult (age 19 and over), teenage (age 12-18) and child (up to age 11) viewing populations. A few programs produced in Canada but not shown during the period for which BBM figures were obtained were added to the list (e.g. *Sidestreet*). This list formed the basis of the schedule for videotaping over the two-week period, May 17-30, 1976. Some programs shown during the BBM data collecting period were not on the air during the videotaping period. Also, some of the videotapes turned out to be defective and could not be used for the analysis. To remedy the omission of programs felt to be particularly important, a few additional programs were taped during June 1977. In most cases, one videotape of each program was obtained. Some of the programs with the highest audience figures were taped twice, that is, more than one episode or show in the program series was obtained. The complete list of programs used in the analyses is in Appendix One.

The Content Analysis Coding Format (Appendix Two) was used to code each program. Some items in the Content Analysis Coding Format were developed by George Gerbner and his associates; the majority were developed by the authors for this project. There were two versions of the coding format, a long form which provided slightly more information about characters and aggressive incidents, and a short form. Detailed outlines of the procedures used by coders appears in Appendices Three (Long version) and Four (Short version). Additional instructions to coders, definitions, and classifications, are in Appendix Five. An outline of the general coding procedure follows.

Each program was first viewed one time through as

though the coder was an "ordinary" viewer (with the exception that commercials were noted and the total duration of the show was timed). After this initial run-through, the coder filled out the "Global messages" part of the coding format. This included rating the tone of the program, noting the messages that were communicated in the program and rating "group portrayals" (for example, men, women, police). Coders were instructed not to change any of these responses after subsequent viewings. Character profiles for individual characters could also be filled out at this time and these could be referred to again, if necessary.

The second run-through consisted of viewing the program episode by episode and coding appropriate incidents of aggression, argument, conflict, et cetera. Episodes could be rerun if necessary for the coder to obtain all of the required information. Finally, during a third run-through, the coder timed the duration of the lead-in to the program, aggression in the lead-in, arguments and aggressive interactions in the program and audience build-up to aggression (suspense). These data were entered on the cover sheet as was the appropriate information regarding the frequency of aggressive episodes, argument episodes, et cetera, (ascertained simply by counting the episodes coded during the second run-through).

In general, both the long and the short coding format supplied information about the following: general or "global" messages communicated in each show; character portrayals (both for groups and for individual characters); context and setting of the program; the amount and nature of conflict portrayed; and detailed information on episodes containing aggression, including its type and the motivation and justification for its use.

Most programs in the sample were content analyzed by one coder. A total of six people served as coders during the project, but the majority of the work was done by three coders (two women and a man). Extensive training preceded the data collection. When content analyzing a program, the coder was blind as to (did not know) whether that particular program was being coded only once, or was part of the reliability sample and would therefore be coded twice. Thus it was expected that the behaviour of the coders, when working independently, would more closely approximate the behaviour of coders who know they are being checked (that is, more reliable), than the behaviour of coders who know they are not being checked (less reliable). A subsample of sixteen programs (15%) formed the reliability sample.

Reliability was calculated for each item in the coding format using the formula and computer program developed by Krippendorff (1973). This formula takes into account the expected values of observations, and is a conservative estimate of reliability. It has the advantage that it can be used across different pairs of programs and different pairs of coders. It has the disad-

vantage that it requires a range of observed values for the item. Thus, if all pairs of coders agreed that the tone of all 16 programs in the reliability sample was "funny", the reliability coefficient according to Krippendorff's formula would be 0 (despite their perfect agreement). For this reason, where the range of values for a particular item in the reliability sample was limited, an alternative formula was used for calculating reliability (number of agreements divided by number of agreements plus disagreements). If the reliability of an item by either of these procedures was lower than .6, the results for the item are not discussed in this report (very few items had to be discarded, and in almost all cases, further work on definitions would most likely have solved the problem). On the whole, the reliabilities were much higher (e.g. for the global portrayal of police, the mean reliability for seven items using Krippendorff's formula was .84; for number of conflict episodes, .95; and for duration of violent interactions, .98). Thus, given the complexity of the coding format used, the level of reliability achieved was quite good. If the range of responses to an item for the entire program sample was severely restricted, that item is not discussed in this report.

Program Categories

For the purposes of data analysis, programs were grouped into 10 categories. These categories, and placement of programs in the categories, were based on the *TV Guide* descriptions. In the tables in this report, because of space, abbreviations have been used to indicate the categories. The categories and their abbreviations are as follows (the complete list of programs is given by category in Appendix One):

AD Adventure e.g., *Beachcombers, Six Million Dollar Man*

AN Animated (cartoon) e.g., *Flintstones, Bugs Bunny/Roadrunner*

CH Children's e.g., *Sesame Street, Mr. Dressup, Shazam/Isis*

CR Crime e.g., *Kojak, Hawaii Five-O, Sidestreet*

DOC Documentary e.g., *Fabulous Funnies, Time of the Jackals, War Years*

Note: Because documentaries are one-time events, and the results are based on only five shows, the results should be considered only suggestive.

D/M Drama/Medical e.g., *Waltons, Emergency, Edge of Night, Medical Center*

GA Game e.g., *Match Game, Price Is Right, This Is the Law*

I/R Instruction/Religion e.g., *Celebrity Cooks, Mr. Chips, People's Church*

M/V/T Music/Variety/Talk e.g., *Sonny and Cher, Irish Rovers, Bobby Vinton, Dinah*

SIT Situation Comedy e.g., *All in the Family, Happy Days, Excuse My French*

The inclusion of documentaries in the program sample deserves further comment. Because most

documentaries are unique, our initial tendency was to exclude them from this content analysis of entertainment television programming. However, some documentaries occur in series (e.g., *Jacques Cousteau, The War Years*) and would therefore be expected to be relatively consistent. More importantly, when we examined several television program guides, we found that aggression and violence, the focus of our work, were related to many of the documentary topics addressed on television. The most notable example of this is of course the three-hour special, *Violence in America*, shown on NBC on January 5, 1977, but even *Fabulous Funnies* is culpable in this regard, since animated shows (in this project and in other content analysis) rank high in the portrayal of aggression and violence. The complete list of documentaries shown during the two-week videotaping period is given in Table 1. Although the sample of five documentaries included in this report does not seem unrepresentative, the special nature of documentaries must be kept in mind when considering the results.

Format of this Report

In this report, tables have been numbered within chapters and placed at the end of each chapter. Accompanying each table, either below the table or on the page facing the table, are a statement or statements designed to highlight the main points of interest in the findings described in the table. The text for each chapter, which provides a verbal description of the major findings for that section of the analyses is placed at the beginning of each chapter. Finally, some particularly salient and/or provocative results of this research are summarized for the entire project at the end of the report.

Chapter Two

Global Analyses of Programs

The first approach to program content in the coding format and in the analyses of the data was to the program in its entirety. Global messages in the program and the portrayal of groups of characters are examples of this global approach.

Global Messages

After one complete viewing of each show, the coder assessed the general impressions or global messages presented in the program, focusing on tone, statements about "the world" portrayed by the show, and group character portrayals. Some of the statements about the world were taken from Spok's work on anomie (1956), others were taken from the F-scale (for authoritarianism: Adorno, et al., 1950), and others were developed by the authors.

The coders were instructed not to change any of their responses to the global message questions after subsequent viewing of the program, even if they later decided on the basis of detailed examination of the show that their initial impressions should be altered. Thus the global message data most closely represent what a normal viewer might think about a program after watching it.

Tone of program

The coder noted whether each of the following adjectives was or was not generally descriptive of the program: funny, exciting, interesting, educational, accurate, serious, plausible, predictable, violent, suspenseful, entertaining, sensual, and tragic; the results are summarized by program category in Table 2.

Across all categories, very few programs were educational (14.7%), but almost all were entertaining (87.2%) and interesting (80.7%). These results, which were obtained for a sample of programs selected on the basis of audience popularity, are in keeping with the commonly held belief that North American television programming is oriented more toward entertainment than toward education. It is also interesting to note that very few programs were tragic (6.4%). Whereas historically dramatic entertainment has often been based on tragedy (e.g. Greek drama, much of Shakespeare's work), current North American television entertainment seems to be based on comedy (45.9% of all programs were described as funny) more than on tragedy. The exceptions to this trend were crime and documentary programs. More crime shows were described as tragic (23.8%) than as funny (4.8%) and the proportions of funny and tragic documentaries were equal (20%).

About one-third (36.7%) of all programs were described as violent. Indeed, more programs were described as violent than as interesting, educational, accurate, suspenseful, sensual, or tragic. Not surprisingly, the crime category contained the highest proportion of violent shows (95.2%), but 40% or more of the documentary, adventure, and animated shows were described as violent.

Aside from varying in terms of the types of tone most descriptive of them, program categories could differ in terms of their variability in tone. Documentary, crime, and adventure programs ranked highest in variability of tone for the adjectives used in the coding format. That documentary shows were variable is not surprising (after all, *Fabulous Funnies* and *The War Years* would be expected to be very different in tone). It is more interesting that there was considerable variation in the

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tone of crime shows. It will be seen later that crime shows also tend to be relatively varied in other ways.

Global violence ranking

Each program was rated for violence on a 1 to 7 scale, ranging from "not at all violent" (1) to "very violent" (7). For the purposes of this rating, violence was defined in very general terms to include: physical or psychological injury, hurt, or death, and verbal and nonverbal aggressive acts. The mean violence ratings for the program categories, listed from lowest to highest ranking, were as follows: Game, 1.00; Instruction/Religion, 1.67; Drama/Medical, 1.89; Children's, 2.20; Music/Variety/Talk, 2.20; Situation Comedy, 2.58; Adventure, 3.57; Animated, 4.11; Documentary, 4.60; Crime. 5.19. Statistical analyses (analysis of variance) revealed that there were significant differences among the program categories, $F(9.99) = 9.96, p < .001$. Tukey post hoc analyses were used to determine which particular program categories varied significantly ($p < .05$) in mean violence rating from other categories. These analyses revealed that crime shows were rated as significantly more violent than all other program categories except documentary, animated, and adventure. The mean documentary violence rating was significantly higher than the children's, drama/medical, instruction/religion, and game ratings, and the mean animated rating was significantly higher than the drama/medical, instruction/religion, and game ratings. The reliability coefficient (Krippendorff, 1973) for the violence rating was .85.

The proportion of programs in each category receiving each violence rating is shown in Table 3. More than 90 per cent of the crime shows were given one of the three highest violence ratings (i.e., were rated above the median in violence). It is interesting to note that although the definition of violence used for the rating was very general and included verbal and psychological aggression as well as physical violence, situation comedies, which contained a relatively high proportion of episodes containing verbal aggression (discussed in detail in Chapter Six), were rated substantially lower in global portrayal of violence than crime shows, which contained a relatively high proportion of episodes containing physical aggression.

The portrayal of violence and aggression is discussed in detail in Chapters Five and Six of this report.

Global statements about the world

The proportion of programs in each category providing evidence for and against certain statements about the world is shown in Table 4. Note that only statements for which there was evidence in at least 20 per cent of the programs are listed in Table 4.

The single statement for which there was most evidence across program categories was, "people get support from their family and friends". This finding is particularly interesting because, as will be seen in

Chapter Three, about two-thirds of the characters coded were portrayed as social isolates; that is, they were not portrayed as having any family or close friends and associates. Thus while the support of family and friends is a central theme in entertainment television programming, particularly in adventure, situation comedy, and children's shows, this theme is apparently portrayed in the story line rather than through the characters.

The second generally most supported statement was, "The best way of interacting with people is to be kind". It is interesting that evidence to support this statement was portrayed in the same proportion of programs (36.7%) as were rated "violent" in tone. As would be expected, the shows described as violent were not, by and large, the same shows portraying the message that the best way of interacting with people is to be kind. Of the 40 programs providing evidence that the best way of interacting with people is to be kind 9 (22.5%) were rated "yes" for violent tone and 31 (77.5%) were rated "no". One program provided evidence against the statement that the "best way of dealing with people is to be kind" and that program was rated positively for violent tone.

The single most salient statement about the world portrayed in crime shows was "Crime does not pay"; there was explicit evidence for this statement in 19 of the 21 (90.5%) crime shows analyzed. "The world is a dangerous place to be" was also a frequent message in crime shows (71.4%). It is interesting to note that shows in the crime category provided evidence either for or against a more widely varying set of statements about the world than shows in any other category.

Evidence for the statement, "The best way of interacting with people is to be aggressive", was found most in animated (22.2%), documentary (20.0%), and crime (19.0%) programs, but there were other more salient messages in each of these program categories.

Global portrayal of certain groups of people

The way in which women, men, teenagers, old people, minorities, career people, spouses of career people, police, and politicians were generally portrayed in each program was noted by the coder after the first viewing. That is, the coder noted his or her global impression as to whether the program portrayed people in each of these groups as powerless, neutral on the power dimension, or powerful, interesting/boring, emotionally stable/unstable, dissatisfied with life/satisfied with life, and wise/foolish. There were too few politicians and spouses of career people to warrant analyses of the data for those groups, and the data for career people were not sufficiently reliable. The results for the remaining groups are presented in Table 5, averaging across all program categories. In Table 6, the global portrayal of women, men, minorities and police in crime shows is shown, and in Table 7, the global portrayal of women,

men, teenagers and minorities in situation comedies is given.

As Table 5 indicates, women were portrayed in fewer programs than men (85.3% vs 98.2%), but both men and women were portrayed in most programs. Teenagers were portrayed in only 36.4 per cent of the shows coded and old people in only 26.4 per cent. Minorities (28.2%) and police (30.0%) appeared with about the same frequency. When reading Tables 5, 6, and 7, these proportions must be kept in mind. Thus, police were portrayed in 30.0 per cent of all programs, and when portrayed (i.e., in the 42 programs in which police appeared), police were depicted as powerful in 51.7 per cent of the (42) shows, powerless in 3.0 per cent and neutrally on the power dimension in 45.3 per cent of the (42) shows.

The global portrayals of women and men were generally similar except women more often than men were portrayed as powerless and men more often than women were portrayed as powerful; note, however, that both men and women were more often portrayed as powerful than as powerless. The dimensions on which men and women were most frequently portrayed non-neutrally were interesting/boring and emotionally stable/unstable.

Old people were portrayed proportionately more often than any other group as powerless, and the police were portrayed most consistently as powerful. Whereas police, when portrayed, were almost always depicted (81.7%) as emotionally stable, old people were shown to be emotionally stable only in about half the shows in which old people appeared (58.7%). Old people did, however, have the highest proportion of wise portrayals (10.2%). Teenagers had the highest proportion of foolish portrayals (12.4%). Indeed, teenagers were more often portrayed as foolish than as wise, and the converse was true for old people.

When portrayed, all groups except minorities were more often shown to be satisfied than dissatisfied with life; the converse was true for minorities (dissatisfied in 19.5 per cent of the shows in which they appeared, satisfied in 12.8 per cent).

The global portrayal of women, men, minorities, and police in crime shows is presented in Table 5. Men and police appeared in all crime shows, women in most, and minorities in half. The findings discussed above for group portrayal across all program categories generally held true for crime shows, and some were exaggerated. Men more often than women were portrayed as emotionally stable, but in 15 per cent of the crime shows women were depicted as emotionally unstable. In 20 of the 21 crime shows the police were portrayed as emotionally stable. In none of the crime shows in which they appeared were minorities portrayed as satisfied with life; in 27.2 per cent they were portrayed as dissatisfied.

In situation comedies, men were portrayed in 100 per cent of the 24 programs coded, women in 91.7 per cent,

teenagers in 41.7 per cent and minorities in 33.3 per cent (Table 7). Again, men more often than women were portrayed as powerful. Note that the proportion of situation comedies in which women were portrayed as powerless (13.6%) is higher than the proportion in which they were portrayed as powerful (9.1%). Women as well as men were most often portrayed neutrally on the power dimension. In all situation comedies in which they appeared, minorities were portrayed as interesting. We do not have data regarding the story lines of the programs coded, but it is possible that when minorities appear in situation comedies they are usually central to the plot (rather than being portrayed as background characters). If so, this might account for their consistent portrayal as interesting. The next highest incidence of portrayal of a group as interesting was that of men in crime shows (86.4%).

Teenagers appeared more often in situation comedies than in any other program category, and although they were portrayed more often positively than negatively, they were proportionately more often portrayed negatively than any other group.

In sum, the global portrayal of all groups tended to be positive, and to support rather than to contradict group stereotypes. The portrayal of individual characters is outlined in the next chapter.

Table 1
Documentaries/specials shown on the channels from
which videotaping was done.

Shows analyzed
Fabulous Funnies
Jacques Cousteau
Shark Kill
Time of the Jackals
The War Years

Shows not analyzed
Klahanie
Canadian Cavalcade
Global Journal
Design Explosion
FDR (Roosevelt)
Olympiad
World at War
Days before Yesterday
Winston Churchill: The Valiant Years
Our Fellow Americans
Pursuit of Happiness
Tocqueville's America
ABC Closeup
American Schools: Flunking the Test
Good Life
CBS Reports: "Busing"
Challenging Sea
Man of Aran (Movie/Documentary)
Lowell Thomas Remembers
Olympics: A TV History
Nova
Talk of the Devil
National Geographic
A Space to Be
Presidents: 76 Years on Camera
NBC Special: The Press and the Courts
Future Shock
America
Wide World Special – The Underworld:
A Portrait of Power

Table 2

Tone of programs

Across all program categories, the adjectives describing the greatest proportion of programs were: entertaining (87.2%), interesting (80.7%), plausible (70.6%) and predictable (65.1%). The adjectives least descriptive of the programs were sensual (0), tragic (6.4%), educational (14.7%), exciting (15.6%) and accurate (17.4%).

Using the highest proportions for each program category (except where ties were involved, indicated by /) the categories were globally described by the adjectives as follows:

Adventure: Entertaining/predictable, serious/exciting/-interesting.
Animated: Entertaining, funny, predictable/interesting, violent.
Children's: Entertaining/interesting, educational, predictable.
Crime: Entertaining/interesting/violent, plausible.
Documentary: Entertaining/interesting/accurate/plausible.
Drama/Medical: Entertaining/interesting/plausible/serious.
Game: Entertaining, interesting, funny/exciting/accurate/plausible/suspenseful.
Instruction/Religion: Serious/plausible, interesting, accurate.
Music/Variety/Talk: Entertaining, interesting, predictable/ plausible/funny.
Situation Comedy: Funny/plausible, entertaining, predictable, interesting.

Crime Shows: Almost all were violent, interesting, and entertaining, and more than two-thirds were serious, plausible, and suspenseful.

Situation comedies: All were funny and plausible, and almost all were entertaining. More than two-thirds were interesting and predictable.

Violence: Virtually all the crime shows, and 40 per cent or more of the adventure, animated, and documentary programs were globally described as violent.

Documentaries, crime shows, and adventure programs ranked highest in variability of portrayal of tone via the adjectives used (i.e. the mean proportions of programs described by the adjectives was highest for these categories).

Table 2

Tone of programs: proportion of programs in each category globally described by each adjective

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Funny	45.9%	28.6%	77.8%	40.0%	4.8%	20.0%	22.2%	60.0%	11.1	50.0%	100%
Exciting	15.6	71.4	11.1	10.0	28.6	20.0	–	60.0	–	–	–
Interesting	80.7	71.4	55.6	90.0	95.2	100	88.9	80.0	66.7	60.0	83.3
Educational	14.7	–	–	80.0	–	60.0	–	20.0	44.4	–	–
Accurate	17.4	14.3	–	10.0	9.5	100	11.1	60.0	55.6	10.0	–
Serious	43.1	71.4	–	30.0	81.0	80.0	88.9	20.0	77.8	–	8.3
Plausible	70.6	57.1	11.1	20.0	85.7	100	88.9	60.0	77.8	50.0	100
Predictable	65.1	85.7	66.7	70.0	66.7	60.0	44.4	20.0	44.4	50.0	87.5
Violent	36.7	42.9	44.4	20.0	95.2	40.0	–	–	22.2	10.0	25.0
Suspenseful	27.5	57.1	–	10.0	81.0	40.0	33.3	60.0	–	–	–
Entertaining	87.2	85.7	88.9	90.0	95.2	100	88.9	100	22.2	90.0	95.8
Sensual	--	–	–	--	--	–		–	–	--	--
Tragic	6.4	–	–	–	23.8	20.0	11.1	--	–	–	--
Number of programs	109	7	9	10	21	5	9	5	9	10	24

The crime category had the highest mean violence rating, but did not have the highest proportion of shows receiving the maximum rating. However, 93.3 per cent of crime shows were rated in categories 5-7 (above the median violence rating).

Table 3

Violence rating: proportion of programs in each category receiving each rating

Rating	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
1	23.8	–	11.1	40.0	–	20.0	11.1	100	77.8	40.0	12.5
2	25.7	14.3	11.1	30.0	4.8	–	88.9	–	–	20.0	50.0
3	12.8	28.6	11.1	10.0	9.5	20.0	–	–	–	30.0	16.7
4	11.0	42.9	33.3	10.0	9.5	–	–	–	11.1	–	16.7
5	14.7	14.3	11.1	10.0	38.1	20.0	–	–	11.1	10.0	8.3
6	3.7	–	–	–	14.3	–	–	–	–	–	4.2
7 (very violent)	8.3	–	22.2	–	23.8	40.0	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	109	7	9	10	21	5	9	5	9	10	24
Mean Violence Rating (max = 7)		3.57	4.11	2.2	5.19	4.6	1.89	1.00	1.67	2.2	2.58

Table 4

Global statements about the world

Of the global messages coded, the one for which there was most evidence across program categories was, "People get support from their family and friends" (52.3%). This message was particularly evident in adventure (71.4%), situation comedy (70.8%), and children's (66.7%) shows. The second generally most supported message was, "The best way of interacting with people is to be kind" (36.7%). This message was particularly evident in drama/medical (66.7%), and children's (50%) shows, and not evident in animated (11.1%) shows.

Other messages varied more according to program category. One-third or more of the programs in each category provided evidence for the other statements as follows:

Adventure: Crime does not pay (42.9%).

Animated: The best way of interacting with people is to be thoughtful (33.3%) and assertive (33.3%).

Crime: The world is a dangerous place to be (71.4%). Crime does not pay (90.5%). The nuclear family is important in our society (33%). (evidence against) Relations with others are simple, direct, and conflict-free (33.3%).

Documentary: The world is a dangerous place to be (60.0%).

Drama/Medical: The best way of interacting with people is to be kind (66.7%), thoughtful (66.7%) and straightforward (44.4%).

Game: (Evidence against) Good things in life are hard to come by (40%).

Situation comedies: The best way of dealing with people is to be kind (41.7%) and straightforward (37.5%).

Among the global messages for which relatively little evidence was portrayed across all programs were:

– A city's downtown is dangerous at night. (This message was portrayed in 9.5 per cent of crime and 4.3 per cent of situation comedy programs.)

– It is often necessary for police to use excessive force (portrayed in 9.5 per cent of crime shows).

– The best way of interacting with people is shown to be sarcastic (portrayed in 4.8 per cent of crime, 10.0 per cent of music/variety/talk and children's, 11.1 per cent of instruction/ religion, and 16.7 per cent of situation comedy shows.

In general, the greatest varieties of global messages were found in crime and situation comedy programs.

Table 4

Proportion of programs in each category portraying global evidence for or against certain statements

(Note: Only statements for which at least 20 per cent of programs in one or more categories portrayed evidence are listed. Where no proportions for or against are listed, all are 0.)

		Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
The world is a dangerous	Evidence for	24.8%	14.3%	11.1%	10.0%	71.4%	60.0%	27.2	–	33.3%	–	4.2
place to be	Against	0.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4.2
Crime does not pay	Evidence for	25.7	42.9	22.2	10.0	90.5	–	–	20.0	–	10.0	4.2
	Against	0.9	–	–	–	–	20.0	–	–	–	–	–
The nuclear family is important in our society	Evidence for	15.6	–	22.2	–	33.3	20.0	22.2	–	–	–	20.8
People get support from	Evidence for	52.3	71.4	66.7	50.0	57.1	20.0	55.6	–	44.4	20.0	70.8
their family and friends	Against	1.8	–	–	–	9.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
People like their job	Evidence for	15.6	14.3	–	–	19.0	20.0	44.4	–	22.2	10.0	16.7
People are happy with	Evidence for	12.8	–	–	20.0	9.5	20.0	22.2	–	11.1	30.0	12.5
their position in life	Against	8.3	–	11.1	–	9.5	–	11.1	–	22.2	–	12.5
If you believe you are morally right any action you take is justified	Evidence for	7.3	14.3	–	–	9.5	20.0	11.1	–	11.1	–	8.3
Marriage problems associated with living together are easily handled	Evidence for Against	4.6	–	–	–	4.8	–	22.2	·	22.2	–	–
Relations with others	Evidence for	2.8	–	–	10.0	–	11.1	–	–	–	10.0	–
are simple, direct, conflict free	Against	14.7	–	11.1	–	33.3	20.0	11.1	–	22.2	–	16.7
In this show, the best way of interacting with people is shown to												
—be kind	Evidence for	36.7	28.6	11.1	50.0	28.6	20.0	66.7	40.0	33.3	40.0	41.7
	Against	1.8	–	–	–	4.8	–	–	–	–	–	4.2
—be thoughtful	Evidence for	26.6	14.3	33.3	10.0	23.8	20.0	66.7	20.0	33.3	10.0	29.2
—be pushy	Evidence for	13.8	–	22.2	–	28.6	20.0	–	–	–	10.0	20.8
—be aggressive	Evidence for	11.0	14.3	22.2	10.0	19.0	20.0	–	–	11.1	–	8.3
	Against	0.9	–	–	–	4.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
—tell white lies	Evidence for	8.3	14.3	–	–	9.5	–	22.2	–	–	10.0	12.5
	Against	0.9	–	–	–	4.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
—be straightforward	Evidence for	22.0	–	–	–	28.6	20.0	44.4	–	22.2	20.0	37.5
	Against	2.8	–	–	–	4.8	–	–	–	11.1	–	–
—be tactful	Evidence for	4.6	–	–	–	4.8	20.0	11.1	–	14.1	10.0	–
—be assertive	Evidence for	20.2	–	33.3	10.0	23.8	20.0	11.1	20.0	44.4	20.0	16.7
	Against	0.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11.1	–	–
Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself	Against	6.4	–	11.1	–	4.8	–	22.2	–	22.2	10.0	–
It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future	Evidence for	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22.2		–
These days a person	Evidence for	4.6	14.3	–	10.0	4.8	20.0	11.1	–	–	–	–
doesn't really know who he can count on	Against	3.7	–	–	–	4.8	–	–	–	22.2	–	4.2
Good things in life	Evidence for	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11.1	–	4.2
are hard to come by	Against	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	40.0	–	–	–

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Table 5

Global portrayal of women, men, teenagers, old people, minorities, and police

Men were portrayed in virtually all programs (98%).

Women were portrayed less frequently than men (85%) but still in the vast majority of programs.

All other groups were portrayed in less than half the programs: teenagers (36.4%), police (30%), minorities (28.2%) and old people (26.4%).

The dimensions on which men and women were most frequently portrayed clearly (as indicated by "neutral" portrayal in less than 50% of the programs) were interesting/boring and emotionally stable/unstable.

On the whole, men and women were portrayed similarly. Men were more likely to be shown as powerful and women as powerless, and more programs showed men than women as interesting.

Teenagers were portrayed more often as foolish than wise, whereas the converse was true for old people.

Minority group members were portrayed more often as dissatisfied than satisfied with life, but the converse was true for all other groups.

When portrayed, all groups (especially police) were shown as emotionally stable in the majority of programs.

Table 5

Global portrayal of certain groups, averaged across all (109) programs

	Women	Men	Teenagers	Old people	Minorities	Police
Proportion of programs in which group was portrayed	85.3%	98.2%	36.4%	26.4%	28.2%	30.0%
When portrayed, proportion of group shown as:						
Powerful	6.4	17.6	7.4	6.8	6.4	51.7
Powerless	7.3	.9	4.9	10.2	3.2	3.0
Interesting	67.8	75.9	62.4	65.5	70.9	57.7
Boring	3.2	3.7	2.5	–	–	–
Emotionally stable	71.0	74.9	64.8	58.7	67.7	81.7
Unstable	3.2	.9	2.5	3.4	6.4	–
Satisfied with life	29.0	29.6	22.5	24.2	12.8	27.3
Dissatisfied with life	–	2.7	7.4	10.2	19.5	2.9
Wise	2.1	1.8	2.5	10.2	3.2	6.0
Foolish	4.6	4.6	12.4	6.8	3.2	6.0

Note: For each trait for each group, the proportions of neutral (not in table) + positive + negative portrayals = 100%. The proportion of programs in which the group was portrayed at all must be considered in interpreting the entries in this table, e.g., the police were portrayed as powerful in 51.7 percent of the programs in which police were portrayed, which was in only 30 percent of all programs coded.

Table 6

Global portrayal of women, men, minorities, and police in shows (number = 21)

	Women	Men	Minorities	Police
Proportion of programs portraying the group	90.5%	100%	50.0%	100%
When portrayed, proportion of crime shows portraying the group as:				
Powerful	9.5	27.3	9.0	54.5
Powerless	4.8	–	–	–
Interesting	71.4	86.4	54.6	77.3
Boring	–	–	–	–
Emotionally stable	65.0	54.5	63.6	95.5
Unstable	15.0	4.5	–	–
Satisfied with life	15.0	18.2	–	36.4
Dissatisfied with life	–	9.1	27.2	4.5
Wise	5.0	–	–	9.1
Foolish	5.0	–	–	–

Note: For each trait for each group, the proportions of positive + negative + neutral (not in table) portrayals = 100%.

Table 7

Global portrayals of women, men, teenagers, and minorities in situation comedies (number = 24)

	Women	Men	Teenagers	Minorities
Proportion of programs portraying the group	91.7%	100%	41.7%	33.3%
When portrayed, proportion of programs in which the group was portrayed as:				
Powerful	9.1	20.8	10.1	–
Powerless	13.6	–	10.1	–
Interesting	77.2	83.3	70.0	100
Boring	4.6	4.2	10.1	–
Emotionally stable	81.8	79.2	89.9	87.7
Unstable	–	–	–	–
Satisfied with life	36.3	29.2	30.0	12.6
Dissatisfied with life	–	4.2	–	12.6
Wise	–	–	–	–
Foolish	4.6	8.3	10.1	–

Note: For each trait, the proportions of neutral + positive + negative portrayals for each group = 100% (e.g. In 9.1 percent of the situation comedies in which women were portrayed they were portrayed as powerful; in 13.6 percent as powerless, and in 77.3 percent as neutral on the power dimension).

Table 8

Program context: date of the major action

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Before 1900	3.7%	–	33.3%	–	–	–	11.1%	–	–	–	–
1900 to WW II	1.8	14.3	–	–	–	–	11.1	–	–	–	–
WW II to 1965	7.3	–	–	–	4.8	20.0	11.1	–	–	–	25.0
1965 to present	81.7	85.7	66.7	90.0	95.2	60.0	66.7	100%	88.9	100%	75.0
Spans WW II to present	.9	–	–	–	–	20.0	–	–	11.1	–	–
Spans 1900 to present	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Future	.9	–	–	10.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Number of programs	109	7	9	10	21	5	9	5	9	10	24

The vast majority (81.7%) of programs were set in the present (1965 to present). Drama/medical programs varied most in the date of major action.

Table 9

Program context: reality level

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Claim to depict reality	22.0%	–	–	–	9.5%	80.0%	–	100%	100%	40.0%	–
Plausible fiction	56.8	57.1	11.1	20.0	90.5	20.0	100%	–	–	20.0	100%
Plausible setting, mixed real and fantastic characters	3.7	–	11.1	30.0	–		–	–	–	–	–
Plausible setting, fantastic characters	2.8	28.6	–	10.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fantastic, implausible	10.1	14.3	66.7	40.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mixed	1.8	–	11.1	–	–	–	–	–	–	10.0	–
Variety show	2.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	30.0	–
	98.3%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of programs	109	7	9	10	21	5	9	5	9	10	24

Most programs (77.1%) claimed to depict reality or were plausible fiction. Situation comedies, instruction/religion, game, drama/medical, documentary, and crime programs fell entirely within these two reality categories. The greatest variety in program reality was found in programming aimed broadly at children (the animated, children's and adventure categories).

Table 10

Specific city and state or province in which episodes occurred. (Note: only places occurring in more than one program category are listed.)

City	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
No. of episodes coded	1548	96	84	673	252	58	8	29	25	146	
Not mentioned	64.5%	55.2%	79.7%	96.4%	57.1%	71.0%	53.4%	37.5%	75.9%	68.0%	59.6%
Los Angeles	8.4	–	–	–	16.6	–	10.3	–	–	12.0	6.2
San Francisco	5.7	–	–	–	12.3	–	–	–	–	–	4.1
New York	5.6	–	4.5	2.4	8.9	.4	–	–	–	–	10.3
Washington	.8	12.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	4.0		
Toronto	2.8	–	–	12.0	4.8	–	–	3.4	–	6.8	
Bakersfield	.2	–	–	–	.3	–	–	–	–	4.0	–

State or Province

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Not mentioned	65.3%	59.4%	91.0%	96.4%	54.4%	86.2%	25.0%	31.0%	60.0%	61.0%	
California	18.9	–	–	–	28.1	27.8	13.8	–	–	20.0	14.4
New York	5.6	–	4.5	2.4	8.9	.4	–	–	–	–	10.3
Ontario	2.8	–	–	1.2	4.8	–	–	–	3.4	–	6.8
District of Columbia	1.8	28.1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4.0	–
British Columbia	.8	10.4	–	–	–	–	–	12.5	3.4	–	–
Quebec	.3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4.0	2.7
Maryland	.2	2.1	–	–	–	–	–	12.5	–	–	–

In crime programs, 37.8 per cent of all episodes could be identified as occurring in Los Angeles, San Francisco, or New York. The comparable figure for situation comedies was 20.6 per cent. Considering only those episodes for which city, state, or province could be determined, the proportions were 88.1 per cent for crime shows and 50.9 per cent for situation comedies. Of all episodes (across program categories) 19 per cent were identified as occurring in California and these were 54.5 per cent of all identifiable episodes.

Table 11

Setting: time of day at which episodes occurred.

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Morning before dawn	.1%	–	–	–	.4%	·		–		–	–
Dawn	2.1	–	–	2.4	4.2	1.2	–	–			
Breakfast	.3	–	–	–	.3	.8	–	–		–	
Morning	9.9	7.3	5.6	1.2	10.8	13.1	8.6	–	10.3	–	14.4
Lunch hour	1.0	2.1	1.7	–	.7	.4	1.7	–	–	–	2.7
Afternoon	57.4	86.5	66.7	66.7	53.9	55.2	60.3	62.5	86.2	24.0	40.4
Supper hour	1.8	–	6.8	–	1.3	.4	–	–	–	–	4.1
Evening (early)	7.2	3.1	9.1	1.2	5.9	2.0	15.5	12.5	–	12.0	22.6
8-11 p.m.	14.1	1.0	9.0	–	21.1	12.7	5.2	–	–	24.0	13.0
Late night	1.1	–	–	–	1.3	.4	5.2	–	–	–	2.7
Not specify or can't code	5.0	2.1	.6	28.6	.7	13.5	3.4	25.0	3.4	40.0	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of episodes.	1548	96	177	84	673	252	58	8	29	25	146

Across all programs the greatest proportion of episodes occurred in the afternoon (57.4%), and this held true within every program category.

Crime shows had the greatest variety of times at which episodes occurred.

Chapter Three

Character Profiles

The way in which people are portrayed on television was of major interest in our analysis of entertainment programming. Two types of information about characters were obtained. General impressions about groups of characters (e.g. women, police) were obtained in the global messages; these results were discussed in Chapter Two. More specific and detailed information was obtained from the profiles of individual characters. Demographic and trait information were filled out by the coder for each Title character, Leading character (definition: If you were relating this story, would you include this character?), and non-leading character involved in aggression or violence. Thus, all central figures were included in the character profiles. Some of the information about characters was obtained in both the long and short forms of the coding format, and some was exclusive to the long form.

Character profiles: data common to the long and short coding formats

There were 899 characters for whom the character profile data included in both the long and short coding formats (Appendices Three and Four) were completed.

In Table 1, character distribution by sex is shown for each program category. Because it could be argued that non-leading aggressive characters are in some ways not representative of all characters shown on television, the distribution of characters by sex and program category is shown separately for title and leading characters (combined) and for non-leading characters involved in aggression. Certainly, the proportion of males was higher for non-leading characters involved in aggression (81.6%) than for title and leading characters (64.0%), but there were still more than twice as many male as female title and/or leading characters (the sex breakdown for all 899 characters revealed that 69.1 per cent were male so the inclusion of non-leading aggressive characters did not substantially alter the sex distribution). The finding that about two-thirds of the characters on television were male has been reported elsewhere (e.g. Stein and Friedrich, 1975). It is interesting (and perhaps disturbing) to note that even in children's non-animated and animated shows, there were many more males than

females. If explicitly and implicitly sexed characters are combined, 74.0 per cent of the characters in animated and 76.4 per cent of the characters in children's shows were male.

The distribution of characters according to sex and age is shown, averaged across all program categories, in Table 2. The greatest single proportions of both male and female characters were in the 19 to 40 year age range, and females were more disproportionately lumped in this age category than were males (e.g. 34.1 per cent of males were aged 41-64 but only 20.5 per cent of the women characters were in that age range). There were very few children, adolescents, or old people in the programs coded. Indeed, the age range 19 to 64 included 80.1 per cent of the male and 81.1 per cent of the female characters. Among all 899 central characters, the largest single age-by-sex groups were male adults aged 19 to 40 (35 per cent of all characters coded), middle-aged males aged 41-64 (21%), and female adults aged 19 to 40 (15.6%).

The distribution of characters in each age category for each program category is shown in Table 3. There were no children in game, instruction/religion, or music/variety/talk shows, and only 1.3 per cent of the characters in crime, 2.4 per cent of the characters in animated, and 3.7 per cent of the characters in situation comedy programs were children. Even in non-animated children's shows only 6.8 per cent of the characters were children. That there were so few child characters in programming intended entirely for children (AN, CH) is surprising. Adventure programs had the highest proportion of child characters (12.9%); these programs (e.g. *Bionic Woman*, *World of Disney*) are watched by adults as well as children but are especially popular with the latter. Characters in animated and situation comedy shows varied most by age.

In Table 4, the sex distribution of characters in each age range is given. The finding mentioned above, that there were twice as many male as female characters, held true in all but the old (over 65) age group (where there were very few characters of either sex). Sex distribution was most disproportionate in the middle-aged (41-64) group. This finding supports the argument that there is a strong trend on television to portray women as young and glamorous.

Characters' marital status is shown in Table 5. For the majority of characters (65.5%), no information about marital status was revealed. Marital status was, however, revealed more often for female (54.4%) than for male (27.2%) characters, and this was also true for implicit males and females (although there were so few such implicitly sexed characters that this finding should be considered very tentative).

Of the 899 characters, 774 (86.0%) were humans (with no superhuman powers). A subsample of 504 of these 774 humans were coded for one particular item, "Was this character portrayed as having any family or close friends and associates?" This item was designed to

assess the degree to which television characters are portrayed as social isolates. In Table 6, the findings for this item are shown by program category, and in Table 7, by sex and status. As was found for marital status, about two-thirds of all characters coded for this item were not portrayed as having any family or close friends or associates. Explicit or implicit evidence of the existence of family et cetera was given most frequently in situation comedy (for 55.0% of such characters) and drama/medical (51.4%) programs. And, as for marital status, explicit or implicit evidence of family or close friends and associates was given for a greater proportion of female (44.1%) than male (27.9%) characters. Title characters were an exception to the trend toward portrayal of characters as social isolates; family or close friends and associates were portrayed for 33 (64.7%) of the 51 title characters coded for this item. This is not surprising, since title characters appear repeatedly in a television series. Whereas only 31.4 per cent of title characters were portrayed as social isolates, 62.6 per cent of leading characters and 89.3 per cent of non-leading characters involved in aggression were so portrayed. It is interesting to compare these data with the marital status data. No information about marital status was provided for 55.7 per cent of the 79 title characters (in the full sample), for 59.7 per cent of the 563 leading characters, and for 82.4 per cent of the non-leading characters involved in aggression. Thus title characters were more often portrayed as having family or close friends and associates than were leading characters, but this portrayal was not more likely to include information about their marital status.

The proportion of characters at each income level is shown for each program category in Table 8. Information about income level was most often provided in animated (87.5%) and documentary (73.0%) programs; it was least often given in children's (42.2%) and instruction/religion (46.4%) programs. Very few characters were depicted as blue-collar workers (9.9% of all human characters) or poor (3.9%). Indeed, more characters were portrayed as upper-class or elite (12.4%) and substantially more as white-collar workers (25.2%). The majority of characters in crime (55.6%) and music/variety/talk (53.8%) shows were portrayed in one of the latter two income categories; if one considers only those characters for whom information about income level was given, the proportions are even higher (76 per cent for crime and 90 per cent for music/variety/talk programs). The most equal distribution of characters across income levels occurred in drama/medical and situation comedy programs. It is interesting that in both of those program categories the proportions of upper/ elite and blue-collar characters were about equal.

The social group membership of characters in each program category is given in Table 9. The vast majority of characters were white English-speaking Americans, either from the U.S. or Canada. Only one per cent of all characters were French Canadians; more characters

(although still practically none) were native Indian, Inuit or Métis. Fewer than one per cent of the characters (2 of 899 or 0.2%) were of Italian background, a point of interest because of complaints from the Italian community about the portrayal of criminals (especially in organized crime) as Italian. The minority group one would expect to see most often on television would be black North Americans, who comprise approximately ten per cent of the population of the U.S.. Averaging across all program categories 6.9 per cent of all characters were black North Americans but there were none in the documentary or drama/medical programs coded. In crime shows, 5.7 per cent of the characters were black North Americans, and in situation comedies, 12.5 per cent.

The coders categorized each character according to the "role" he played in the program, as "good guy, protagonist, hero", "mixed, neither, uncertain", "bad guy, antagonist, villain", or "cannot code". The results are shown in Table 11, and 12. Averaging across all programs, there were substantially more "good guys" (45.8%) than "bad guys" (14.0%). Not surprisingly, adventure (27.1%), crime (23.0%), and animated (20.0%) programs had the highest proportions of "bad guys". No characters were portrayed as villains in game or instruction/religion shows, and there were few in drama/medical (1.2%), music/variety/talk (6.0%), or situation comedy (6.3%) shows. Drama/medical shows had the highest proportion of "good guys" (64.2%). The characters in adventure, crime, and documentary shows were most evenly distributed across the roles. Almost all of the villains coded were male (84.1%); only 9.5 per cent were female, and a greater proportion of females (55.7%) than males (43.5%) were portrayed as heroes. Only one of the title characters was portrayed as a villain, and more leading characters were also portrayed as heroes (54.4%) than as villains (10.1%). In contrast, more of the non-leading characters coded because they were involved in aggression were portrayed as villains (26.6%) than as heroes (17.2%).

For all characters, the coders noted whether the character received any punishment (if punishment would have been appropriate as a consequence of violent or illegal acts). The proportions of male and female characters receiving various punishments are shown in Table 13. For most characters (86.2 per cent of males and 96.2 per cent of females) punishment was not appropriate. For those characters for whom punishment would have been appropriate (13.8 per cent of the males, 3.8 per cent of the females, and 10.3 per cent of the implicit males), it was usually unclear that any punishment was given (63.0 per cent of the appropriate male cases and 65.8 per cent of the female cases). It is difficult to know whether in reality punishment is usually given when violent or illegal acts have been committed, but it seems unwise to give the impression that it is not. In North America, life imprisonment is a more common punishment than death. In our sample of

characters, 15 characters were shown to be punished by death, but not one received life imprisonment.

Character profiles: data exclusive to the long coding format

Of the 899 characters coded, 358 or 39.8 per cent were coded using the long format. Information regarding the characters' health, general image, and an extensive adjective checklist were exclusive to the long coding format. This information is summarized in the comments and in tables at the end of the chapter.

Health. Very few characters were portrayed as having a physical handicap (1.1%), physical illness (2.5%), or psychological disorder (1.4%). Equally few were shown as using prescription drugs (1.4%) or illegal drugs (1.1%). Use of tobacco was more common (4.5%), but still extremely infrequent. Use of alcohol was portrayed for 9.5 per cent of the characters (the proportion for adult characters would be higher, since some of the 358 were children).

Of the 14 characters portrayed as users of tobacco, 12 were males; 11 of these males used tobacco moderately and 1, heavily. One female was a moderate user and one a heavy user. Of the 32 characters portrayed as using alcohol, 22 (68.8%) were male; 21 of these males used alcohol in moderation, and one, heavily. One of the 10 females who used alcohol used it heavily, and the other 9, moderately.

In sum, almost all characters were portrayed as physically and psychologically healthy, and there was very little evidence of the use of tobacco, alcohol, or legal or illegal drugs. In all of these instances the portrayal was substantially different from reality, e.g., tobacco is used by about 40 per cent of the adult population in Canada, and about ten per cent of Canadians are hospitalized at some time in their lives for psychological disorders. Thus the portrayal of reality by television is inaccurate in these areas. On the other hand, television appears to be providing positive role models with regard to the use of drugs (including tobacco and alcohol).

Character image.

The coders noted whether the image portrayed for a character was as an unqualified success (does everything right all the time), an unqualified but human success (makes mistakes occasionally within the program but reputation untarnished or even increased), a qualified success (makes some mistakes and causes doubts about image), a qualified failure (generally unsuccessful but has big moment of success) or an unqualified failure (doesn't do anything right).

In Table 14, the proportions of characters in each program category portrayed with each image are shown. Note that the distributions for the animated, documentary, game, instruction/religion and music/variety/talk categories should be interpreted with caution because they are based on small samples. More than in any other program category, characters in crime shows had

widely varying images; there were approximately equal proportions of unqualified successes (24.3%), unqualified but human successes (27.0%), and unqualified failures (27.0%). Adventure programs had the next most broadly varied set of character images. Characters in drama/medical programs were portrayed uniformly positively. No characters were portrayed as unqualified failures in situation comedy, music/variety/talk, instruction/religion, or drama/medical programs, and in the latter three categories there were also no characters portrayed as qualified failures. Crime (23.0%) and animated (18.8%) shows had the greatest proportion of characters portrayed as unqualified failures. Documentaries had the highest proportion of characters (61.5%) depicted as failures (either qualified or unqualified failures).

In Table 15, the distribution of character image according to sex and status is shown. In general, women were portrayed more positively than men; 93.8 per cent of the women and 80.0 per cent of the men were shown to be successes. Title characters were portrayed more positively than leading characters, who were in turn portrayed more positively than non-leading characters involved in aggression.

In general, the character image data corroborated the character role data; most characters coded were portrayed positively, women tended to be portrayed more positively than men, and title characters were depicted especially positively. Characters in crime shows varied relatively widely in both role type and image.

Character descriptions according to the adjective checklist

For each of 45 adjective pairs, the coder noted whether each character was portrayed in one direction, the other, or neutrally (or not portrayed on that dimension), e.g., old – neutral or not portrayed – young.

For 29 of the 45 adjective pairs, fewer than 20 per cent of the 364 characters were coded as being other than neutral or not portrayed. These 29 adjective pairs were: old / young, tall / short, happy / sad, tough / delicate, moral / immoral, irrational / rational, sensitive / insensitive, flirtatious or seductive / prim, bungling / efficient, kind / cruel, learned / ignorant, intuitive / logical, bold / timid, sociable / unsociable, humble / proud, rich / poor, sophisticated / unsophisticated, unambitious / ambitious, sexually unsuccessful / successful, materialistic / unmaterialistic, dissatisfied / satisfied, wise / foolish, accommodating / bureaucratic, conservative / radical, unfair / fair, cold / warm, weak / strong, powerless / powerful, and stupid / smart. These are apparently human dimensions not often portrayed on television.

The 12 dimensions on which more than 20 per cent of the characters were portrayed as non-neutral were: emotional / unemotional, honest / dishonest, feminine / masculine, predictable / unpredictable, wholesome / unwholesome, dirty / clean, good / bad, violent /

nonviolent, sexually unattractive / attractive, incompetent / competent, boring / interesting, and passive / active. On the dimensions usual / unusual, repulsive / attractive (generally), emotionally unstable / stable, and sarcastic / not sarcastic more than 20 per cent of the characters were coded as non-neutral, but in the reliability sample the coders did not achieve adequate reliability for these dimensions. Tables 16 and 17 provide information about the way in which characters varied on the dimensions for which reliability was adequate and for which more than 20 per cent of the characters coded were portrayed as non-neutral. The distribution of character traits is broken down by program category in Table 16 and by sex and status in Table 17.

Averaging across sex, status, and program category (as shown in the mean column of Tables 16 and 17), more than 30 per cent of the characters were portrayed as being clean (53.6%), active (48.6%), good (44.1%), non-violent (40.5%), interesting (36.6%), and masculine (31.0%).

Considering the traits with clear-cut positive and negative dimensions, (all traits in Tables 16 and 17 except emotional / unemotional, predictable / unpredictable, and feminine / masculine), the program categories that included the widest variation of character traits were adventure, children's, crime, and situation comedy. At the other extreme, no character in drama / medical programs was portrayed negatively on any of the traits with negative dimensions (i.e., there were no dishonest, unwholesome, dirty, bad, violent, sexually unattractive, incompetent, boring, or passive characters in drama / medical programs.

Another indication that characters in crime shows displayed a wide variation of traits is that for six of the 29 adjective pairs on which fewer than 20 per cent of all characters (averaged across program categories) were portrayed as non-neutral, more than 20 per cent of the characters in crime shows were portrayed as non-neutral. In particular, 6.8 per cent of characters in crime shows were old and 13.5 per cent young, 23.0 per cent tough and 1.4 per cent delicate, 14.9 per cent moral and 16.2 per cent immoral, 21.6 per cent bold and zero per cent timid, 2.7 per cent weak and 20.3 per cent strong, and 9.5 per cent powerless and 17.6 per cent powerful. More than 20 per cent of the characters in situation comedies were rated as non-neutral on 5 of the 29 adjective pairs for which less than 20 per cent of all characters were non-neutral. In particular, 22.2 per cent of the characters in situation comedies were happy and 4.8 per cent sad, 15.9 per cent were sensitive and 9.5 per cent insensitive, 17.5 per cent were kind and 4.8 per cent cruel, 4.8 per cent were dissatisfied and 17.5 per cent satisfied, and 3.2 per cent were cold and 17.5 per cent warm.

The program categories with the highest proportions of violent characters were animated (31.3%), documentary (23.0%) and crime (21.7%).

The adventure, animated, crime, instruction /

religion, and music / variety / talk program categories had higher proportions of unemotional than emotional characters. But children's, documentary, drama / medical, game, and situation comedy programs had proportionately more emotional than unemotional characters.

The highest proportions of dishonest and bad characters occurred in adventure (15.0% and 15.5%, respectively), crime (14.9% and 18.9%, respectively), and animated (12.5% and 25.0%, respectively) programs.

By comparison with the means across all program categories, animated shows had relatively high proportions of unwholesome (18.8% versus 4.7%), dirty (12.5% versus 3.4%), bad (25.0% versus 9.5%), violent (31.3% versus 14.8%), incompetent (25.0% versus 2.8%), and active (75.0% versus 48.6%) characters.

Drama / medical (67.5%) and situation comedy (52.4%) programs had the highest proportions of interesting characters.

The traits on which characters in each program category were most frequently portrayed were as follows:

Adventure – Clean, active, good, masculine and nonviolent.

Animated – Active, non-violent, predictable, clean and violent.

Children's – Good, non-violent, and clean.

Crime – Clean, active, masculine, interesting, good, and competent.

Documentary – Clean, active, masculine, and sexually attractive.

Drama / Medical – Non-violent, clean, good, active, interesting, sexually attractive, and predictable (note in Table 16 the high proportions of characters portrayed via each of these traits).

Game – Clean, non-violent, and active

Instruction / religion – Clean, masculine, non-violent, predictable, good, and sexually attractive.

Music / Variety / Talk – Interesting, active, and clean.

Situation Comedy – Active, clean, good, interesting, masculine, and non-violent.

Almost all characters in drama / medical programs were non-violent (87.5%). The comparable proportion for situation comedies was 36.5 per cent, for crime shows 20.3 per cent, and for adventures 32.8 per cent.

As Table 17 indicates, more women than men were characterized as emotional, feminine, predictable, clean, good, non-violent, sexually attractive, interesting, and warm. More men than women were characterized as unemotional, dishonest, masculine, immoral, bad, violent, and competent. On the whole, men tended to be portrayed more neutrally than women (the mean proportions of men and women portrayed as neutral for the 12 adjective pairs listed in Tables 16 and 17 were 62.3 per cent and 53.5 per cent, respectively). The proportion of women portrayed as feminine (71.6%) was substantially higher than the proportion of men portrayed as masculine (43.0%), and there were no feminine men or masculine women.

Half or more of the Title characters were portrayed as clean, good, non-violent, competent, and active. About one-third were honest, predictable, wholesome, and sexually attractive. Leading characters were rather like Title characters but covered a broader range of traits, and more leading characters were portrayed negatively. Non-leading characters involved in aggression tended to be portrayed neutrally. (Since they were less central to the program, this is perhaps not surprising.)

When the data obtained about characters were considered as a whole, the impression is of stereotypes and black-and-white portrayals. The 12 traits in the adjective checklist on which more than 20 per cent of the characters were portrayed non-neutrally tend to be obvious and even blatant aspects of human character rather than complex and / or subtle aspects. This may reflect the quality of acting on television or the relatively short time available in which actors can develop the characters they portray. For whatever reason, the overall impression seems to be a bit more caricature than character. This general impression of stereotypes, black-and-white, "good guys – bad guys", et cetera varied somewhat by program category. Crime shows were more variable than other program categories in character image, role, and traits. Drama / medical shows were less variable than those in other program categories; characters in drama / medical shows tended to be portrayed uniformly positively. Most crime and drama / medical shows are one hour, so length would not account for the differences in character portrayed.

Law officers

The focus of this content analysis was on aggression and violence, and thus the portrayal of law officers was of particular interest. Some findings concerning the globe portrayal of police were discussed in Chapter Two of this report. Additional information was obtained about individual law officers, particularly in relation to violence.

Of the 899 characters coded, 90 or 10 per cent were law officers. Of these 90 law officers, 68 (75.6%) appeared in crime, 7 (7.8%) in children's, 5 (4.6%) in documentary, 3 (3.3%) in animated and in instruction / religion, and one in each of adventure, game, music / variety / talk, and situation comedy programs. Almost all (84 or 93.3%) of the 90 law officers were male.

In Table 18, the involvement of law officers in violence (its use, degree, and justification) is described. The coder noted whether each law officer played an appropriate non-violent role (16.7 per cent of law officers did so), refused to carry out the law in order to aid and abet (0), committed violence in the course of official duties (61.1%), committed violence in the course

of official duties but for private gain (0), committed violence but not in the course of official duties (10%), permitted others to commit violence out of cowardice (0), or "other or played no role with respect to violence" (12.2%).

Coders noted whether justification was given for the involvement of law officers in violence. For 25.6 per cent of the officers this item was irrelevant (violence was not committed). The actions of 63.3 per cent of the law officers were portrayed as justified, of 2.2 per cent as unjustified, and of 8.9 per cent as both justified and unjustified (i.e. mixed). Thus, in 85.1 per cent of the cases in which law officers committed violence, the violence was portrayed as justified.

Finally, coders noted the degree of violence committed by law officers. Only the level of violence which appeared necessary to accomplish their objective(s) was committed by 67.8 per cent of the law officers (and this accounted for 91.1 per cent of the law officers who did commit violence). Violence which appeared to go beyond what was necessary (i.e. brutality, and recognized as such on the screen) was committed by 2.2 per cent of the law officers (3.0 per cent of those committing violence), and "both or mixed" levels of violence were committed by 4.4 per cent of law officers (5.9 per cent of those committing violence).

In sum, the majority of law officers committed violence in the course of their official duties, this violence was almost always portrayed as justified, and it was only the degree of violence that appeared necessary for the law officer to accomplish his or her objective(s). Real-life data which would be strictly comparable would be difficult if not impossible to obtain. It is probable that many or even most law officers commit violence in the course of their official duties at some point in their careers, but it seems unlikely that most law officers do so in the time period covered by the television sample analyzed in this report. For example, the total number of shots fired by the entire Vancouver, B.C. police force in 1976 was four (three by one policeman on one occasion, one by another one on a separate occasion) (Hogarth, 1977).

Table 1

Proportion of characters of each sex in each program category
Title (n = 79) and leading (n = 563) characters

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Male	64.0%	75.0%	53.2%	58.2%	76.4%	66.7%	57.0%	57.1%	72.7%	57.1%	62.8%
Female	31.2	22.7	21.0	20.0	24.6	23.8	43.0	42.9	27.3	42.9	37.2
Implicit male	3.9	2.3	21.0	18.2	–	4.8	–	–	–		–
Implicit female	0.3	–	–	3.6	–	–	–	–	–		–
Uncodable	0.6	–	4.8	–	–	4.8	–	–		–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of characters	642	44	62	55	138	21	79	28	22	56	137

Non-leading characters involved in aggression (n = 256).

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Male	81.6%	100%	75%	63.6%	91.3%	72.2%	*	*	*	*	65.2%
Female	14.5	–	10.0	24.2	8.7	19.4	–	–	–	34.8	
Implicit male	1.6	–	5.0	6.1	–	2.8	–	–	–		–
Implicit female	1.2	–	5.0	–	–	5.6	–	–	–	–	–
Uncodable	1.2	–	5.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of characters	256	26	20	33	02	36	2*	7*	6*	11*	23

* The numbers of non-leading aggressive characters in these categories were too small to warrant statements about their proportionate breakdown by sex by program category. Of the 28 non-leading characters in these four categories 22 (78.6%), were male.

When title and leading characters were combined, there were more than twice as many male (64.0%) as female (31.2%) characters, averaged across all program categories.

Averaging across all program categories, the sex distribution of non-leading characters involved in aggression was even more disproportionate than the distribution of title and leading characters.

The program categories with the highest proportions of female title or leading characters were Drama / Medical (43.0%), Game (52.9%), Music / Variety / Talk (42.9%) and Situation comedy (37.2%).

Animated and children's shows had the greatest proportions of characters whose sex was implicit or not discernible. The vast majority of these characters were implicit males (denoted, for example, by voice or name).

Across all programs, when title and leading characters were considered together, the greatest single proportions of male and female characters were in the 19 to 40 age range.

This was even more true of female than of male characters.

There were very few male or female children, adolescents, or old people in the roles of leading or title characters. Indeed, the age range 19 to 64 included 80.1 per cent of the males and 81.1 per cent of the females.

All of the above statements held true for characters who were in neither title nor leading roles, but who were coded because they were involved in aggression.

Table 2

Proportion of title, leading, and non-leading aggressive characters of each sex in each age group

	Male	Female	Implicit male	Implicit female	Uncodable
Title (n = 79) and Leading (n = 563) characters combined					
Child—to 11 yrs	3.4%	3.5%	8.0%	50.0%	25.0%
Adolescent—12-18	11.7	11.5	–	–	25.0
Adult—19 to 40	46.2	58.5	4.0	–	–
Middle Aged—41-64	34.1	20.5	–	–	–
Old—65 and over	2.9	5.5	–	–	–
Ageless, uncodable	1.7	.5	88.0	50.0	50.0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	411	200	35	2	4
Non-leading characters (n = 256) involved in aggression					
Child	3.8%	8.1%	–	–	–
Adolescent	5.7	16.2	–	–	–
Adult	59.3	62.2	25.0	33.3	–
Middle-Aged	23.4	8.1	–	–	–
Old	2.4	–	–	–	–
Ageless, uncodable	5.3	5.4	75.0	66.7	100
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	209	37	4	3	3

Table 3

Proportion of characters in each age category for each program category

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Child	4.0	12.9	2.4	6.8	1.3	6.9	7.4	–	–	–	3.7
Adolescent	10.0	10.0	20.7	12.5	7.4	3.4	8.6	–	7.1	4.5	15.0
Adult 19-40	50.8	48.6	31.7	50.0	53.9	60.3	48.1	68.6	50.0	74.6	41.9
Middle-age 41-64	26.0	15.7	17.1	11.4	32.6	24.1	24.7	31.4	39.3	17.9	35.0
Old 65 +	3.1	1.4	3.7	2.3	3.9	–	7.4	–	–	3.0	3.1
Ageless uncodable	6.0	11.4	24.4	17.0	.9	5.2	3.7	–	3.6	–	1.2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of characters	899	70	82	88	230	58	81	35	28	67	160

Across all program categories, and within each category, the greatest single proportion of characters were in the 19-40 range.

There were no children in game, instruction / religion, or music / variety / talk shows and only 13 per cent of the characters in crime, 2.4 per cent of the characters in animated programs and 3.7 per cent of the characters in situation comedy programs were children. Even in non-animated children's shows, only 6.8 per cent of the characters were children.

Animated programs had the largest proportion (20.7%) of adolescents.

Characters in animated and situation comedy shows varied most in age.

Table 4

Proportion of characters of each sex for each age category, across program categories

	Child	Adolescent	Adult	Middle-age	Old	Ageless/ uncodable
Male	61.1	66.7	68.7	81.2	60.7	33.3
Female	27.8	32.2	30.6	18.8	39.3	5.6
Implicit male	5.6	–	0.4	–	–	46.3
Implicit female	2.8	–	0.2	–	–	5.6
Uncodable	2.8	1.1	–	–	–	9.3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	36	90	457	234	28	54

There were roughly twice as many males as females in all age groups, with the greatest difference occurring in the middle-aged adult (41-64) range.

Table 5

Characters' Marital Status
Proportion of male and female characters in each marital status category

	Mean	Male	Female	Implicit Male	Implicit Female	Uncodable
Married	14.9%	11.3%	25.7%	6.9%	20.0%	–
Was at one time married	3.2	2.1	6.3	–	20.0	–
Marries in story or expects to marry	0.3	0.3	0.4	–	–	–
Single	15.4	13.5	21.9	3.4	–	14.3
Marital Status unspecified	65.5	72.3	45.6	89.7	60.0	42.9
Not relevant	0.7	0.5	–	–	–	42.9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	899	621	237	29	5	7

Information about marital status was more likely to be revealed for female (54.4%) than for male (27.7%) characters, and this was also true for implicit females (40%) and implicit males (10.3%).

More of the female (21.9%) than male (13.5%) characters were portrayed as single; more of the females (25.7%) than the males (11.3%) were also portrayed as married.

Table 6

Proportion of human characters in each category as having family or close friends and associates

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Yes, explicit evidence	28.8%	26.9%	–	18.4%	27.5%	3.3%	34.3%	8.3%	–	21.4%	53.2%
Yes, implicit reference	3.8	–	–	2.6	2.3	–	17.1	4.2	19.2	–	1.8
No	67.5	73.1	–	78.9	70.2	96.7	48.6	87.5	80.8	78.6	45.0
	100%	100%	–	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of characters	504	26	–	38	171	30	35	24	26	42	111

Note: Not all human characters (504 of 774) were coded for this item.

Explicit or implicit evidence of family or close friends and associates was given most in situation comedy (55%) and drama or medical (51.4%) programs.

Averaging across program categories, two-thirds of all human characters were portrayed as social isolates.

Table 7

Proportion of human characters of each sex and status portrayed as having family or close friends and associates

	Male	Female	Title	Leading	Non-leading aggressive
Yes, explicit evidence	24.0%	40.7%	64.7%	32.5%	9.3%
Yes, implicit reference	3.9	3.4	3.9	5.0	1.3
No	72.1	55.9	31.4	62.6	89.3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of characters	359	145	51	302	150

Note: Not all human characters (504 of 774) were coded fop this item.

Explicit or implicit evidence of family or close friends and associates was given for a greater proportion of females (44.1%) then males (27.9%).

A much greater proportion (64.7%) of title than of leading (32.5%) or non-leading aggressive (9.3%) characters were portrayed as having family or close friends and associates. This would be expected, since title characters appear repeatedly in a television series. Furthermore, of the 51 title characters coded, 24 (47%) were in situation comedies, the program category with the highest portrayal of family and friends.

Table 8

Proportion of human characters at each income level for each program category

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Upper, elite, executive— e.g. physican	12.4%	17.7%	6.2%	1.6%	14.3%	12.2%	20.3%	–	10.7%	28.4%	12.5%
White-collar— e.g. teacher; police	25.2	17.7	12.5	21.9	41.3	34.1	10.1	40.0	28.6	25.4	20.0
Blue-collar— e.g. factory	9.9	6.5	25.0	4.7	7.0	17.1	19.0	5.7	–	1.5	12.5
Lower, poor	3.9	6.5	12.5	–	5.2	–	2.5	2.9	–	3.0	6.9
Student	9.9	9.7	31.3	14.1	5.2	–	12.7	2.9	7.1	1.5	14.4
Uncertain	38.7	41.9	12.5	57.8	27.0	36.6	35.4	48.6	53.6	40.3	33.7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of characters	782	62	16	64	230	41	79	35	28	67	160

Information about human characters' income level was most often given in animated (87.5%) and documentary programs (73.0%). It was least likely to be provided in children's (42.2%) and instruction / religion (46.4%) programs.

Averaging across all programs, very few characters were depicted as blue-collar workers (9.9%) or poor (3.9%). Indeed, more characters were portrayed as upper class or elite (12.4%).

The most equal distribution of characters across income level occurred in drama / medical and situation comedy programs.

Table 9

Character's social group membership
Social group membership of characters in each program category. (Note: Only groups including more than 1 percent of the total characters coded are included.)

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
United States, White	59.7%	31.4%	58.5%	40.9%	76.5%	39.7%	88.9%	34.3%	25.0%	58.2%	60.6%
Canada, English	6.5	15.7	–	8.0	3.0	3.4	–	20.0	28.6	1.5	9.4
North American White (where can't distinguish U.S. from Canada	7.6	10.0	–	13.6	7.0	1.7	7.4	37.1	10.7	1.5	5.6
Canada, French	1.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5.6
Native Indian, Inuit, Métis	1.7	–	–	–	2.6	8.6	–	2.9	–	1.5	1.2
North American, Black	6.9	4.3	12.2	4.5	5.7	–	–	5.7	14.3	9.0	12.5
British	1.7	1.4	1.2	–	0.4	3.4	1.2	–	3.6	7.5	1.9
Spanish-speaking North, Central or South American	1.7	–	–	–	2.6	8.6	–	2.9	–	1.5	1.2
Arab or Turk	1.1	–	–	1.1	0.4	13.8	–	–	–	–	–
Lost race	1.1	14.3	–	–		.	–	–	–	–	
Inapplicable or can't determine	6.0	10.0	25.6	23.9	–	8.6	–	–	–	–	–
Others, each less than 1% total	9.0	12.9	2.5	8.0	4.4	20.8	2.5	–	17.8	20.8	8.8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The vast majority (73.3%) of characters were white North Americans (U.S., Canadian or indistinguishable).
   Only 1 per cent of the characters were French Canadians.

Fewer than 1 per cent of the characters (2 of 899 or 0.2%) were of Italian background.

Table 10

Character roles by program category
Proportion of characters in each "role" for each program category

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	C/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Cannot code	12.3%	14.3%	7.3%	14.7%	12.2%	15.5%	2.5%	45.7%	25.0%	13.4%	6.9%
Good guy protagonist hero	45.8	40.0	40.2	47.7	44.8	20.7	64.2	37.1	53.6	46.3	51.9
Mixed, neither, uncertain	27.8	18.6	31.7	23.9	20.0	44.8	32.1	17.1	21.4	34.3	35.6
Bad guy, antagonist, villain	14.0	27.1	20.7	13.6	23.0	19.0	1.2	–	–	6.0	6.3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	899	70	82	88	230	58	81	35	28	67	160

Across all programs there were substantially more "good guys" (45.8%) than "bad guys" (14.0%).
   Adventure (27.1%), crime (23.0%), and animated (20.0%) programs had the highest proportions of "bad guys". There were no characters portrayed as villains in game or instruction / religion shows, and few in drama / medical (1.2%), music / variety / talk (6.0%) and situation comedy (6.3%) shows.
   Drama / medical (64.2%), instruction / religion (53.6%) and situation comedy (51.9%) programs had the highest proportions of "good guys".

Table 11

Character roles, by sex
Proportion of males and females in each role

	Male	Female	Implicit Male	Implicit Female	Uncodable
Cannot code	13.2%	8.4%	17.2%	60.0%	14.3%
Good guy, protagonist, hero	43.5	55.7	27.6	20.0	14.3
Mixed, neither, uncertain	26.2	30.8	34.5	20.0	42.9
Bad guy, antagonist, villain	17.1	5.1	20.7	–	28.6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	621	237	29	5	7

A greater proportion of female (55.7%) than male (43.5%) characters were portrayed as "heroes", and somewhat fewer females (5.1%) were portrayed as villains (versus 17.1% of males). Indeed, of the 126 "bad guys" coded, 84.1 per cent were male and only 9.5 per cent were female (4.8 per cent were implicit males and 1.6 per cent were uncodable for sex).

Table 13

Punishment of characters, by sex
Proportion of males and females receiving certain types of punishment. (Note: Where punishment was explicitly shown to be a consequence of violence or illegal acts.)

	Male	Female	Implicit Male	Implicit Female	Uncodable
Not appropriate	86.2%	96.2%	89.7%	100.0%	85.7%
Punishment unclear	8.7	2.5	3.4	–	–
Jail short-term (less than two years)	0.2	–	–	–	.
Jail long-term (more than two years but less than life)	0.2	–	–	–	.
Life-imprisonment	–	–		–	–
Jail, no term indicated	0.5	0.4	–	–	–
Reprimand, scolding	1.1	0.8	–	–	–
Spanking or physical punishment	0.5	–	–	–	–
Withdrawal of privileges	0.5	–	–	–	–
Probation	0.3	–	–	–	
Revenge	–	–		–	
Loses job because of crime	–	–	–	–	–
Death	1.9	–	6.9	–	14.3
Punishment by super-natural power	–	–		–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	621	237	29	5	7

A total of 15 characters, all male (one uncodable for sex) were shown to be punished by death, but no character received life-imprisonment as a punishment.

Punishment was appropriate for 13.8 per cent of the male characters, 3.8 per cent of the females, and 10.3 per cent of the implicit males. In these cases where punishment would have been appropriate (because of illegal acts), in most cases it was not clear that punishment was given for males (63.0 per cent of the appropriate cases, i.e., 8.7% / 13.8%) and for females (65.8%).

Table 12

Character roles, by status
Proportion of title, leading, and non-leading aggressive characters in each role

	Title	Leading	Non-Leading Aggressive
Cannot code	–	7.8%	26.2%
Good guy protagonist, hero	78.5	54.4	17.2
Mixed, neither, uncertain	20.3	27.7	30.1
Bad guy antagonist, villain	1.4	10.1	26.6
	100%	100%	100%
Number	79	563	256

Almost all (78.5%) title characters were portrayed as "good guys" or heroes.

A much higher proportion of the leading characters (those essential to the story) were heroes (54.4%) than villains (17.2%).

More of the non-leading characters who were involved in aggression (and therefore had character profiles coded) were portrayed as villains (26.6%) than as heroes (17.2%).

Table 14

Character image
Proportion of characters in each program category portrayed with certain images.

Program categories.

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Unqualified success	31.6%	32.8%	12.5%	46.7%	24.3%	15.4%	35.0%	13.3%	55.6%	50.0%	28.6%
Unqualified but human success	31.8	22.4	50.0	18.3	27.0	15.4	45.0	33.3	44.4	20.0	49.2
Qualified success	19.8	29.3	12.5	21.7	16.2	7.7	20.0	46.7	–	20.0	14.3
Qualified failure	7.3	8.6	6.2	1.7	8.1	53.8	–	–	–	10.0	7.9
Unqualified failure	8.9	6.9	18.8	10.0	23.0	7.7	–	6.7	–	--	
Uncodable	0.6	–	–	1.7	1.4		–	–	–	–	--
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	358	58	16	50	74	13	40	15	9	10	63

More than in any other program category, characters in crime programs were portrayed with widely varying images. There were approximately equal proportions of unqualified successes (24.3%), unqualified but human successes (27.0%) and unqualified failures (27.0%), in crime shows. Adventure shows had the next most broadly varied set of character images.

No characters were portrayed as unqualified failures in situation comedy, music / variety / talk, instruction / religion, or drama / medical programs, and in the latter three categories, there were also no characters portrayed as qualified failures. (Indeed, in instruction / religion shows there were not even any qualified successes.)

In animated (50%), situation comedy (49.2%), and drama / medical (45.0%) programs the greatest proportion of characters were portrayed as unqualified but human successes.

In instruction / religion (55.6%), music / variety / talk (50%), and children's (46.7%), shows, the greatest proportion of characters were portrayed as unqualified successes.

Crime (23.0%) and animated (18.8%) programs had the greatest proportion of characters portrayed as unqualified failures.

Table 15

Proportion of characters of each sex and status portrayed with certain images

	Mean	Male	Female	Implicit male	Implicit female	Uncod-able	Title	Leading	Non-leading aggressive
Unqualified success	31.6%	30.6%	34.6%	33.3%	–	33.3%	50.0%	35.4%	19.2%
Unqualified but human success	31.8	29.5	40.7	26.7	100	–	37.5	36.6	19.2
Qualified success	19.8	20.9	18.5	13.3	–	–	6.2	17.7	27.3
Qualified failure	7.3	8.1	2.5	13.3	–	33.3	6.2	4.5	14.1
Unqualified failure	8.9	10.9	2.5	13.3	–	–	–	5.8	18.2
Uncodable	0.6	–	1.2	–	–	33.3	–	–	2.0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number	358	258	81	15	1	3	16	243	99

In general, women were portrayed more positively than men; 75.3 per cent of the women but only 60.1 per cent of the men were portrayed as unqualified or unqualified but human successes.

Non-leading characters who were coded because they were involved in aggression tended to have more negative images than title or leading characters.

Half the title characters were portrayed as unqualified successes.

Table 16

Character portrayal: adjective checklist

Proportion of characters in each program category portrayed with certain traits. (Only traits on which greater than 20 percent of all characters were coded as non-neutral are included in this list. The neutral proportions for each adjective pair have been omitted.)

	MEAN	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Emotional	11.7	13.8	–	15.0	6.8	23.1	20.0	13.3	–	–	11.1
Unemotional	10.1	19.0	6.2	10.0	12.2	7.7	12.5	–	22.2	10.0	–
Dishonest	8.7	15.5	12.5	5.0	14.9	7.7	–	6.7	–	–	6.3
Honest	18.7	17.2	–	8.3	29.7	–	30.0	–	22.2	–	25.4
Feminine	16.2	12.1	6.2	15.0	9.5	23.1	27.5	20.0	11.1	10.0	23.8
Masculine	31.0	32.8	6.2	15.0	43.2	30.8	32.5	13.3	66.7	20.0	36.5
Unpredictable	1.4	–	–	1.7	–	–	–	–	–	–	6.3
Predictable	29.1	25.9	31.3	28.3	28.4	7.7	45.0	–	44.4	10.0	34.9
Unwholesome	4.7	3.4	18.8	6.7	6.8	–	–	–	–	–	4.8
Wholesome	19.6	25.9	–	16.7	13.5	7.7	25.0	–	–	20.0	34.9
Dirty	3.4	5.2	12.5	1.7	4.1	–	–	–	11.1	10.0	1.6
Clean	53.6	51.7	31.3	46.7	47.3	46.2	75.0	60.0	77.8	50.0	58.7
Bad	9.5	15.5	25.0	8.3	18.9	–	–	–	–	–	3.2
Good	44.1	44.8	12.5	50.0	39.2	7.7	75.0	–	44.4	30.0	52.4
Violent	14.8	15.5	31.3	21.7	23.0	23.1	–	6.7	–	10.0	6.3
Non-violent	40.5	32.8	43.8	50.0	20.3	7.7	87.5	40.0	66.7	30.0	36.5
Sexually unattractive	3.9	5.2	6.2	6.7	2.7	–	–	–	11.1	10.0	3.2
Sexually attractive	26.8	22.4	6.2	15.0	24.3	30.8	47.5	26.7	44.4	30.0	33.3
Incompetent	2.8	5.2	25.0	1.7	1.4	–	–	6.7	–	–	–
Competent	19.3	19.0	18.8	11.7	31.1	23.1	27.5	–	33.3	–	12.7
Boring	1.1	–	–	1.7	1.4	–	–	–	–	–	3.2
Interesting	36.6	19.0	18.8	15.0	43.2	23.1	67.5	13.3	33.3	80.0	52.4
Passive	3.1	3.4	–	6.7	4.1	7.7	–	–	–	–	1.6
Active	48.6	46.6	75.0	20.0	45.9	46.2	70.0	40.0	33.3	80.0	60.3
Number of characters	358	58	16	60	74	13	40	15	9	10	63

Table 17

Character portrayal: adjective checklist
Proportion of characters of each sex and status portrayed with certain traits. (Only traits on which greater than 20 percent of all characters were non-neutral are included in this list.)

	Male	Female	Implicit male	Title	Leading	Non-Leading aggressive	Mean
Emotional	8.9%	18.5%	26.7%		14.0%	8.1%	11.7%
Unemotional	12.4	4.9	–	12.5	7.8	15.2	10.1
Dishonest	10.5	3.7	6.7	–	8.2	11.1	8.7
Honest	19.4	19.8	6.7	31.3	23.9	4.0	18.7
Feminine	–	71.6	–	12.5	18.9	10.1	16.2
Masculine	43.0	–	–	25.0	31.7	30.3	31.0
Unpredictable	1.9	–	–		1.6	1.0	1.4
Predicable	27.1	35.8	20.0	37.5	32.9	18.2	29.1
Unwholesome	5.8	1.2	6.7	–	4.1	7.1	4.7
Wholesome	16.7	32.1	6.7	37.5	22.2	10.1	19.6
Dirty	4.3	1.2	–	–	3.3	4.0	3.4
Clean	47.7	79.0	26.7	68.8	62.6	29.3	53.6
Bad	11.6	2.5	13.3		6.6	18.2	9.5
Good	42.6	53.1	33.3	75.0	51.0	22.2	44 1
Violent	16.7	6.2	26.7	12.5	9.9	27.3	14.8
Non-violent	36.0	53.1	53.3	56.3	51.0	12.1	40.5
Sexually unattractive	4.3	2.5	–	–	3.7	5.1	3.9
Sexually attractive	20.5	53.1	–	31.3	31.7	14.1	26.8
Incompetent	2.7	–	20.0	–	3.7	1.0	2.8
Competent	22.1	9.9	26.7	50.0	22.6	6.1	17.3
Boring	.8	2.5	–	–	.8	2.0	1.1
Interesting	35.3	45.7	20.0	68.8	44.9	11.1	36.6
Passive	3.1	2.5	6.7	–	2.1	6.1	3.1
Active	50.0	44.4	46.7	75.0	56.0	26.3	48.6
Number of characters	258	81	15	16	243	99	358

Note: For each adjective pair and group, the proportion of characters portrayed negatively, positively, and neutrally or not portrayed (not in the table) totals 100 per cent.

Table 18

The role of violence in the portrayal of law officers (n = 90), and degree and justification of violence.

Law Officers' Role	Mean	Justification	Mean	Degree	Mean
		If violence was committed by law officers, their actions were portrayed as:		If the law officers played a role in violence, they committed:	
Appropriate non-violent role	16.7%	justified	63.3%	only the level of violence necessary to accomplish their objective	67.8%
Commit violence in course of official duties	61.1%	unjustified	2.2%	violence going beyond the necessary (portrayed as brutality)	2.2%
Commit violence not in course of official duties	10.0%	both justified and unjustified	8.9%	both, mixed	4.4%
Other or play no role	12.2%	violence not committed	25.6%	did not play a role	25.6%
	100%		100%		100%

It was common for law officers to commit violence; 74.4 per cent of all law officers did so. Only 16.7 per cent of the law officers were portrayed as playing an appropriate non-violent role.

When violence was committed by law officers, it was almost always portrayed as justified (85.1%, which is 63.3% / 74.4%).

When violence was committed by law officers only the level of violence that appeared necessary to accomplish their objectives was used in almost all cases (91.1%, or 67.8% / 74.7%).

Chapter Four

Program Context, Episode Settings, and Production Techniques

In both the long and short coding formats, the coder obtained information about the setting and context of the program. Additional, more specific information was obtained for each episode about the setting and production techniques used.

Program context: date of the major action and reality level

The approximate date at which the majority of the program was shown to take place is illustrated for each program category in Table 8. The vast majority of all programs (81.7%) were set in the present (defined as 1965 to the present). The drama / medical and documentary categories had the highest proportion of programs not occurring in the present (33.3% and 40%, respectively), but in absolute numbers there were more situation comedies (6 of 24) set at a time other than the present. Of the 100 non-animated programs, only three were set prior to World War II; an additional nine were set between World War II and 1965.

Program context in terms of reality level is shown by program category in Table 9. Averaging across all categories, most programs (77.1%) claimed to depict reality (21.1%) or were plausible fiction (56.0%). Crime, documentary, drama / medical, instruction / religion, and situation comedy programs fell entirely within these two levels of reality. Programming aimed broadly at children (the children's, animated, and adventure categories) varied most in program reality. Across all categories, the largest single proportion of programs was plausible fiction (56%). This is not surprising, given the emphasis for television in general, and in the tone of this sample of programs, on entertainment.

Episodes
Physical setting

The general physical setting of episodes is shown in Table 3. Averaging across all program categories, the usual general physical setting was an urban environment on earth (44.0%), with suburban settings second in frequency (26.6%). It is interesting to note that proportionately more episodes occurred in an uninhabited area (12.0%) than in a small town, village, or farm setting (5.6%). Instruction / religion (48.6%, largely due to *Wild Kingdom*), animated (32.8%), documentary (29.4%) and children's (21.4%) programs ranked highest in the use of uninhabited areas for episode settings. The adventure (30.2%), game (25.0%), and drama / medical (22.4%) categories had the highest proportions of episodes set in small town, village, or farm areas. Situation comedy episodes were set equally often in urban (37.7%) and suburban (38.4%), but crime show episodes were more often set in urban (57.4%), than in suburban (37.1%) areas.

The specific physical settings in which episodes occurred are outlined by program category in Table 4. Averaging across all program categories, 42.8 per cent of the episodes occurred outdoors, and 45.8 per cent occurred in the indoor settings listed in Table 4 (8.6 per cent occurred in "other" settings, most of which would be indoors). Relative to other program categories, documentaries (63.9%), instruction / religion (62.1%, because of *Wild Kingdom*), animated (61.6%), and childrens' (59.5%) shows had high proportions of outdoor episodes. Extremely few (2.7%) situation comedy episodes occurred outdoors. About one-third of drama / medical (31.0%) and crime (36.6%) show episodes occurred outdoors. The extremely low proportion of outdoor episodes in situation comedies is intriguing; intuitively, one would expect a proportion comparable to that for drama / medical shows.

Situation comedies had the highest proportion of episodes (28.1%) set in private houses; drama / medical shows were roughly comparable (20.0%). Situation comedies also had the highest proportion of episodes set in apartments (23.3%), but drama / medical shows were in this case not comparable (5.2%). As expected, crime

shows (9.2%) had the highest proportion of episodes set in police stations. The finding that only 0.3% of episodes occurred in a factory, whereas 6.0% occurred in an office building, fits in with the finding that blue-collar workers were less often portrayed (9.9%) of all characters) than white-collar (25.2%) or upper, elite or executive workers (12.4%).

Geographical location
The geographical location of episodes is outlined by program category in Table 5. Averaging across all program categories, 71.3 per cent of the episodes occurred in the United States. Although 24 of the 109 programs (22%) studied were produced in Canada, almost as many episodes occurred in Africa (5.7%) as in Canada.

As might be expected, documentary episodes had the widest range of geographical location. Crime show episodes occurred geographically in roughly the same distribution as their production source; 94.8 per cent of the episodes were set in the U.S. and 95.2 per cent (20 of 21) of the crime shows were produced in the U.S., whereas 4.8% of the episodes were set in Canada, the same proportion as that for the crime shows themselves (1 of 21). This indicates that the geographical location of televised crime shows varies little, a finding that does not seem entirely self-evident if one considers movies (e.g. *The French Connection*) or novels (e.g. *Day of the Jackal*).

City and state or province of setting
The specific cities and states or provinces in which episodes occurred are shown by program category in Table 6. Crime and situation comedy episodes covered the greatest variety of cities and states or provinces. Nevertheless, 37.8 per cent of all crime show episodes could be identified as occurring in Los Angeles, San Francisco, or New York, and these were 88.1 per cent of all crime show episodes for which city could be determined. The comparable proportions for situation comedy episodes were 20.6 per cent and 50.6 per cent. Averaging across all program categories, 18.9 per cent of all episodes occurred in California, and these were 54.5 per cent of all episodes for which state or province was mentioned.

Time of day of setting
The times of day at which episodes occurred are outlined by program category in Table 7. Averaging across all program categories, the greatest proportion of episodes (57.4%) occurred in the afternoon, and this held true within every program category. Time of day at which episodes occurred varied most in crime shows and documentaries. Adventure programs had the highest proportion of episodes (86.5%) occurring in the afternoon. Crime shows (15.7%), documentaries 15.1%), and situation comedies (14.4%) had the highest proportions of episodes occurring at sometime during the morning. Situation comedies (22.6%) had the highest proportion of episodes occurring during the early evening. In all program categories, very few episodes occurred late at night. Music / variety / talk (24.0%) and crime (21.1%) programs had the highest proportions of episodes occurring between about 8 and 11 p.m. in the evening. Animated (8.5%) and situation comedy (6.8%) programs had the highest proportion of episodes occurring at meal-times.

Production techniques
A relatively simple breakdown of production techniques was included in the coding format and used to obtain for each episode. The use of production techniques is outlined by program category in Table 8.

Averaging across program categories, music was used in slightly more than half (58.5%) of the 1548 episodes coded. Music was used in almost all (90.4%) animated show episodes and in three-quarters of game shows. Comedies (15.8%) made very little use of music.

For each episode, the coder noted whether the photography involved high (looking down), eye-level, and / or low camera angles (more than one could be used per episode). Almost all episodes (94.5%) involved the use of eye-level camera shots. Instruction / religion programs were relatively high (65.5%) in the use of a high camera angle, whereas this technique was used relatively little in adventure (13.5%) and game (12.5%) episodes. Documentary programs had the highest proportion of episodes containing low camera angles (29.4%) whereas music / variety / talk (8.0%), situation comedy (8.2%), and adventure (10.4%) programs made relatively little use of low camera angles.

Medium range photographic shots were used in almost all episodes (86.6%), and close-ups were used in about half (52.3%) the episodes. There were very few multiple images (0.1%). Extreme long shots were included in the coding format but the data were not sufficiently reliable. Close-ups were used relatively extensively (75.9%) in drama / medical episodes and a bit less-than-average in situation comedies (40.4%). This is not surprising, since close-up photography would be expected to be used more often in dramatic fiction where the tone is serious, than in dramatic fiction where the tone is funny. Documentary programs contained the least variation (56.0%) in the spatial aspect of the episodes coded, and drama / medical (86.2%) and game programs (87.5%, but since only eight game episodes were coded for setting this is probably a less stable finding) contained the greatest variation in the spatial aspect of photography.

Crime programs had the smallest proportion of episodes (69.1%) where the level of lighting was medium, and a relatively high proportion of episodes (21.2%) where the lighting was low (only documentaries ranked higher, 29.0%).

In contrast, situation comedies had a relatively high proportion of episodes with a high lighting level (24.7%),

a comparable proportion of episodes with medium lighting (69.9%), and a relatively low proportion of episodes with low lighting (7.5%). The level of lighting increased and decreased in about the same proportions of crime (4.8%, 4.2%), children's (4.8%, 4.8%) and documentary (6.3%, 6.7%) episodes.

The coder noted for each episode whether the camera action was regular, accelerated, slow motion, or a combination of these. Accelerated camera action was used fairly extensively (35.6%) in animated episodes, as was a combination of camera actions (35.6%). These tend to be features of such programs. In the non-animated program categories, adventure (6.2% slow, 6.2% combination), documentary (3.6% combination), and instruction / religion (3.4% slow, 3.4% combination) episodes ranked highest in the use of non-regular camera actions.

Table 1

Program context: date of the major action.

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Before 1900	3.7%	–	33.3%	–	–	–	11.1%	–	–	–	–
1900 to WW II	1.8	14.3	–	–	–	–	11.1	–	–	–	–
WW II to 1965	7.3	–	–	–	4.8	20.0	11.1	–	–	–	25.0
1965 to present	81.7	85.7	66.7	90.0	95.2	60.0	66.7	100%	88.9	100%	75.0
Spans WW II to present	.9	–	–	–	–	20.0	–	–	11.1	–	–
Spans 1900 to present	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Future	.9	–	–	10.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Number of programs	109	7	9	10	21	5	9	5	9	10	24

The vast majority (81.7%) of programs were set in the present (1965 to present). Drama / medical programs varied most in the date of major action.

Table 2

Program context: reality level

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Claim to depict reality	21.1%	–	–	–	9.5%	80.0%	–	100%	100%	40.0%	–
Plausible fiction	56.0	57.1	11.1	20.0	90.5	20.0	100%	–	–	20.0	100%
Plausible setting, mixed real and fantastic characters	3.7	–	11.1	30.0	–	–					–
Plausible setting, fantastic characters	2.8	28.6	–	10.0				-			
Fantastic, implausible	10.1	14.3	66.7	40.0	–	–	–		-		--
Mixed	1.8	–	11.1	–	–	–	–	–	–	10.0	–
Variety show	2.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	30.0	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of programs	109	7	9	10	21	5	9	5	9	10	24

Most programs (77.1%) claimed to depict reality or were plausible fiction. Situation comedies, instruction / religion, game, drama / medical, documentary, and crime programs fell entirely within these two reality categories. The greatest variety in program reality was found in programming aimed broadly at children (the animated, children's and adventure categories).

Table 3

General physical setting of episodes.

Earth	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Urban	44.0%	15.6%	20.3%	25.0%	57.4%	45.2%	39.7%	12.5%	37.9%	76.0%	37.7%
Suburban	26.6	35.4	19.8	14.3	37.1	2.8	20.7	62.5	3.5	–	38.4
Village/farm	5.6	30.2	4.5	8.3	0.4	7.9	22.4	25.0	–	16.0	–
Uninhabited area (desert, ocean)	12.0	10.4	32.8	21.4	0.9	29.4	3.4	–	58.6	–	–
Beach, docks	1.0	–	–	–	1.6	–	–	–	–	–	3.4
Mobile setting (plane, car)	2.7	8.3	0.6	3.6	2.1	6.3	–	–	–	–	–
Prehistoric	1.3	–	10.7	1.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mixed earth settings	1.7	–	8.5	–	–	4.8	–	–	–	–	–
Institution (prison, army camp)	3.0	–	–	–	0.3	2.4	13.8	–	–	–	20.5
other planet or space travel vehicles	0.8	–	0.6	15.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other, uncodable	1.3	–	2.2	10.7	0.1	1.2	–	–	–	8.0	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of episodes	1548	96	177	84	673	252	58	8	29	25	146

Table 4

Specific physical setting in which episodes occurred.

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Indoors, total not including "others"	45.8%	42.6%	31.8%	17.9%	47.3%	30.3%	62.1%	12.5%	27.5%	72.0%	93.2%
Private house	13.9	5.2	17.5	2.4	16.6	3.6	20.7	–	3.4	8.0	28.1
Apartment	5.9	1.0	–	–	6.8	2.4	5.2	–	–	8.0	23.3
Hospital	3.7	11.5	–	–	3.9	2.4	19.0	–	–	–	2.1
School	0.8	1.0	2.8	1.2	–	–	1.7	–	–	–	2.7
Police station	4.8	3.1	–	1.2	9.2	2.8	–	–	–	–	0.7
Office building	6.0	–	4.0	2.4	5.8	11.9	8.6	–	–	8.0	5.5
Small business	2.3	5.2	2.3	1.2	1.3	0.4	5.2	–	–	4.0	8.2
Factory	0.3	1.0	0.6	–	0.1	–	–	–	–	–	0.7
"Military" control centre	1.0	14.6	–	–	–	0.4	–	–	–	–	–
Theatre or TV studio	2.8	–	0.6	–	1.3	5.6	–	12.5	24.1	44.0	–
Pool hall/bowling alley	1.5	–	4.0	–	1.3	–	–	–	–	–	4.8
Restaurant	0.6	–	–	2.4	0.7	–	1.7	–	–	–	0.7
Airport, bus depot, train station	0.6	–	–	7.1	0.3	0.8	–	–	–	–	–
Military setting	1.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16.4
Ship, yacht	0.6	5.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3.4
Outdoors	42.8	49.0	61.6	59.5	36.6	63.9	31.0	50.0	62.1	20.0	2.7
Mixed	2.2	1.0	3.4	1.2	2.5	2.4	3.4	12.5	–	–	–
Other, uncodable.	8.6	2.2	3.2	21.4	13.6	3.4	3.5	25.0	10.4	8.0	0.7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of episodes	1548	96	177	84	673	252	58	8	29	25	146

Table 5

Geographical location in which episodes occurred.

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
USA	71.3%	45.8%	55.4%	58.3%	94.8%	36.9%	100%	25.0%	17.2%	80.0%	66.4%
Canada	7.8	39.6	–	1.2	4.8	6.3	–	75.0	20.7	16.0	12.3
Fantasyland, Prehistoric or uncharted land	3.5	11.5	19.8	9.5	–		–		–	–	–
Africa	5.7	–	6.2	–	–	25.0	–	–	51.7	–	–
Austria	2.5	–	–	–	–	15.5	–	–	–	–	–
Germany	1.3	–	–	–	–	2.4	–	–	–	–	9.6
Great Britain	0.6	–	–	–	–	3.6	–	–	3.4	–	–
France	0.8	–	1.1	–	–	4.0	–	–	–	–	–
Korea	1.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11.0
Scandinavia	0.6	–	–	7.1	–	0.4	–	–	–	4.0	–
Uncodable	2.5	–	13.5	8.4	0.1	2.0	–	–	–	–	0.7
Other (each less than 5% mean)	2.4	3.1	4.0	15.5	0.3	3.9	–	–	7.0	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of episodes	1548	96	177	84	673	252	58	8	29	25	146

Table 6

Specific city and state or province in which episodes occurred.
(Note: Only places occurring in more than one program category are listed.)

City	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
No. of episodes coded	1548	96	177	84	673	252	58	8	29	25	146
Not mentioned	64.5%	55.2%	79.7%	96.4%	57.1%	71.0%	53.4%	37.5%	75.9%	68.0%	59.6%
Los Angeles	8.4	–	–	–	16.6	–	10.3	–	–	12.0	62.
San Francisco	5.7	–	–	–	12.3	–	–	–	–	–	4.1
New York	5.6	–	4.5	2.4	8.9	.4	–	–	–	–	10.3
Washington	.8	12.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4.0	–
Toronto	2.8	–	–	12.0	4.8	–	–	–	3.4	–	6.8
Bakersfield	.2	–	–	–	.3	–	–	–	–	4.0	–
State or Province											
Not mentioned	65.3%	59.4%	91.0%	96.4%	54.4%	71.8%	86.2%	25.0%	31.0%	60.0%	61.0%
California	18.9	–	–	–	28.1	27.8	13.8 :	–	–	20.0	14.4
New York	5.6	–	4.5	2.4	8.9	.4	–	–	–	–	10.3
Ontario	2.8	–	–	1.2	4.8	–	–	–	3.4	–	6.8
District of Columbia	1.8	28.1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4.0	–
British Columbia	.8	10.4	–	–	–	–	–	12.5	3.4	–	–
Quebec	.3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4.0	2.7
Maryland	.2	2.1	–	–	–	–	–	12.5	–	–	–

Table 7

Setting: time of day at which episodes occurred

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Morning before dawn	.1%	–	–	–	.4%	–	–	–	–	–	–
Dawn	2.1	–	–	2.4	4.2	1.2	–	–	–	–	–
Breakfast	.3	–	–	–	.3	.8	–	–	–	–	–
Morning	9.9	7.3	5.6	1.2	10.8	13.1	8.6	–	10.3	–	14.4
Lunch hour	1.0	2.1	1.7	–	.7	.4	1.7	–	–	–	2.7
Afternoon	57.4	86.5	66.7	66.7	53.9	55.2	60.3	62.5	86.2	24.0	40.4
Supper hour	1.8	–	6.8	–	1.3	.4	–	–	–	–	4.1
Evening (early)	7.2	3.1	9.1	1.2	5.9	2.0	15.5	12.5	–	12.0	22.6
8-11 p.m.	14.1	1.0	9.0	–	21.1	12.7	5.2	–	–	24.0	13.0
Late night	1.1	–	–	–	1.3	.4	5.2	–	–	–	2.7
Not specific or can't code	5.0	2.1	.6	28.6	.7	13.5	3.4	25.0	3.4	40.0	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of episodes	1548	96	177	84	673	252	58	8	29	25	146

Across all programs the greatest proportion of episodes occurred in the afternoon (57.4%), and this held true within every program category.

Crime shows had the greatest variety of times at which episodes occurred.

Table 8

Production techniques used for episodes

	Mean	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Music											
music used	58.5%	58.3%	90.4%	65.5%	61.5%	50.8%	50.0%	75.0%	65.5%	50.0%	15.8%
no music	41.5	41.7	9.6	34.5	38.5	49.2	40.0	25.0	34.5	40.0	84.2
Camera Angle (more than one could be used per episode)											
high (look down)	28.7	13.5	29.4	22.6	28.5	38.9	20.7	12.5	65.5	28.0	21.9
eye-level	94.5	100	95.5	94.0	95.5	85.7	100	100	79.3	100	100
low (look up)	19.6	10.4	16.9	21.4	21.0	29.4	17.2	12.5	20.7	8.0	8.2
Spatial aspect (more than one could be used per episode)											
medium spot	86.6	94.8	70.1	71.4	92.6	67.5	98.3	100	69.0	100	100
close-up	52.3	54.2	41.8	54.8	57.9	43.7	75.9	62.5	48.6	48.0	40.4
multiple image	0.1	–	–	–	–	0.8	–	–	–	–	–
Variation in spatial aspect											
constant	28.3	26.0	32.2	28.6	22.6	44.0	13.8	12.5	31.0	20.0	31.5
varies	71.7	74.0	67.8	71.4	77.4	56.0	86.2	87.5	69.0	80.0	68.5
Lighting level (more than one could be checked per episode)											
high	13.0	–	14.1	11.9	16.8	1.2	8.6	25.0	–	28.0	24.7
medium	76.1	93.8	84.7	84.5	69.1	79.0	82.8	75.0	100	72.0	69.9
low	16.1	5.2	2.3	7.1	21.2	29.0	10.3	–	3.4	–	7.5
Variation in lighting level											
light increases	3.8	–	1.0	4.8	4.8	6.3	–	–	3.4	–	2.7
light decreases	3.5	1.0	1.1	4.8	4.2	6.7	1.7	12.5	–	–	–
Camera action											
regular	99.4	99.0	99.4	98.8	99.6	99.6	100	100	100	100	98.6
accelerated	4.8	2.1	35.6	2.4	–	3.2	–	–	–	–	–
slow motion	0.6	6.2	0.6	–	0.1	–	–	–	–	3.4	–
combination	5.2	6.2	35.6	1.2	0.1	3.6	–	–	3.4	–	–
Number of episodes	1548	96	177	84	673	252	58	8	29	25	146

Chapter Five

Introduction to Episode Data

After a program was analyzed for its content, coders summarized the data by indicating various frequencies of episode occurrence and durations of the same. These data are summarized in Tables 1 and 2. More detailed information regarding the data in these tables will be presented in forthcoming chapters. This chapter will outline the general findings.

In our coding format, a variety of forms of conflict were investigated. Several forms of conflict were considered to differ in degree and to form a continuum. In particular, an episode could be coded as containing no conflict, argument, conflict, or aggression, the proportions of these totalled 100 per cent for each program. Lower levels of conflict were superseded by more severe conflict, for example, if an episode contained verbal abuse it was coded as an aggressive episode; if the verbal abuse occurred in an argument this was noted by coding the context of the aggression as "argument". If there was no verbal abuse or other form of aggression the same episode would have been coded as an argument. Column four of Table 1 indicates the percentage of episodes *not* containing any conflict. Instruction/religious shows (91.0%) and children's non-animated shows (81.7%) contained the greatest proportionate number of non-conflict episodes while situation comedies (42.0%) and game shows (63.3%) contained the least.

The categories displaying the greatest proportionate number of aggressive episodes (column six) were situation comedies (40.0%), crime shows (27%) and

animated shows (27.8%). As column eight illustrates, these three categories also displayed a reasonable proportion of conflict episodes (that is, *non*-aggressive conflict): situation comedies – 15.0%, crime shows – 9.9%, animated shows – 4.8%. However, the program category which contained the most conflict was game shows (26.5%). Drama/medical programs also portrayed a fair amount of non-aggressive conflict (10.3%). Considering both aggressive and non-aggressive episodes of conflict (column nine), program categories ranked as follows (from highest to lowest proportions):

1 Situation comedies	55.0%
2 Crime shows	36.9%
3 Game shows	36.7%
4 Animated shows	32.6%
5 Music/variety/talk	23.7%
6 Adventure shows	22.4%
7 Documentaries	19.6%
8 Drama/medical	17.2%
9 Children's non-animated	14.9%
10 Instruction/religious	7.7%

With the exception of game shows, it can be seen that the same program categories (situation comedy, crime and animated) tend to be high in both aggression *and* non-aggressive conflict.

Drama/medical shows had the highest proportion of arguments not superseded by more severe conflict (4.4%), although again, situation comedies (3%) and crime shows (2.9%) did contain some argument episodes. Finally, another form of aggression that was considered was "harm-to-self" (column thirteen), where aggressor and victim were the same individual. Harm-to-self episodes were categorized as aggressive and included in the episode frequency and duration data under aggression, but were also tallied and timed separately. Here it is clear that animated shows were highest in the depiction of this form of aggression (10.5%). The chapter on aggressive episodes will describe exactly *how* aggression was depicted in each program category; Chapter Eight on argument episodes and Chapter Seven on harm-to-self episodes will further clarify these data.

The data regarding time spent on aggression, arguments, et cetera, are summarized in Table 2. In terms of the amount of time spent on aggression in comparison to total time, animated shows (15.9%), crime shows (11.5%), documentaries (11.6%) and situation comedies (7.1%) were highest on this measure and game shows (.8%) were lowest (column three). It can be seen that the amount of time spent depicting aggression was consistently less than the proportionate frequency of aggressive episodes.

Column six indicates the proportion of time spent on aggression plus suspense – that is, time that built up to an aggressive incident. By this we mean the use of the technique wherein the viewer is waiting for an aggressive incident that certainly follows, for example because the viewer is shown an assassin creeping up on an unsuspecting victim. Since crime shows tended to use the suspense technique to a greater degree than other program categories (6.7% – column five), the addition of this measure puts crime shows at the top of the list – that is, 18.2 per cent of the time in crime shows was devoted to suspense and aggression. Again, animated shows (16.3%) and documentaries (15.3%) also ranked near the top.

The percentage of time spent on arguments which were not superseded by more severe conflict was quite short (column eight, for example, situation comedies spent 4.5 per cent of the time on arguments, crime shows 2.6 per cent, drama/medical shows two per cent and adventure shows one per cent.

One final time measure that was of interest was the time spent on aggression in the lead-ins to shows in comparison with total lead-in time (column eleven). Documentaries (20.2%) and crime shows (18.6%) ranked highest on this measure, although adventure shows (8.5%), animated (9.4%) and non-animated children's shows (6.1%) also spent a fair proportion of lead-in time on aggression.

Other general data of interest to be described here include the methods used to solve conflict and a summary of the numbers of casualties occurring in the programs coded. Table three illustrates the methods used for solving conflicts across all program categories. It is clear that compliance, either to an authority (25.2%) or to an equal (18.4%), was the method depicted most frequently. Often, conflict was suspended (23.3%); conciliation and constructive resolutions occurred less frequently (12.3% and 11%, respectively). In Table 4 the same data are outlined within program categories. It can be seen that in adventure shows, conflict was either suspended (33.3%) or compliance occurred, usually to an authority (55.6%). In animated shows deflection occurred most often (37.5%) but conciliation (18.8%) and constructive resolution (18.8%) were also frequently employed to resolve conflict. In non-animated children's shows, compliance to an equal (42.7%) or an authority (14.3%) was most frequent. All methods were depicted in crime shows; however, compliance to an

authority (31.9%) or an equal (16.7%) occurred most often. Additionally, conflict was often suspended (33.3%). Similarly, situation comedies portrayed most of the methods, but here conciliation (32.4%), constructive resolution (20.6%) and compliance to an equal (20.6%) were most popular. Compliance to equals appeared frequently in music/variety/talk shows (100%), instruction/religious shows (100%) and game shows (50%), while compliance to an authority occurred frequently in drama/medical shows (29.4%) or conflict was suspended (35.3%).

Table 5 summarizes the number of casualties portrayed on the screen, whether the wounding or killing was on-screen(observed), or off-screen (unobserved), with only bodies remaining. What seems most important here are the absolute numbers. Thus, there were 65 episodes in which a single non-fatal casualty was observed. As the table indicates, single bodies appeared most frequently. For example, there were 22 episodes showing fatal casualties on-screen, and 12 episodes which showed the result of off-screen deaths of individuals. Only infrequently were many bodies shown on the screen.

These same data are further examined within each program category in Table 6 where absolute numbers of episodes are recorded. Inspection of this table indicates that most casualties occurred in crime shows (57), animated shows (22) and documentaries (19). In animated shows, most of the casualties were non-fatal (19) and most occurred on-screen (18). In crime shows, while there were 34 non-fatal casualties, there were 23 fatal casualties, of which 16 appeared on-screen. In documentaries, a variety of outcomes were apparent. There were several episodes where the casualties occurred off-screen, both non-fatal (four episodes) and fatal (six episodes). Furthermore, there were a few episodes where there were so many bodies, they were uncountable. However, for the most part, in each program category, there was usually only one individual who had been harmed (e.g., three episodes in situation comedies showed one non-fatal casualty and five episodes in adventure shows did the same). In general, given the number of aggression and harm-to-self episodes coded (1956) there were surprisingly few casualties.

The following chapters will more fully describe what these episodes contained in terms of types of aggression. Other chapters will describe episodes containing arguments, theft and destruction of property.

Table 1

Frequencies and proportions: aggression, conflict, argument and harm-to-self.

The percentage of episodes containing no conflict or aggression is lowest for situation comedies (42.0%) and crime shows (60.0%), and highest for instruction/religious shows (91.0%), music/variety/talk shows (76.3%)

documentary (79.0%), children's non-cartoon shows (81.7%) and drama/medical programs (78.3%).

Situation comedies (40.0%), crime shows (27%) and animated shows (27.8%) contain the highest proportion of episodes involving aggression.

Most program categories contained a higher proportion of episodes involving aggression than episodes involving conflict but no aggression. Game and drama/medical shows were the exception; 26.5 per cent of game shows involved conflict, and an additional 10.2 per cent involved aggression. For drama/medical shows the figures were 10.3 per cent and 6.9 per cent.

Harm-to-self occurred relatively infrequently, being most common in animated programs (10.5% of all cartoon episodes).

Arguments were also rare, with some occurring in drama/medical shows (4.4%) situation comedies (3%) and crime shows (2.9%).

Table 1

Frequencies and proportions of episodes containing no conflict, aggression, argument, and harm-to-self by program category

Type of show		N	Mean no. of episodes	Mean no. of non-conflict episodes	% of no conflict	Mean no. of episodes containing aggression	% of episodes containing aggression	Mean no. of conflict episodes	% of conflict episodes	% of episodes containing conflict & aggression	Mean no. of argument episodes	% of argument episodes	Mean no. of episodes containing harm-to-self	% of harm-to-self
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Adventure	AD	7	23.0	25.4	77.0	6.0	18.4	1.4	4.2	22.4	.14	.4	0	0
Animated	AN	9	39.2	26.3	67.1	10.9	27.8	1.9	4.8	32.6	0.11	0.3	4.1	10.5
Children (non-an.)	CH	10	26.2	21.4	81.7	3.2	12.2	.7	2.7	14.9	0	0	0.6	2.3
Crime	CR	21	37.5	22.5	60.0	10.1	27.0	3.7	9.9	36.9	1.1	2.9	.05	1.1
Documentary	DOC	5	68.6	54.2	79.0	12.4	18.1	1.0	1.5	19.6	1.00	1.5	.4	.6
Drama, Medical	D/M	9	20.3	15.9	78.3	1.4	6.9	2.1	10.3	17.2	0.9	4.4	.3	1.5
Game	GA	5	9.8	6.2	63.3	1.0	10.2	2.6	26.5	36.7	0	0	0.2	2.0
Instruction, Religion	I/R	9	15.6	14.2	91.0	1.2	7.7	0	0	7.7	0	0	0	0
Music, Variety, Talk	M/V/T	10	9.7	7.4	76.3	2.1	21.6	0.2	2.1	23.7	0	0	0	0
Situation Comedy	SIT	24	10.0	4.2	42.0	4.0	40.0	1.5	15.0	55.0	.3	3.0	0.1	1.0
		109												

Table 2

Durations and proportions of time spent on aggression, suspense, arguments and lead-ins.

Animated shows (15.9%), crime shows (11.5%), and documentaries (11.6%) spent the most proportionate time on aggression. Suspense leading to aggression occurred most in crime shows (6.7%), documentaries (3.7%), non-animated children's shows (2.9%), and adventure shows (2.8%). The time spent on arguments was fairly short – program categories spending most time on arguments (proportionately) were the following: situation comedies 4.5 per cent; crime shows 2.6 per cent; drama/medical shows two per cent; and adventure shows one per cent.

Time spent on aggression in the lead-ins in proportion to total lead-in time was highest for documentaries (20.2%) and crime shows (18.6%).

Table 2

Table 2

Durations and proportions of time spent on aggression, suspense, arguments and lead-ins

Type of show		Mean show length in minutes	Mean duration of aggression	% of duration of aggression	Mean suspense in time	% of time in suspense	% of duration of aggression and suspense	Mean duration of aggression	% of time spent on arguments	Mean duration of lead-ins	Mean duration of aggression in lead-ins	% of lead-in time spent on aggression
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Adventure	AD	39.7	2.1	5.3	1.1	2.8	8.1	.4	1.0	1.18	.1	8.5
Animated	AN	23.2	3.7	15.9	.1	.4	16.3	.01	.04	1.06	.1	9.4
Children Non-animated	CH	30.6	1.4	4.6	.9	2.9	7.5	0	0	1.14	.07	6.1
Crime	CR	46.2	5.3	11.5	3.1	6.7	18.2	1.2	2.6	1.07	.2	18.6
Documentary	DOC	51.8	6.0	11.6	1.9	3.7	15.3	.3	.6	.99	.2	20.2
Drama/Medical	D/M	39.7	.7	1.8	.9	2.3	4.1	.8	2.0	.74	0	0
Game	GA	25.0	.20	.8	0.0	0	.8	0	0	.63	.01	1.58
Instruction/Religious	I/R	29.2	.9	3.1	.4	1.4	4.5	0	0	.80	0	0
Music/Variety/Talk	M/V/T	39.7	1.0	2.5	0.0	0	2.5	.04	.1	.54	.01	1.85
Situation comedy	SIT	22.4	1.6	7.1	.1	.5	7.6	1.01	4.5	.94	.02	2.12

Table 3

Methods portrayed for solving conflict: proportions over all categories

Method	Total %	Absolute #
Arbitration	3.1	5
Conciliation	12.3	20
Deflection	4.9	8
Constructive resolution	11.0	18
Compliance to authority	25.2	41
Compliance to equal	18.4	30
Coercion	1.8	3
Conflict suspended	23.3	38
	100%	

Compliance, either to an authority (25.2%) or an equal (18.4%) was the method most frequently used, although conciliation (12.3%) and constructive resolution (11%) appeared as well. Conflict was suspended in 23.3 per cent of the episodes.

Methods portrayed for solving conflict: "Big Tree"
Proportion of methods occurring in each program category

Method	Adventure	Animated	Children non-animated	Crime	Docu-mentary	Drama and Medical	Game	Instruct/Religion	Music/Variety/Talk show	Situation comedy
1) Arbitration	0	0	0	5.6	0	0	50	0	0	0
2) Conciliation	0	18.8	0	6.9	0	5.9	0	0	0	32.4
3) Deflection	0	37.5	0	1.4	0	0	0	0	0	2.9
4) Constructive resolution	0	18.8	14.3	2.8	25.0	11.8	0	0	0	20.6
5) Compliance to authority	55.6	12.5	14.3	31.9	25.0	29.4	0	0	0	11.8
6) Compliance to equal	11.1	6.2	42.9	16.7	0	17.6	50	100	100	20.6
7) Coercion	0	6.2	0	1.4	0	0	0	0	0	2.9
8) Conflict suspended	33.3	0	28.6	33.3	0	35.3	0	0	0	8.8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Compliance to an authority appeared frequently in adventure shows (55.6%), crime shows (31.9%), and drama/medical shows (29.4%). In these same categories, conflict was often suspended (adventure – 33.3%; crime – 33.3%; drama/medical – 35.3%). Deflection occurred most often in animated shows (37.5%); compliance to an equal in children's shows (42.9%). Constructive resolutions were evident in documentaries (75%).

Body counts—casualties in aggression and harm-to-self episodes

No. of observed non-fatal casualties	%	Absolute #
1	86.7	65
2	8	6
3	4	3
4	1.3	1
No. of observed fatal casualties		
1	91.7	22
8	8.3	2
No. of unobserved non-fatal casualties		
1	73.3	11
2	13.3	2
8	6.6	1
Many, uncountable	6.6	1
No. of unobserved fatal casualties		
1	75.0	12
2	6.3	1
3	6.3	1
8	6.3	1
Many, uncountable	6.3	1

Casualties in aggression and harm-to-self episodes: proportions across all categories

In this table "observed" casualties are those which the coder/observer witnessed on-screen while "unobserved" casualties account for those instances where bodies were seen, but the wounding or killing was unseen (off-screen). Usually, casualties appeared singly – for example, 86.7 per cent of episodes showing non-fatal casualties only showed one body, while eight per cent showed two bodies and four per cent showed three bodies, et cetera.

Table 6

Body counts by category of program: aggression and harm-to-self episodes—absolute numbers

		AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Number of observed non-fatal casualties	1	5	15	4	31	4	–	1	1	1	3
	2	–	3	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–
	3	2	–	–	–	1	–	–	-	–	–
	4	1	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–
Number of observed fatal casualties	1	–	1	–	16	3	–	–	1	–	1
	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
No. of unobserved non-fatal casualties	1	1	1	–	1	2	6	–	–	–	–
	2	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–
	8	–	–	–	–	1	—	–	–	–	–
	Many, uncountable	–	–	–	–	many, uncountable	–	–	–	–	–
Number of unobserved fatal casualties	1	–	2	–	7	2	–	–	1	–	–
	2	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
	3	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
	8	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	.	–
	Many, uncountable	–	–	–	–	many, uncountable	–	–	–	–	–
		9	22	5	57	19	7	1	3	1	5

Chapter Six

Aggressive Episodes

37. Total proportions of single victims and groups of victims across program categories.

38. Total proportions of types of aggressors and victims in aggressive interactions across program categories.

39. Group relations of opponents: total proportions over all categories.

40. The total proportions of the different modes of bodily aggression employed in all the aggressive episodes coded.

41. The total proportion of the different weapons and physical modes of aggression employed in all the aggressive episodes coded.

42. The total proportion of different potential modes of aggression (explicit and implicit threats) over all categories.

43. The total proportion of the different psychological modes of aggression employed in all the aggressive episodes coded.

44. The total proportion of the different socio-economic or political aggression employed in all aggressive episodes coded.

45. The total proportion of "context of aggression" categories across program categories.

46. The total proportion of "centrality" categories for all aggressive episodes coded.

47. Total proportions of aggressive "intentions" across program categories.

48. The total proportions of each distance category in all aggressive episodes coded.

49. Total proportions of cognitive preparations of victims across program categories.

50. The total proportions of consequences to the victim, recovery and double context of consequences, in all aggressive episodes coded.

51. The action of witnesses to aggression in all aggressive episodes coded totalled across program categories.

52. The pain and gore illustrated in aggressive episodes coded, totalled across all program categories.

53. The immediate response of the victim to aggression for all aggressive episodes coded, totalled across program categories.

54. Total proportions of different motivations for aggression for all aggressive episodes coded, across all program categories.

55. Total proportions of means used to achieve goals for all aggressive episodes coded, across program categories.

56. Total proportions of provocations for engaging in conflict in all aggressive episodes over all program categories.

57. Total proportions of emotional attitudes in all aggressive episodes over all program categories.

58. Total proportions of explicit justifications in all aggressive episodes over all program categories.

59. Total proportions of implicit justifications in all aggressive episodes over all program categories.

60. Total proportions of outcome of conflict for characters across program categories.

Aggressive Episodes

For purposes of analyzing the content of television programs, aggression was defined as the following: any behaviour that could inflict harm on an individual(s), either physically or psychologically. The definition includes explicit and implicit threats, nonverbal behaviours, et cetera. Violence, on the other hand, was reserved for those instances when aggression was severe; that is, for those acts that could potentially cause physical injury or death to the individual.

In addition to timing the duration of aggressive interactions, the duration of aggression in lead-ins, and the duration of audience build-up to aggression (i.e. suspense), coders provided a detailed description of each aggressive episode, according to our content analysis format. This detailed analysis included such aspects of each episode as the motivation for aggression, justification for its use, exactly what type of aggressive behaviour occurred, et cetera. Furthermore, it was but a simple matter to determine the proportion of aggressive episodes to total episodes in any one program or program category.

The findings discussed in this chapter include the following:

1. A description of the duration and frequency of aggressive episodes is given for program categories, including a ranking of the types of program categories for the aggressiveness portrayed.

2. Each program category will be discussed separately in an attempt to describe exactly how aggression was depicted in each category.

3. A general description of aggression on television will be presented in a description of aggressive episodes that combines program categories.

I. Duration and Frequency of Aggressive Episodes

The proportion of episodes containing aggressive interactions to the total number of episodes was the following (program categories are ranked here from highest to lowest proportions): situation comedy – 40.0%; animated – 27.8%; crime 27.0%; music/variety/talk – 21.6%; adventure – 18.2%; documentaries – 18.1%; non-animated children's shows – 12.2%; game – 10.2%; instruction/religion – 7.7% and drama/medical – 6.9%. These results (and others) can be seen in Table 1. It is interesting to note that this ranking changes when the duration data (in Table 2) are inspected; that is, even though some program categories used

aggression frequently this did not necessarily mean that long periods of time were spent on aggression. The proportion of time spent depicting aggression in relation to the total time of programs was the following (again, program categories are ranked from highest to lowest proportions): animated – 15.9%; documentary – 11.6%; crime – 11.5%; situation comedy – 7.1%; adventure – 5.3%; non-animated children's shows – 4.6%; instruction/religion – 3.1%; music/variety/talk – 2.5%; drama/medical – 1.8%; game shows – .8%. In general, the proportion of time spent portraying aggression (range: .8% to 15.9%) was lower than the proportionate number of aggressive episodes (range: 6.9% to 40.0%).

Table 2 also illustrates the proportion of time devoted to aggression *and* suspense in relation to total time. For most categories, the inclusion of "suspense-time" adds two to seven per cent to the figures mentioned above. In addition, there are some changes in ranking since certain categories of programs employed this device more often than others. The categories that showed the most increase, according to this statistic, were documentaries, 15.3 per cent; crime shows, 18.2 per cent; adventure shows, 8.1 per cent; and children's non-animated shows, 7.5 per cent.

One final general measure of aggression that was employed was the coder's rating of the program on a scale ranging from one (not at all violent) to seven (very violent). These rankings again put documentaries (4.6), crime shows (5.2), animated (4.1) and adventure shows (3.6) at the top of the scale (see Table 3).

Table 3 illustrates a composite ranking, determined by considering all the above data. According to this table, the following ranking of program categories, from most to least aggressive emerges:

1 Crime shows
2 Documentaries
3 Animated shows
4 Situation comedies
5 Adventure shows
6 Children's non-animated shows
7 Music/variety/talk shows
8 Instruction/religious shows
9 Drama/medical shows
10 Game shows

Needless to say this ranking, although of interest, does not differentiate among program categories in terms of how, exactly, aggression was depicted. What follows, then, is a description of each program category – its aggressors, its victims, types of aggression employed, consequences to characters, et cetera. The descriptions will, for the most part, follow the order used in coding these episodes (see Appendix Two – Aggression and Motivation Packages). In addition, tables that summarize the data being discussed (for all program categories) will also appear in this order. The program categories will be discussed according to the above ranking, from most to least aggressive.

II Descriptions of Aggression as Portrayed by Different Types of Television Programs

A. *Crime Shows (CR)*

In crime shows, all aggressors and victims were live humans (Tables 4 and 5). Most often, aggression occurred between a single aggressor (87.4% of the episodes – Table 6) and a single victim (83.3% of the episodes – Table 7). Although most of these aggressive interactions occurred between the police and others (in 43.2% of the episodes), strangers (17.6%), enemies (7.3%), and friends (7.3%) were also involved (Table 8). Most often (78.2%), opponents were of the same nationality or racial or ethnic origin but incidents did occur between those of different origins (18.1% – Table 9).

In crime shows, the body was seldom used as an aggressive mode (17.9%). If it was used, assault (6.4%) and battery (6.7%) were most common (Table 10). Weapons were used slightly more often (in 23.3% of the episodes – Table 9) and included handguns (8.9%), rifles (4.5%) or objects not intended as weapons (4.1%), such as furniture, cars, et cetera. Even more frequent, however, was the use of threat in these shows (Table 12) – brandishing a weapon (21.5%), chases (5.5%), direct and indirect verbal threats (7.3% and 4.4%, respectively). Direct verbal abuse (6.7%) and sarcasm (5.0%) were also employed to some extent (Table 13). Socio-economic or political harm was extremely rare (occurring in 1.1% of the episodes – Table 14), as was use of the symbolic or joking mode of aggression (Table 15).

Aggressive incidents either occurred in a sinister context; that is, a real fight where there was a distinct possibility of injury or death (59.7%), or in a serious quarrel or disagreement (30.2% – Table 16). Seldom was there a comic element involved (in 2.5% of the episodes only – Table 17). The aggression was more often incidental to the plot (57.2%) than central (41.9% – Table 18) and was almost always intentional (99.5% – Table 19).

Although aggressors and victims were most typically in direct, close proximity to each other (73.0%), there were cases where chases occurred (7.5%) or the opponents were beyond the limits of normal conversation – that is, they were in face-to-face contact, but over a distance (11.9% – Table 20). Victims were either totally unaware that aggression was about to occur (29.8%) or recognized the aggression spontaneously (31.8%). In some instances, victims did anticipate the aggression to some small extent (28.8% – Table 21). Victims in crime shows seldom displayed any physical consequences of aggression (78.0%); if they did, they were "somewhat" impaired or restricted (8.7% – Table 22). Of those "impaired" victims, 10.1% of the episodes indicated that they recovered, while 7.6% of the episodes ended with victims being incapacitated (Table 23). Witnesses, when present, either did not act (24.9%), *could* not act (5.2%) or assisted and encouraged the aggression (9.1% – Table 24). Victims of aggression were rarely portrayed as being in pain (96.8%) and rarely

bled (97.5% – Table 25). Victims' immediate responses to aggression, for the most part, were to withdraw from the encounter (16.0%), submit unconditionally (26.3%) or respond with physical aggression themselves (16.7% – Table 26).

The most frequent motivation for aggression was a legal social contract (36.4%), which would be expected since police were most often the aggressors (Table 27). Other motives were depicted but none with much frequency. Attacking directly was the means most often employed to achieve a goal (85.5% – Table 28), while the provocation for aggression was a threat to the security of society (34.5% – Table 29), the security of friends (18.2%) or the security of oneself (19.1%). The emotional attitudes most often expressed during these aggressive episodes were cold rationality (55.5%) or anger and hate (22.7% – Table 30). If explicit justification for aggression was given it was, of course, legal (30.0% – Table 31). Implicit justification were most varied – for example self-defence (9.1%), following orders (17.3%) and, interestingly, protecting criminal interests (55% – Table 32). Finally, although there was often no clear outcome for characters involved in conflicts (47.7%), 23.9 per cent of the episodes indicated clear winners through their own aggression while 18.5 per cent illustrated clear losers through the aggression of others (Table 33).

B. Documentaries (DOC)

As shown in Table 1, only five documentaries were coded for the two-week taping period. Thus, it is difficult to say how representative this particular sample was of the types of documentaries typically shown on television (although if the recent three-hour special on *Violence in America*, January 5, 1977, is any indication, this might be a close approximation). The documentaries that were taped were *Shark Kill*, *Time of the Jackals*, *The War Years*, *Jacques Cousteau* and *Fabulous Funnies*. It is important, therefore, to keep this sample in mind when reading the description for this category.

In documentaries, aggressors were most often live humans (75%), but cartoon humans (17.2%) and animals (7.8%) were also initiators of aggression. In 61.7 per cent of the episodes aggressors were single individuals, while groups of aggressors appeared in 38.3 per cent. Victims fell into the same three categories – live humans (69.5%), cartoon humans (18.8%) and animals (4.7%), and again, were alone in 54.7 per cent of the episodes, in groups in 38.3 per cent. These aggressive interactions were usually between strangers (26.6%) or between enemies (24.2%), most often of different nationalities or ethnic or racial backgrounds (53.1%).

The mode of aggression was seldom the body (78.9%); when it was, battery was most frequent (10.9%). Weapons were used more often (in 42.2% of the episodes) and a wide variety of these appeared – for example, hunting guns (5.5%), machine guns (3.9%) and sophisticated, specialized machinery, such as tanks

(15.6%). In terms of potential harm, brandishing a weapon (21.1%), chases (6.5%), and both direct and indirect verbal threats were used (6.5% and 5.1%, respectively).

The aggression in this category usually occurred in a sinister context (50%) although 28.9 per cent of the episodes were in a comic or sham context (probably, the *Fabulous Funnies*!). Aggression was usually incidental to the plot (90.6%) and usually intentional (97.7%).

Aggressive incidents took place in close, face-to-face contacts (57%) or in more distant, face-to-face encounters (25%). Victims tended to anticipate the aggression before the encounter occurred, either in general (35.9%) or in great detail (7.8%). Some victims, though, were unaware of its imminence (25%). Either no physical consequences were shown (35.9%) or victims remained unaffected in the long run (43.8%). There were instances, however, of some impairment (7%) or death (4.7%). Witnesses were either passive and did not act (10.2%) or encouraged the ongoing aggression (10.2%). Although there was usually no pain depicted (94.5%), there were some instances where moderate pain (3.9%) and extreme pain (1.6%) were expressed. Similarly, there were a few instances where blood was shown (2.3%) and even a few episodes showing blood and gore (1.6%), unlike in other program categories. The most frequent immediate responses from victims were to submit unconditionally (30.8%) or respond with aggression in return (33.3%).

Motives for aggression varied somewhat; for example, aggressors were motivated to gain material power (20%), gain prestige (26.7%), gain security or survival (20%) or to avoid losing the same (20%). Attacking directly was, with one exception, the sole means used to achieve goals (93.3%). The provocation was always a threat to the self whether it was physical (33.3%), psychological (33.3%), or to security (33.3%). There was some range in terms of emotions expressed but few instances of any one emotion – for example, fear and anxiety were expressed in 20% of the episodes, anger and hate in 26.7 per cent, cold rationality in 13.3 per cent. While there was seldom any explicit justification given for aggression (86.7%), self-defence as justification was used a few times (13.3%). Revenge (20%) and basic needs (13.3%) appeared as implicit justifications for aggression. Characters either emerged from the conflict as winners through their own aggression (40%) or losers through the aggression of others (36.7%).

C. Animated Shows (AN)

As one would expect, aggressors in these programs were cartoon humans (47.3%) and cartoon animals (23.7%), often "humanized" (11.2%) and most often appearing singly (85.8%). Victims of aggression also fell into the above types – cartoon humans (in 36.7% of the episodes), cartoon animals (24.9%), and "humanized" animals (16.0%), although there were some instances

where victims were "things" or creatures (8.3%). Victims were also, typically, individuals (79.9%). Although these interactions often took place between parties who were "uncodable", there were aggressive interactions between strangers (20.1%), friends (20.1%), competitors (8.3%) and enemies (10.7%), of the same racial, ethnic or national background (44.4%), where codable!

As in other program categories, the body was seldom used as a mode of aggression (79.9%). Weapons or other physical modes that appeared included objects not intended for aggression (11.2%), sophisticated machinery (8.9%), magic (4.7%) and fantasy (4.1%). Note that there were no instances of guns of any type used in this category. Threats tended to be direct and indirect verbal threats (5.9% and 4.1%, respectively); chasing was also frequent (10.1%). Psychological harm occurred rarely; when it did, it consisted of verbal abuse (7.7%) or sarcasm (7.1%).

Most of the aggressive episodes occurred in a comic context (46.7%), although there were instances where a sinister context (26.6%) or serious quarrel (12.4%) occurred. Aggression was more often incidental to the plot (66.9%) and usually intentional (93.5%) although some accidental aggression did occur (5.3%). Opponents were usually in direct contact (74%), but chases also occurred (11.8%) as did aggression "without sight" (6.5%). Victims were either unaware aggression was to occur (42.0%) or recognized it spontaneously as it did occur (34.3%). Additionally, some aggression was anticipated (13%). Although most often there were no physical consequences (in 82.2% of the episodes), some impairment (10.1%) and "decapitation" (3.0%) were evident. Where appropriate, 7.7 per cent of the victims recovered and 9.5 per cent did not. Witnesses, if present, were usually passive (27.8%). Seldom did victims express pain (95.9%) and there was never any blood and gore (100%). The victims usually responded by withdrawing from the encounter (29.6%), submitting unconditionally (24.3%), or occasionally responding with verbal and physical aggression (59% and 8.9%, respectively).

Although several motives to aggress were present in these shows, the most frequent included gaining personal pleasure (35.5%), maintaining survival (9.7%), avoiding the loss of self-esteem (16.1%) and avoiding the loss of freedom (9.7%). In addition, some episodes appeared to be irrational (6.5%). The means most often used to achieve goals was to attack directly (80.6%) while provocation was typically a threat to personal survival (58.1%) or one's psychological well-being (25.8%). However, there were instances of unprovoked aggression as well (6.5%). Emotional attitudes most commonly expressed were sadism/masochism (41.9%), cold, rationality (22.6%) and anger/hate (16.1%) Explicit justification for aggression were rarely provided (96.8%); the implicit justifications included self-defence (19.4%), avenge/revenge (6.5%) and being treated unfairly (3.2%). For this program category, unlike many

others, there were a variety of outcomes for characters – 11.9 per cent were winners through their own aggression while 22 per cent were winners through the aggression of others. Some characters were losers either through their own aggression (23.7%) or through the aggression of others (16.9%). Further, some characters did not seem to have a stake in the outcome (6.8%).

D. *Situation Comedies (SIT)*

In situation comedies, aggressors and victims were virtually always living humans (99.7% and 99.1%, respectively) and usually encountered each other as individuals (94.1% and 82.2%, respectively). Aggressive interactions occurred between a wide variety of opponents – strangers (13.5%), spouses (7.6%), direct family (11.5%), in-laws (7.4%), friends (19.1%), colleagues (20.9%), bosses and employees (4.7%). Most typically these people were of similar backgrounds (72.6%).

The mode of aggression that was used, almost without exception, was psychological harm, including direct and indirect verbal abuse (24.7% and 7.1%, respectively) and sarcasm (20.6%). Direct verbal threats did occur but less frequently (4.4%). In addition, symbolic or joking aggressive actions occurred (21.2%). The context of aggressive interactions was either comic or sham (43.8%) or a serious quarrel (45.9%). However, in terms of this latter context, a comic element was most likely built in (see Table 17 – 71.2 per cent of these episodes were "double context"). Aggression was most often incidental to the plot (83.8%) and almost always intentional (97.9%). Aggressors and victims were in direct, face-to-face contact (91.2%). Victims, who were either unaware that aggression was to occur (46.2%) or recognized it spontaneously (41.8%), almost never suffered physical consequences (2.9%), nor expressed any pain (0.9%).

Witnesses, if present, were usually passive (58.8%) although some encouraged the aggression (7.1%) while others sought direct alternatives to aggression (5.6%). Victims used a variety of responses in face of aggression including withdrawal (10.9%), unconditional submission (37.4%), counter-aggressing verbally (11.5%), and counter-aggressing with a psychological mode (6.8%).

Motives for aggressing consisted of attaining personal pleasure (49.9%), gaining or avoiding the loss of prestige and self-esteem (6.7% and 20.2%, respectively) and moral obligations to others (7.9%). Attacking directly was the means to the goal most frequently employed (93.3%). While 19 per cent of the aggressive episodes were unprovoked, threats to one's psychological well-being (58.4%) or secure position (12.4%) were also seen as provoking. Anger (41.6%) and coldness (23.6%) were again the commonest emotions expressed but there were scattered instances of other emotions, such as teasing (10.1%), mild irritation or fatigue (7.9%), et cetera. The only explicit justification for aggression ever given was self-defence (in only 3.4 per cent of the episodes); the

implicit justifications included self-defence (19.1%), moral reasons (9%) and revenge (6.7%). When outcomes of conflict were at all clear, characters seemed to be winners through their own aggression (11.8%) or losers through the aggression of others (13.0%).

E. *Adventure Shows (AD)*

In adventure shows, both aggressors and victims were live humans (90.6% and 84.7%, respectively), or animals (9.4% and 14.1%, respectively) and typically were involved in aggression singly (95.3% and 85.9%, respectively). The aggressive interactions were between strangers (48.2%) or friends (21.2%), occasionally between public officials and others (5.9%) and, interestingly, between teachers and students (4.7%). Usually participants in aggressive encounters were of the same background or nationality (75.3%).

Battery occurred in 9.4 per cent of the episodes and there were instances of other bodily modes of aggression – assault (4.7%), grabbing and restraining (2.4%), animal harm (4.7%) and pulling by the ear (2.4%), et cetera. Weapons included small, non-household devices (10.6%), objects not intended for aggressive use (14.1%) and the occasional use of poison (3.5%). The most common threat was to brandish a weapon (12.9%). Verbal abuse also occurred (10.6%). There was one instance of copying secret papers!(1.2%).

The context of these aggressive incidents was serious (43.5%) or sinister (38.8%), although often a comic element was involved (in 30.6% of the episodes). Aggression was either incidental to the plot (48.2%) or central (51.8%) and *always* intentional (100%). Aggressors and victims met each other in direct, close proximity (92.9%). While victims were often unaware of the aggression to occur (45.9%) or recognized it immediately (30.6%), there were several instances of anticipated aggression (not that frequent among program categories), either in great depth and detail (9.4%) or in general (4.7%). Physical consequences, when they occurred at all, included severe impairment (9.4%) or moderate impairment (9.4%). In 34.1 per cent of the episodes, victims did recover while they failed to do so in 14.1 per cent of the episodes. Witnesses were passive (36.5%) or encouraged aggression (18.8%). There were a few instances where moderate pain was expressed (8.2%) but there was never any blood shown (100%).

Victims responded to aggression with a wide variety of actions – some, however, were unable to respond (3.1%); others submitted unconditionally (32.1%), were verbally (6.0%) or physically aggressive (20.2%), called for help (3.6%), tried to conciliate (3.6%), or introduced an arbitrator (6.0%).

The most common motive to aggress was to avoid losing one's life (51.9%), although other motives that appeared included gaining personal pleasure (15.4%) and moral obligations to others (7.7%). The means used were to attack directly (86.5%) or use intimidation and threat (11.5%). Threats to self were the most common

provocations: to one's security (51.9%) or to one's physical (15.4%) and psychological (7.7%) well-being. Psychological and physical threats to friends were also provoking in adventure shows (7.7% for each type of threat). Cold rationality (50%) and anger/hate (34.6%) were again the most commonly expressed emotions. Even though explicit justifications for aggression were rare (96.2%), implicit justifications included following orders (38.5%), self-defence (17.3%), unfair treatment (5.8%) and a variety of others. As in many other categories, characters in adventure shows emerged as winners through their own aggression (22.9%) or losers through the aggression of others (34.3%).

F. *Children's Non-Animated Shows (CH)*

In these programs, although most aggressors were live humans (66.2%), there were aggressors of almost every conceivable type: cartoon humans (14.3%), humans with super powers (3.9%), "humanized" animals (5.2%), animals (2.6%), "things" or "creatures" (3.9%), *and* acts of nature (3.9%). Similarly, victim types were as varied, although the most frequent victims were live humans (67.5%), cartoon humans (14.3%) and humanized animals (6.5%). Both aggressors (87%) and victims (88.3%) usually met as individuals. Aggressive interactions occurred between strangers (14.3%), colleagues (33.8%) and enemies (5.2%), usually of the same ethnic or racial origin (45.5%), when applicable.

When the body was used as a mode of aggression, which it was in 37.7 per cent of the episodes (more than in many other program categories), this consisted of battery (10.4%), cartoon aggression (11.7%), assault (7.8%), and a few other actions. Weapons, when they appeared, were usually objects not intended for aggression (13.0%). Threats were used very infrequently (in 9.1 per cent of the episodes), while psychological harm consisted of direct and indirect verbal abuse (23.4% and 6.5%, respectively).

The context of aggression, often unclear in these shows (13.0%), tended to be serious (44.2%), sinister (9.1%) or comic (33.8%). Further, a comic element was built into 36.4 per cent of some of these "serious" episodes. Aggression was more often incidental to the plot (80.5%) than central (16.9%), and most often intentional (92.2%). Aggressors and victims were typically in close proximity (88.3%). Victims were unaware of the aggression (50.6%) or recognized it immediately (42.9%). Although most frequently, no physical consequences occurred to victims (83.1%), there were instances of decapitation (9.1%), and some impairment (3.9%). Where applicable, 19.5 per cent of the victims recovered while 11.7 per cent did not.

Witnesses, again, were passive (40.3%) or assisted in the aggression (18.2%). There were infrequent depictions of moderate pain (1.3%) but no blood (100%). Several victims were unable to respond to the aggression (13.2% of the episodes) while the ones who could, did so by withdrawal (13.2%), submitting uncon-

ditionally (23.7%), responding with verbal (11.8%) or physical aggression (7.9%) or trying to conciliate (6.6%).

Motives included the gain of personal pleasure (55.2%) and moral obligation to another (17.2%) or aggression seemed irrational (10.3%). Other motives also appeared but with less frequency. Attacking directly was almost invariably the means to the goal (96.6%). Although most aggression in this category was unprovoked (48.3%), other provocations did occur – for example, threats to one's physical (6.9%) or psychological (20.7%) well-being, as well as to the physical (3.4%) or psychological (13.8%) well-being of friends. Anger was the most common emotional attitude displayed (55.2%) but a variety of others occurred, ranging from sadism (24.1%) to teasing and joking (6.9%). Hardly any episodes gave explicit justification for aggression (97.6%), while the few implicit justifications included self-defence (13.8%), avenge/revenge (10.3%) and moral reasons (6.9%). Characters again came out of conflicts as winners through their own aggression (9.1%) or losers through the aggression of others (39.4%).

G. *Music/Variety/Talk Shows (M/V/T)*

Again, all aggressors and victims were live humans. Aggressive interactions occurred between strangers (10.4%), spouses (13.5%), family members (8.3%), colleagues (34.4%) and public officials and others (10.4%). About half of these people were of the same national, racial or ethnic background (47.9%), while the others were not (41.7%).

Although in most episodes (88.5%), the body was not used, there were isolated incidents of assault (3.1%), battery (3.1%), homicide (1.0%), martial arts (1.0%), grabbing (1.0%), pushing (1.0%) and kicking (1.0%). Weapons that appeared included objects not intended for aggression (8.3%), small, non-household devices (4.2%) and machine guns (3.1%). Direct verbal threats (8.3%), verbal abuse (13.5%) and sarcasm (18.8%) were evident, as was the symbolic/joking mode of aggression (22.9%).

The context was usually comic (81.9%) although some aggression appeared to be in a serious quarrel (18.8%). Yet, a double context (comic) occurred in 39.6 per cent of the episodes, thereby probably accounting for this. The aggression was usually incidental (82.3%) and most usually intentional (95.8%). Although most "opponents" were in direct contact (81.3%), there were interactions beyond normal conversational limits (5.2%), and beyond visual limits (5.2%). Victims, again, were unaware (49.0%) or recognized the aggression spontaneously (37.5%). There were typically no physical consequences (91.7%). Witnesses tended to be passive (50%) or encouraged aggression (10.4%). Victims usually withdrew from the encounter (28.6%), submitted unconditionally (23.1%) or responded with verbal aggression (12.1%).

Motives were all for gain: of power (16.7%), prestige

(33.3%) or personal pleasure (50%). Attacking directly was always the means to the goal. Most of the aggression was unprovoked (83.3%), and although usually done in fun (66.7%), there was one instance of anger (16.7%) and one of sadism (16.7%). Justifications were never provided, and outcomes were either unclear (35.3%) or characters did not have a stake in the outcome (58.8%).

H. *Instructional/Religious Shows (I/R)*

Although at first glance it might seem somewhat surprising to find episodes of aggression in this category, some of the instructional shows did contain instances of aggression. Specifically, this included the following: *Wild Kingdom*, which depicted scenes of animal aggression; *Ontario Schools*, which featured a news clip of Vancouver's SWAT team; and *Window on the World*, which included an interpretive dance called "The Oppressor". These shows, then, account primarily for the following description of the category.

Aggressors and victims were either live humans (47.6% and 33.3%, respectively) or animals (52.4% and 52.4%, respectively). Aggressors were included in encounters singly (71.4%) or in groups (28.6%), as were the victims (single – 57.1%; groups – 28.6%). These aggressive interactions occurred between colleagues (19%), enemies (47.6%) or the military and others (4.8%). When codable, 23.8 per cent of the opponents were of the same nationality, racial or ethnic origin while 19 per cent were not.

Assault occurred in 23.8 per cent of these episodes, battery in 9.5 per cent. Weapons, when used, included small non-household devices (4.8%) and tear-gas bombs (4.8%). Chasing (14.3%) and brandishing a weapon (19%) also occurred. A symbolic mode of aggression appeared in 19 per cent of the episodes (most likely in "The Oppressor").

The contexts of these incidents of aggression were sinister (28.6%), serious (14.3%) or comic or sham (19%). Aggression was more often incidental to the plot (61.9%) than central (38.1%) and always intentional (100%). Aggressors and victims were usually face-to-face in close proximity (52.4%) or over some distance (9.5%). Victims either recognized aggression spontaneously (23.8%) or anticipated it in general (33.3%). Usually there were no physical consequences (76.2%), but there were episodes where victims were somewhat impaired (4.8%) or died (9.5%). Witnesses were passive (33.3%) or encouraged aggression (4.8%). Moderate pain was expressed (4.8%) but there was no blood or gore. Victims, when able to respond (they were *not* in 16.7 per cent of these episodes), withdrew (33.3%), submitted unconditionally (16.7%) or responded with physical aggression (33.3%).

The "motivation package" (including motives, justifications, et cetera) was only coded for *Wild Kingdom*. Thus, what follows is a description for that program only.

The main motive for aggression was survival (90.9%), attacking directly the only means to the goal. Provocation included threats to the physical self (36.4%), security (45.5%), or the family's security (9.1%). Implicit justifications for aggression were meeting basic needs (63.6%) or self-defence (27.3%). "Characters" were winners through their own aggression (42.9%) or losers through the aggression of others (23.8%).

I. *Drama/Medical (D/M)*

In these programs, all aggressors and all victims were live humans and all aggressive interactions were between single individuals. These interactions were between friends (46.7%), spouses (6.7%) or ex-mates (6.7%), family (6.7%) and colleagues (6.7%), typically of similar racial or ethnic origins (80.0%). Pushing and shoving occurred with some frequency in these episodes (26.7%), with some instances of battery (6.7%). The use of weapons was relatively non-existent (93.4%). More common were episodes involving brandishing a weapon (6.7%), direct verbal threats (6.7%), verbal abuse (20.0%) and sarcasm (6.7%). Drama/medical shows were one of the few program categories where socio-economic harm occurred – specifically, threats to sue (6.7%).

The context of aggression was usually serious (80.0%), less often sinister (6.7%). Aggression was more often incidental to the plot (53.3%), than central (26.7%), but often unclear (20.0%). It was usually intentional (93.3%). Aggressive incidents always occurred when people were in direct, face-to-face contact (80.0 per cent – the remaining 20.0 per cent of the episodes were coded as "inappropriate"). Victims were unaware (73.3%) or became aware immediately as the aggression occurred (20.0%). Typically no physical consequences accrued to victims (86.7%), or there was some evidence of severe impairment (6.7%). Most victims recovered (40.0%), if harmed. Witnesses either were passive (53.3%) or could not act (being restrained – 6.7%); however unlike in most other program categories, 20.0 per cent of the episodes depicted witnesses seeking direct alternatives to aggression. Only rarely was moderate pain expressed (6.7%) and there was never any blood. Victims usually submitted unconditionally (40.0%).

A variety of motives for aggression appeared, but none with any high frequency – for example, gaining personal pleasure occurred in 25 per cent of the episodes; avoiding the loss of prestige (25%) or personal pleasure (25%) also occurred. As in most categories, attacking directly (75%) was the means most often used to achieve the goal. Provocations were usually psychological, either to oneself (50%) or to one's friends (12.5%). Also, the physical safety of the family served as provocation for aggression (25%). Anger was the emotional attitude commonly expressed during these interactions (75%). There were seldom justifications of any kind given (self-defence – 12.5%, revenge – 12.5%, treated unfairly – 12.5%). Usually there was no clear outcome for characters involved in conflicts (76.5%).

J. *Game Shows (GA)*

In game shows, where only seven episodes of aggression

were coded, aggressors were live humans (42.9%) or cartoon humans (42.9%) plus one humanized animal (14.3%). Victims fell into the exact same categories with the same frequencies. Several of these interactions were between labour and management (42.9%), some between colleagues (28.6%).

Battery (14.3%) and animal harm (14.3%) did occur, as did the use of small non-household devices (14.3%) and objects not intended for aggression (14.3%), as weapons. Direct verbal threats were rare (14.3%), while demonstrations/sit-ins occurred in this program category, although in no other (28.6%). Aggression occurred in a comic context (28.6%) or serious quarrel (71.4%), with double context occurring in 28.6 per cent of these latter episodes. Unlike in all other program categories, any expressed aggression was more often central to the show (71.4%) than incidental (14.3%), and usually intentional (85.7%). All interactions were in close, direct proximity, victims again being unaware of aggression about to occur (42.9%) or recognizing it spontaneously (42.9%). There were never any physical consequences to victims, thus most recovered (42.9%), if applicable. Witnesses were passive (85.7%). Victims usually submitted unconditionally (42.9%), but there were instances of withdrawal (14.3%), aggressing verbally (14.3%), aggressing physically (14.3%) or calling for help (14.3%).

Motives included gaining material items (20%), prestige (20%) or personal pleasure (20%) and avoiding the loss of power (20%) or material items (20%). Attacking directly (80%) or intimidation and threat (20%) were the means used to achieve goals. Provocation included threats to one's security (60%) or psychological state (40%), while emotions expressed were anger (60%) and cold rationality (40%). Justifications were rare, although some implicit ones occurred – for example, self-defence (20%), legal (20%), and unfair treatment (20%). Although outcomes were often unclear (44.4%), several characters were winners through their own aggression (33.3%).

III Description of Aggression as Portrayed Over All Types of Television Programs

As the above descriptions have illustrated, there are several differentiating ways in which aggression was depicted in the different program categories. For example, implicit and explicit threats were used in 44 per cent of crime show episodes while psychological harm was used in 55.0 per cent of situation comedy episodes. However, it is also apparent that many program categories portray certain aspects of aggression in very similar manners. For example, witnesses in many categories were passive and apathetic, or assisted and encouraged aggression, while victims, in most categories, often submitted unconditionally. Thus, as a summary to this chapter, what follows is a general description of how aggression was portrayed on all the television programs that we coded for the specific time period.

Most aggressors were live humans (84.3%), cartoon humans (7.7%) or animals (4.8% – Table 34), as were the

victims of aggression (live humans – 82.1%, cartoon humans – 6.7%, animals – 4.8%, Table 35). Both aggressors and victims typically confronted each other as individuals (87.5% of aggressors, Table 36; 81.9% of victims, Table 37). These aggressive interactions most frequently took place between strangers (18.4%), police and others (17.2%), friends (11.3%), colleagues (12.0%) and enemies (7.3% – Table 38). Usually, opponents were of the same nationality or racial or ethnic origin (63.7% – Table 39).

The body was seldom used as a mode of aggression (83.1%), but assault (4.9%) and battery (5.6%) did occur (Table 40). Weapons were used in 22.7 per cent of the episodes: most notably, objects not intended for aggression (5.8%), handguns (4.1%), sophisticated machinery (2.4%) and other assorted devices (Table 41). Brandishing a weapon was common (11.3%). Other potential modes of aggression included chases (3.9%) and direct and indirect verbal threats (5.5% and 2.7%, respectively – Table 42). Direct and indirect verbal abuse (12.2% and 2.8%, respectively) and sarcasm (8.9%) constituted the types of psychological harm portrayed (Table 43). Socio-economic or political harm was almost non-existent (99.1% – Table 44).

The context of aggressive encounters was serious (30.6%), sinister (33.1%) or comic (26.2% – Table 45). Aggression was more often incidental to the plots of programs (69.3%) rather than central (28.9% – Table 46), and almost always intentional (97.6% – Table 47). Aggressors and victims were either in direct, face-to-face contact, that is, in close proximity (78.2%) or faced each other from a distance (8.1% – Table 48). Victims were unaware aggression was about to occur (37.8%), recognized it spontaneously, that is, as it occurred (33.2%), or anticipated it in general, that is, had some warning of its imminence (18.6% – Table 49).

Physical consequences to the victims rarely occurred (81.1%), although sometimes moderate impairment was shown (6.1%). In these cases, victims recovered in 10.2% of the episodes and did not in 7.1% (Table 50). Witnesses to aggressive incidents were passive and did not act (35.4%) or encouraged the aggression (9.6%). Often there were no witnesses (47.1% – Table 51). Victims rarely expressed pain (96.9%) and seldom bled (98.7% – Table 52). The most typical responses victims made to aggressors were to submit unconditionally (29.1%), withdraw from the encounter (15.8%) or respond with physical aggression in return (13.3% – Table 53).

Motives for aggression included gaining personal pleasure (25.6%), avoiding the loss of one's life (16.0%) and the maintenance of legal social contracts (as in police work, 11.8%, Table 54). Attacking directly was clearly the means most often used to attain one's goal (88.8% – Table 55). Provocations for aggression were most frequently centred on threats to one's own psycho-logical well-being (27.8%) and security (25.3%), but the security of society also served as provocation (11.0 per cent – again, most likely in police work). However, aggression was unprovoked in 12.1% of the episodes (Table 56). Although a variety of emotional attitudes were expressed during aggressive encounters (see Table 57), it is apparent that "anger/hate" (32.3%) and "cold-rational" (33.7%) were most often depicted. Explicit justifications for aggression were rare (86.5%); if they occurred, they were usually legal (9.3% – Table 58). Implicit justifications were more common and included self-defence (14.6%), following orders (11.0%), avenge/revenge (5.3%) and a variety of others (Table 59). Finally, when there was a clear outcome of conflict for characters, it consisted of those who emerged as winners through their own aggression (19.3%) and those who emerged as losers through the aggression of others (22.2% – Table 60).

Table 1

Frequencies and proportions of episodes containing no conflict, aggression, argument, and harm-to-self by program category

Type of show		N	Mean no. of episodes	Mean no. of non-conflict episodes	% of no conflict	Mean no. of episodes containing aggression	% of episodes containing aggression	Mean no. of conflict episodes	% of conflict episodes	% of episodes containing conflict & aggression	Mean no. of argument episodes	% of argument episodes	Mean no. of episodes containing harm-to-self	% of harm-to-self
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Adventure	AD	7	23.0	25.4	77.0	6.0	18.4	1.4	4.2	22.4	.14	.4	0	0
Animated	AN	9	39.2	26.3	67.1	10.9	27.8	1.9	4.8	32.6	0.11	0.3	4.1	10.5
Children Non-animated	CH	10	26.2	21.4	81.7	3.2	12.2	.7	2.7	14.9	0	0	0.6	2.3
Crime	CR	21	37.5	22.5	60.0	10.1	27.0	3.7	9.9	36.9	1.1	2.9	.05	1.1
Documentary	DOC	5	68.6	54.2	79.0	12.4	18.1	1.0	1.5	19.6	1.00	1.5	.4	.6
Drama, Medical	D/M	9	20.3	15.9	78.3	1.4	6.9	2.1	10.3	17.2	0.9	4.4	.3	1.5
Game	GA	5	9.8	6.2	63.3	1.0	10.2	2.6	26.5	36.7	0	0	0.2	2.0
Instruction, Religion	I/R	9	15.6	14.2	91.0	1.2	7.7	0	0	7.7	0	0	0	0
Music, Variety, Talk	M/V/T	10	9.7	7.4	76.3	2.1	21.6	0.2	2.1	23.7	0	0	0	0
Situation comedy	SIT	24	10.0	4.2	42.0	4.0	40.0	1.5	15.0	55.0	.3	3.0	0.1	1.0
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Table 2

Durations and proportions of time spent on aggression, suspense, arguments and lead-ins

Type of show		Mean show length in minutes 1	Mean duration of aggression 2	% of duration of aggression 3	Mean suspense in time 4	% of time in suspense 5	% of duration of aggression and suspense 6	Mean duration of arguments 7	% of time spent on arguments 8	Mean duration of lead-ins 9	Mean duration of aggression in lead-ins 10	% of lead-in time spent on aggression 11
Adventure	AD	39.7	2.1	5.3	1.1	2.8	8.1	.4	1.0	1.18	.1	8.5
Animated	AN	23.2	3.7	15.9	.1	.4	16.3	.01	.04	1.06	.1	9.4
Children Non-animated	CH	30.6	1.4	4.6	.9	2.9	7.5	0	0	1.14	.07	6.1
Crime	CR	46.2	5.3	11.5	3.1	6.7	18.2	1.2	2.6	1.07	.2	18.6
Documentary	DOC	51.8	6.0	11.6	1.9	3.7	15.3	.3	.6	.99	.2	20.2
Drama/Medical	D/M	39.7	.7	1.8	.9	2.3	4.1	.8	2.0	.74	0	0
Game	GA	25.0	.20	.8	0.0	0	.8	0	0	.63	.01	1.58
Instruction/Religious	I/R	29.2	.9	3.1	.4	1.4	4.5	0	0	.80	0	0
Music/Variety/Talk	M/V/T	39.7	1.0	2.5	0.0	0	2.5	.04	.1	.54	.01	1.85
Situation comedy	SIT	22.4	1.6	7.1	.1	.5	7.6	1.01	4.5	.94	.02	2.12

Table 3

Program category rankings for frequency and duration of aggression, suspense and violence. (1 = highest, 10 = lowest)

Program category

		AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
A.	Per cent of episodes containing aggression	5	2	7	3	6	10	8	9	4	1
B.	Proportionate duration of aggression	5	1	6	3	2	9	10	7	8	4
C.	Proportion of suspense leading to aggression	4	8	3	1	2	5	9.5	6	9.5	7
D.	Coder's rating for violence (mean in parentheses)	4 (3.6)	3 (4.1)	6.5 (2.2)	1 (5.2)	2 (4.6)	8 (1.9)	10 (1.0)	9 (1.8)	6.5 (2.2)	5 (2.8)
	Mean rank based on A,B,C, and D total	5	3	6	1	2	9	10	8	7	4

Table 4

Aggression package
The proportion of aggressor types in the aggression episodes of each program category.

Program categories

Aggressor type	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Human (live)	90.6%	8.9%	66.2%	100%	75.0%	100%	42.9%	47.6%	100%	99.7%
Human (cartoon)	–	47.3	14.3	–	17.2	–	42.9	–	–	–
Human with extra powers	–	5.3	3.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Humanized animal	–	11.2	5.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Animal (live or cartoon)	9.4	23.7	2.6	–	7.8	–	14.3	52.4	–	–
Thing or creature	3.6	3.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Act of nature	–	3.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unclear (off-screen)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In adventure shows 90.6 per cent of aggression was initiated by human (live) aggressors, and 9.4 per cent was initiated by animal aggressors.

Types of aggressors

In most types of program categories, most of the aggression was initiated by live humans, with the notable exception of animated programs. In animated programs, aggression was initiated by a great variety of aggressors – cartoon humans (47.3%), cartoon animals (23.7%), humanized animals (11.2%), et cetera. In non-animated children's programs, *all* aggressor types were represented. Even though live humans initiated most aggression (66.2%), aggression was also initiated by cartoon humans (14.3%), live or cartoon animals (2.6%), humanized animals (5.2%), acts of nature (3.9%). Both documentary and game shows included some aggression by cartoon humans (17.2% and 42.9%, respectively.)

Table 5

The proportion of victim types in the aggression episodes of each program category

Program categories

Victim type	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
No victim	1.2%	.6%	1.3%	2.0%	7.0%	–	–	14.3%	5.2%	.9%
Human (live)	84.7	8.9	67.5	98.0	69.5	100	42.9	33.3	94.8	99.1
Human (cartoon)	–	36.7	14.3	–	18.8	–	42.9	–	–	–
Human with extra powers	–	4.7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Humanized animal	–	16.0	6.5	–	–	–	14.3	–	–	–
Animal	14.1	24.9	1.3	–	4.7	–	–	52.4	–	–
Thing	–	8.3	6.5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Group	–	–	2.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In 84.7 per cent of adventure episodes, the victim was human.

Types of victims

In most program categories, victims were human, with the exception of animated programs. For the latter, victims were cartoon humans (36.7%), cartoon animals (24.9%) or humanized animals (16.0%). Both animated and non-animated children's programs did contain a variety of victim types. Human cartoon victims also appeared in documentaries (18.8%) and game shows (42.9%).

Table 6

Single or groups of aggressors in all aggressive episodes for each program category

Program categories

Aggressors	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Single	95.3%	85.8%	87.0%	87.4%	61.7%	100%	100%	71.4%	96.9%	94.1%
Group	4.7	14.2	11.7	12.4	38.3	–	–	28.6	3.1	5.6
Unknown	–	–	1.3	.2	–	–	–	–	–	.3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In animated shows, groups of aggressors were involved in 14.2 per cent of the aggressive episodes.

Single aggressors or groups of aggressors

In each program category, single aggressors were most common. However, groups of aggressors appeared with some frequency in animated episodes (14.2%), non-animated children's episodes (11.7%), crime shows (12.4%) and documentary episodes (38.3%).

Table 7

Single or groups of victims in all aggressive episodes for each program category

Program categories Victims	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Single	85.9%	79.9%	88.3%	83.3%	54.7%	100%	85.7%	57.1%	84.4%	88.2%
Group	12.9	19.5	10.4	14.7	38.3	–	14.3	28.6	10.4	10.9
No victim	1.2	.6	1.3	2.0	7.0	–	–	14.3	5.2	.9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In animated shows, groups of victims were involved in 19.5 per cent of the aggressive episodes.

Single victims or groups of victims

In each program category, single victims were most common. In documentaries, there was often no victim (7%). Groups of victims appeared in adventure episodes (12.9%), animated shows (19.5%), crime shows (14.7%) and documentary episodes (38.3%) as they did in other categories.

Table 8

In adventure shows, the highest proportions of aggressive interactions occurred between strangers (48.2%), although a fair proportion of aggressive interactions were between friends (21.2%). In animated programs the proportion of aggressive interactions between strangers and between friends were equal (20.1% each). Strangers were involved in 14.3 per cent of aggressive interactions in non-animated children's programs and in 26.6 per cent in documentaries; enemies were involved in 5.2 per cent and 24.2 per cent of aggressive interactions, respectively. In crime shows, most of the aggressive interactions (43.2%) were between the police and others. Occasionally, strangers were involved (17.6%). In dramatic/medical programs, most aggressive interactions were between friends (46.7%). In music/variety/talk programs, aggressive interactions most often involved colleagues, (34.4%) as it did in children's non-animated programs (33.8%), while in situation comedies, aggressive interactions included friends (19.1%), colleagues (20.9%), strangers (13.5%) and family (11.5%).

Table 8

Aggressive interactions between types of aggressors and victims.

Proportion (%) of interaction categories for each program category.

Interaction occurs between	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Strangers	48.2%	20.1%	14.3%	17.6%	26.6%	–	14.3%	–	10.4%	13.5%
Spouses/mates	–	2.4	–	1.6	.8	6.7	–	–	13.5	7.6
Family	–	–	2.6	1.8	–	6.7	–	–	8.3	11.5
Inlaws	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7.4
Extended family	–	–	–	.7	–	–	–	–	3.1	2.4
Friends	21.2	20.1	1.3	7.3	.8	46.7	–	–	3.1	19.1
Neighbours	–	–	–	–	–	6.7	–	–	–	2.9
Colleagues	3.5	2.4	33.8	4.3	9.4	6.7	28.6	19.0	34.4	20.9
Public officials and others	5.9	1.2	–	2.8	–	–	–	10.4	–	–
Competitors	–	8.3	–	.5	–	–	14.3	–	–	3.5
Police and others	–	2.4	–	43.2	7.0	–	–	–	2.1	–
Enemies	7.1	10.7	5.2	7.3	24.2	–	–	47.6	–	–
Labour-management	–	–	–	–	–	–	42.9	–	–	–
Others	9.4	31.4	52.9	13.0	31.3	26.7	–	28.6	14.6	6.5
Boss-employee	–	.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4.7
Teachers-students	4.7	.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ex-mates	–	–	–	–	–	6.7	–	–	–	–
Military and others	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4.8	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In crime shows 43.2 per cent of all aggressive interactions occurred between the police and others.

Table 9

Group relations of opponents for each program category

Program categories

Group relations	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Same nationality, ethnic, racial	75.3%	44.4%	45.5%	78.2%	22.7%	80.0%	28.6%	23.8%	47.9%	72.6%
Different	12.9	–	11.7	18.1	53.1	6.7	–	19.0	41.7	26.2
Uncodable	11.8	55.6	42.9	3.7	24.2	13.3	71.4	57.1	10.4	1.2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In adventure shows, opponents in conflict were of the same nationality, ethnic or racial group in 75.3 per cent of the aggressive episodes.

Group relations of opponents

In several program categories, group relations did not apply (for example, in animated and non-animated children's shows). For most other program categories, opponents were of the same nationality or racial or ethnic origin (e.g. 75.3% of adventure episodes, 80.0% of dramatic/medical episodes). However, there were instances where opponents were of different nationalities or racial or ethnic origins (e.g. 53.1% of documentary episodes, in 26.2% of situation comedy episodes, in 18.1% of crime show episodes).

Table 10

Mode of aggression: body
Proportion (%) of bodily mode of aggression categories in the aggressive episodes of each program category.

Program categories

I Body

Mode of aggression	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
No "harm by body" mode	74.1%	79.9%	62.3%	82.1%	78.9%	66.7%	71.4%	66.7%	88.5%	95.3%
Assault	4.7	4.1	7.8	6.4	4.7	–	–	23.8	3.1	1.8
Battery	9.4	3.0	10.4	6.7	10.9	6.7	14.3	9.5	3.1	1.2
Homicide	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.0	–
Falling	–	1.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Rape and other sexual offences	–	–	–	0.4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Martial arts	–	.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.0	–
Cartoon aggression	–	5.3	11.7	.2	.8	–	–	–	–	–
Grab, restrain	2.4	–	1.3	2.5	–	–	–	–	1.0	.9
Push, shove	–	1.2	2.6	1.1	–	26.7	–	–	1.0	–
Mischievous	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.3
Animal harm (bite, maul, et cetera)	4.7	.6	1.3	–	1.6	0	14.3	–	–	–
Sneeze	–	–	1.3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Trying to disarm	–	–	–	.2	1.6	–	–	–	–	–
Holding onto, in control	1.2	1.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Trip	.6	1.3	.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wrestle	–	.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bite	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.3
Kick	1.2	.6	–	.4	.8	–	–	–	1.0	.3
Set adrift	–	.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Run into, collide	–	.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Pull by ear	2.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In situation comedies 95.3 per cent of the episodes did not use the body as a mode of aggression. 1.8 per cent of the episodes involved assault and 1.2 per cent of the episodes involved battery.

Table 11

Mode of aggression: weapons and other physical modes

In adventure and game-show episodes, small non-household devices (10.6% and 14.3%) and objects not intended for aggression (14.1% and 14.3%) were used as weapons most frequently. In children's shows, both animated and non-animated, objects not intended for aggression were used often (in 11.2% and 13.0% of the episodes, respectively). This was so for music/variety/talk shows as well (8.3%). In crime-show episodes, hand guns (9.4%) and rifles (4.1%) appeared, while in the documentaries, sophisticated machinery was the most "popular" weapon (15.6%). Situation comedies hardly used weapons (94.1%), nor did instruction/religious shows (85.6%), or drama/medical shows (93.4%).

Table 11

Mode of aggression: weapons and other physical modes
Proportion (%) of different physical modes of aggression for each program category.

Program categories Mode of aggression	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
No weapon	62.2%	61.5%	79.2%	77.5%	57.8%	93.4%	71.4%	85.6%	83.4%	94.1%
Gun	–	–	–	1.3	.8	–	–	–	–	–
Hand-gun	2.4	–	–	9.4	5.5	–	–	–	–	–
Rifle	2.4	–	–	4.1	1.6	–	–	–	–	–
Machine guns	–	–	–	1.1	3.9	–	–	–	3.1	–
Small household device	1.2	3.0	1.3	.2	.8	–	–	–	–	.6
Small non-household device	10.6	–	–	.4	1.6	–	14.3	4.8	4.2	.3
Object not intended for aggression	14.1	11.2	13.0	3.7	2.3	–	14.3	–	8.3	3.8
Small explosive	–	2.4	–	.4	1.6	–	–	–	–	–
Sophisticated machinery	–	8.9	–	.2	15.6	–	–	–	–	–
Elaborate organization	–	–	–	–	3.1	–	–	–	–	–
Legal drug	1.2	.6	–	.2	–	–	–	–	–	.3
Poison	3.5	1.2	1.3	.2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other agent	1.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.3
Act of nature	–	–	3.9	–	–	–	–	–	1.0	–
Water	1.2	–	–	.4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unclear	–	–	–	.5	–	6.6	–	4.8	–	.6
Hand cuffs	–	–	–	.4	2.3	–	–	–	–	–
Magic	–	4.7	1.3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cage/trap	–	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fantasy	–	4.1	–	–	3.1	–	–	–	–	–
Tie up	–	.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tear gas bombs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4.8	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In adventure shows, small non-household devices were used as weapons in 10.6 per cent of the episodes and objects not intended for aggression were used in 14.1 per cent of the episodes.

Table 12

Mode of aggression: explicit and implicit threats

Brandishing a weapon appeared as the most frequent threat in adventure episodes (12.9%), crime show episodes (21.5%) and documentary episodes (15.6%). Direct verbal threats were frequent in animated episodes (5.9%), crime show episodes (7.3%), drama/medical episodes (6.7%), music/variety/talk episodes (8.3%) and situation comedy episodes (4.4%). Chasing occurred in animated episodes (10.1%), and crime show episodes (5.5%).

Table 12

Mode of aggression: explicit and implicit threats
Proportion (%) of types of threats for each program category.

II Threats (explicit and implicit)

Mode of aggression	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
No threat	80%	76.9%	90.9%	56.0%	74.2%	86.7%	85.7%	66.7%	84.4%	88.2%
Direct verbal threat	3.5	5.9	3.9	7.3	–	6.7	14.3	–	8.3	4.4
Indirect verbal	1.2	4.1	1.3	4.4	.8	–	–	–	1.0	1.5
Threat of use of other source	–	–	1.3	1.1	–	–	–	–	3.1	.6
Gestures (e.g. shaking fist)	–	–	–	.9	–	–	–	–	–	2.9
Chasing	–	10.1	2.6	5.5	4.7	–	–	14.3	–	–
Brandishing a weapon	12.9	3.0	–	21.5	15.6	6.7	–	19.0	3.1	1.2
Person physically restrained	–	–	–	1.4	4.7	–	–	–	–	.9
Kidnapping (no ransom demand)	2.4	–	–	.7	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hostage taking (no ransom demand)	–	–	–	1.2	–	–	–	–	–	.3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 13

Mode of aggression: psychological harm
Proportions (%) of types of psychological harm for each program category.

IV Psychological harm

Mode of aggression	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
None	87.1%	84.6%	67.5%	86.0%	94.5%	66.7%	100%	100%	65.6%	45.0%
Verbal abuse	10.6	7.7	23.4	6.7	3.9	20.0	–	–	13.5	24.7
Sarcasm	–	7.1	2.6	5.0	1.6	6.7	–	–	18.8	20.6
Passive aggression	–	.6	–	.4	–	–	–	–	–	2.4
Harrassment	1.2	–	–	.4	–	–	–	–	–	.3
Indirect verbal abuse	1.2	–	6.5	1.6	–	6.7	–	–	2.1	7.1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In children's programs direct verbal abuse occurred in 23.4 per cent of the aggressive episodes and indirect verbal abuse in 6.5 per cent of the episodes.

Mode of aggression: psychological harm

Direct verbal abuse was the mode of psychological harm employed in most program categories (e.g. 10.6% of adventure episodes, 24.7% of children's show episodes, 20.0% of drama/medical show episodes and 24.7% of situation comedy episodes). Sarcasm also occurred with some frequency (e.g. 6.7% of drama/medical episodes, 18.8% in music/variety/talk episodes). All categories of psychological harm were used to quite an extent in situation comedies – over 50 per cent of the aggressive episodes contained this mode of aggression.

Table 14

Mode of aggression: socio-economic and political harm
Proportions (%) of types of harm for each program category.

V Socio-economic or political harm

Program categories

Mode of aggression	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
None	98.8%	100%	100%	98.9%	100%	93.3%	71.4%	100%	100%	99.1%
Fraud	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.6
Blackmail	–	–	–	.7	–	–	–	–	–	–
Demonstration/sit-in	–	–	–	–	–	–	28.6	–	–	–
Threat to sue	–	–	–	–	–	6.7	–	–	–	.3
Threaten to report to higher authority	–	–	–	.4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Copying secret papers	1.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In adventure shows 1.2 per cent of the episodes involved copying secret papers.

Mode of aggression: socio-economic or political harm

There were very few occurrences of this mode of aggression: demonstrations occurred in 28.6 per cent of game show episodes (actually 2 episodes), threats to sue in 6.7 per cent of drama/medical show episodes (1 episode).

Table 15

Mode of aggression: symbolic or joking

VI Symbolic or joking mode

Program categories.

Mode of aggression	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
None	96.5%	97.0%	100%	99.3%	96.9%	93.3%	100%	81.0%	77.1%	78.8%
Symbolic/joking	3.5	3.0	–	.7	3.1	6.7	–	19.0	22.9	21.2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Symbolic or joking mode

Although the symbolic or joking mode was rarely used in most program categories, it occurred in 22.9 per cent of music/variety/talk episodes and in 21.2 per cent of situation comedy episodes.

Table 16.

Context of aggression in aggressive episodes

The context of aggression was a serious quarrel in 43.5 per cent of adventure episodes, 44.2 per cent of non-animated children's episodes, 30.2 per cent of crime episodes, 80 per cent of drama/medical episodes, and 45.9 per cent of the situation comedy episodes. A sinister context appeared in 38.8 per cent of adventure episodes, 59.7 per cent of crime episodes, 50 per cent of documentary episodes and 28.6 per cent of instruction/religious show episodes. Aggression occurred in a comic or sham context in 46.7 per cent of animated episodes, 33.8 per cent of non-animated children's episodes, 28.9 per cent of documentary episodes, 28.6 per cent of game show episodes, 81.3 per cent of music/variety/talk episodes, and 43.8 per cent of situation comedy episodes.

Table 16

The proportion (%) of "context of aggression" categories for all aggression episodes in each program category

Program categories

Context of aggression	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Unclear	10.6%	5.9%	13.0%	6.4%	8.6%	13.3%	–	38.1%	–	6.5%
Aggression occurs in serious quarrel	43.5	12.4	44.2	30.2	2.3	80.0	71.4	14.3	18.8	45.9
Aggression appears as scrimmage, friendly	–	1.2	–	1.2	6.2	–	–	–	–	2.4
Within sport context	1.2	7.1	–	–	3.9	–	–	–	–	–
Within comic, sham context	5.9	46.7	33.8	2.5	28.9	–	28.6	19.0	81.3	43.8
Sinister context (possibility of death)	38.8	26.6	9.1	59.7	50.0	6.7	–	28.6	–	1.5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In adventure shows, aggression occurred in a sinister context in 38.8 per cent of the aggressive episodes.

Table 17

The proportion (%) of aggressive episodes which contain a "double context" (i.e. comic element built-in) in each program category.

Program categories

Double context	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
No or irrelevant	69.4%	73.3%	63.6%	97.5%	99.3%	93.9%	71.4%	100%	60.4%	28.8%
Yes	30.6	26.6	36.4	2.5	.8	6.7	28.6	–	39.6	71.2

Note: The category of "No double context" also involves the notation of irrelevant; the latter usually occurs when the context of aggression is comic or sham (# 5 in Table 16). Therefore 73.3 per cent of aggressive episodes in children's animated programs contained no double context or it was irrelevant. Howerever, looking at table 16 it can be seen that 46.2 per cent of aggressive episodes in children's animated programs occurred within a comic or sham context–this high percentage in Table 16 accounts for the low percentage in Table 17.

Double context of aggression

A double context to the aggression (that is, a comic element built-in) was evident in adventure episodes (30.6% of episodes), children's shows (36.4% of episodes), game shows (28.6%), music/variety/talk shows (39.6% of episodes) and situation comedy episodes (71.2%).

Table 18

The proportion (%) of "centrality" categories for all aggressive episodes coded in each program category

Program categories

Centrality of aggressive episode to the program plot	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Incidental to plot	28.2%	66.9%	80.5%	57.2%	90.6%	53.3%	14.3%	61.9%	82.3%	83.8%
Central	51.8	32.5	16.9	41.9	9.4	26.7	71.4	38.1	16.7	11.5
Relation to plot unclear	–	.6	2.6	.9	–	20.0	14.3	–	1.0	4.7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Centrality of aggressive episodes to plot

In almost all types of programs, aggressive episodes were more often incidental to the plot than central to the plot, with the following exceptions: in adventure shows, aggression was central to the plot in 51.8 per cent of the episodes and incidental in 48.2 per cent of the episodes. Similarly, in game shows, aggression was more often central to the "plot" (71.4% of the episodes), although often unclear (14.3%).

Table 19

The proportion (%) of aggressive intentions for all aggressive episodes coded in each program category

Program categories

Aggression intentions	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Accidental	–	5.3%	5.2%	.4%	2.3%	–	–	–	4.2%	2.1%
Intentional	100%	92.5	92.2	99.5	97.7	93.3	85.7	100%	95.8	97.9
Unclear	–	1.2	2.6	.2	–	6.7	14.3	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Aggressive intentions

In most types of shows, aggression was usually intentional. The following types of shows did portray some accidental acts of aggression: animated (5.3% of episodes), non-animated children's (5.2%), and music/variety/talk (4.2%).

Table 20

The distance between the aggressors and victims for all aggressive episodes coded in each program category

Program categories

Distance between aggressors and victims	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Not appropriate	2.4%	3.0%	5.2%	5.7%	8.6%	20.0%	–	28.6%	7.3%	3.8%
Direct	92.9	74.0	88.3	73.0	57.0	80.0	100%	52.4	81.3	91.2
Chase	1.2	11.8	2.6	7.5	3.9	–	–	9.5	–	–
Face to face (but beyond distance of normal conversation)	3.5	4.7	3.9	11.9	25.0	–	–	9.5	5.2	.3
Without sight	–	6.5	–	2.0	4.7	–	–	–	5.2	2.6
Global	–	–	–	–	.8	–	–	–	1.0	2.1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Distance between aggressors and victims

For all program categories, aggression most frequently occurred in direct, close interactions (e.g. 92.9% of adventure episodes, 80.0% of drama/medical episodes, 91.2% of situation comedy episodes, et cetera). Chases did occur in animated shows (11.8% of episodes), crime shows (7.5%) and instruction/religious shows (9.5%). Face to face interactions (but beyond the range of normal conversation) occurred in crime shows (11.9%) and documentaries (25%).

Table 21

Cognitive preparation of victims

For most program categories, victims were either unaware that aggression was to occur (e.g. in 73.3% of drama/medical episodes and 46.2% of situation comedy episodes) or recognized the aggression spontaneously (e.g. in 34.3% of animated episodes and 37.5% of music/variety/talk episodes.) There were a few exceptions to this general finding. In adventure show episodes, victims anticipated the aggression in great detail (9.4%), while aggression was anticipated in general outline in crime show episodes (28.8%), documentary episodes (35.9%) and instruction/religious show episodes (33.3%).

Table 21

The cognitive preparation of the victims for all aggressive episodes coded in each program category.

Program categories

Cognitive preparation	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Unclear	8.2%	10.7%	3.9%	3.6%	14.8%	6.7%	14.3%	23.8%	1.0%	2.6%
Unaware	45.9	42.0	50.6	29.8	25.0	73.3	42.9	–	49.0	46.2
Recognizes aggression spontaneously	30.6	34.3	52.9	31.8	10.2	20.0	42.9	23.8	37.5	41.8
Anticipates aggression	4.7	13.0	1.3	28.8	35.9	–	–	33.3	7.3	8.8
Anticipates aggression in great detail	9.4	–	–	3.7	7.8	–	–	–	–	.3
Not applicable	1.2	–	1.3	2.3	6.2	–	–	19.0	5.2	.3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In adventure programs victims anticipated aggression in great detail in 9.4 per cent of the episodes.

Table 22

Physical consequences to the victim in the aggressive episodes coded in each program category.

Program categories

Consequences	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
None shown	1.2%	.6%	1.3%	2.5%	35.9%	–	–	–	–	1.5%
None	76.5	82.2	83.1	78.0	43.8	86.7	100%	76.2	91.7	97.1
Little impaired	9.4	10.1	3.9	8.7	7.0	–	–	4.8	1.0	.9
Severely impaired	9.4	.6	1.3	2.3	.8	6.7	–	–	1.0	.6
Dead	–	.6	–	3.2	4.7	–	–	9.5	1.0	–
Apprehended	–	2.4	–	2.3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Decapitated, etc.	–	3.0	9.1	–	–	–	–	–		
Shown in other episode	3.5	.6	–	1.6	1.6	6.7	–	–	–	–
Not applicable	–	–	1.3	1.4	6.2	–	–	9.5	5.2	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In 9.4 per cent of adventure show episodes, the victim was severely impaired.

Physical consequences to victims

For all program categories, physical consequences to victims were not shown in a large proportion of episodes, that is, victims remained unimpaired in the long run (e.g. 82.2% of animated episodes, 78.0% of crime show episodes, 97.1% of situation comedy episodes, et cetera). In both animated and non-animated children's shows, there was some evidence of restricted impairment (10.1% and 3.9%, respectively) and decapitation, et cetera (3.0% and 9.1%, respectively).

Table 23

Recovery of victim

Victims recovered from aggression more often than they did not in adventure episodes (34.1%), non-animated children's shows (19.5%), drama/medical shows (40.0%), game shows (42.9%) and situation comedies (4.1%). In animated shows, crime shows and documentaries, the proportions of victims recovering and not recovering were more evenly split (e.g. 7.7% recovered, 9.5% did not in animated episodes; 10.1% recovered, 7.6% did not in crime episodes).

Table 23

Recovery of the victim in the aggressive episodes coded in each program category

Program categories

Recovery	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Not appropriate	51.8%	82.8%	68.8%	82.2%	82.6%	53.3%	57.1%	71.4%	87.5%	95.3%
Yes	34.1	7.7	19.5	10.1	7.8	40.0	42.9	19.0	2.1	4.1
No	14.1	9.5	11.7	7.6	8.6	6.7	–	9.5	10.4	.6

Table 24

The action of witnesses to aggression in all aggressive episodes coded in each program category

Program categories

Action of witnesses	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Passive; do not act	36.5%	27.8%	40.3%	24.9%	10.2%	53.3%	85.7%	33.3%	50.0%	58.8%
Cannot act (restrained)	2.4	1.2	6.5	5.2	3.9	6.7	–	–	1.0	.3
Assist or encourage aggression	18.8	8.9	18.2	9.1	10.2	–	–	4.8	10.4	7.1
Use physical means to end aggression	3.5	–	–	.7	–	–	–	–	–	2.4
Seek direct alternatives to aggression	5.9	–	1.3	2.5	.8	20.0	–	–	1.0	5.6
Seek indirect alternative to aggression	1.2	–	–	2.0	.8	–	–	–	–	–
Other or no witnesses	31.8	62.1	33.8	55.6	74.2	20.0	14.3	61.9	37.5	25.9
Mixture of assist or encourage aggression and seek indirect alternative to aggression	–	–	–	.2	–	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Action of witnesses to aggression

For all types of programs, when witnesses were present, the most frequent response was passivity or apathy (e.g. in 36.5% of adventure episodes, in 24.9% of crime show episodes, et cetera). However, frequently witnesses would encourage or assist in aggression (e.g. in 18.8% of adventure episodes, 18.2% of non-animated children's episodes, in 10.2% of documentary episodes). In drama/medical episodes, there was also some indication that alternative methods to aggression were sought (20.0%).

Table 25

Illustrated pain and gore

When pain was depicted in programs, it was typically of a moderate nature (e.g. 8.2% of adventure show episodes, 6.7% of drama/medical episodes). Extreme pain was only evidenced in 1.2 per cent of animated episodes and 1.6 per cent of documentary show episodes. Some blood was shown in crime shows (2.5% of the aggressive episodes) and documentaries (2.3%). The latter program category also included "blood and gore" in 1.6 per cent of the aggressive episodes.

Table 25

The pain and gore illustrated in aggressive episodes in each program category

Program categories

Pain	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
No pain	91.8%	95.9%	98.7%	96.8%	94.5%	93.3%	85.7%	95.2%	100%	99.1%
Moderate	8.2	3.0	1.3	3.2	3.9	6.7	14.3	4.8	–	.9
Extreme	–	1.2	–	–	1.6	–	–	–	–	–
No gore	100%	100%	100%	97.5%	96.1%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Some blood shown	–	–	–	2.5	2.3	–	–	–	–	–
Blood and gore	–	–	–	–	1.6	–	–	–	–	–

Table 26

The immediate response of the victim to aggression for all aggressive episodes coded in each program category.

Program categories

Response of victim	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Not appropriate	–	–	–	.2%	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unable to respond (dead, et cetera)	13.1%	7.1%	13.2%	7.4%	6.7%	6.7%	–	16.7%	4.4%	.6%
Withdraws from encounter	4.8	29.6	13.2	16.0	7.5	6.7	14.3	33.3	28.6	10.9
Submits unconditionally	32.1	24.3	23.7	26.3	30.8	40.0	52.9	16.7	23.1	37.4
Submits conditionally	–	3.6	1.3	4.2	–	6.7	–	–	5.5	3.2
Responds with verbal aggression	6.0	5.9	11.8	8.9	3.3	–	14.3	–	12.1	11.5
Responds with physical aggression	20.2	8.9	7.9	16.7	33.3	–	14.3	33.3	6.6	3.5
Responds with psychological aggression	–	1.8	–	1.8	1.7	–	–	–	–	6.8
Calls for help	3.6	–	2.6	.9	–	–	14.3	–	–	.3
Tries to conciliate	3.6	.6	6.6	2.4	.8	13.3	–	–	2.2	3.2
Tries to deflect	–	–	1.3	1.6	1.7	–	–	–	–	.9
Introduces arbitrator	6.0	–	–	.4	–	–	–	–	–	1.8
No victim or victim unaware	6.0	7.7	6.6	7.1	14.2	26.7	–	–	9.9	12.1
Response not recognizable	4.8	10.7	11.8	6.2	–	–	–	–	7.7	7.9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In animated shows, 29.6 per cent of the victims withdrew from the encounter.

Immediate response of victim to aggression

For most program categories, there were a wide variety of responses that victims made to aggression, although submitting unconditionally was the most frequent (e.g. in 32.1% of adventure episodes, 23.7% of non-animated children's episodes, 37.4% of situation comedy episodes). In adventures, 20.2 per cent of the victims responded with physical aggression, while 13.1 per cent were unable to respond. In animated episodes, 29.6 per cent of the victims withdrew from the encounter, while in 13.2 per cent of non-animated children's episodes, victims were unable to respond. In crime shows, victims either withdrew (16.0%) or responded with physical aggression (16.7%). In documentary episodes, 33.3 per cent of the victims responded with physical aggression. In drama/medical episodes, 13.3 per cent tried to conciliate. Withdrawal from the encounter occurred in music/variety/talk episodes and situation comedies (10.9%) as did responding with verbal aggression (12.1% and 11.5%, respectively).

Table 27

Motivation package
Motivation for aggression for all aggressive episodes coded in each program category.

Program categories

Motivation Gain: Hedonic	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Power	–	–	–	20.0%	–	–	–	–	16.7%	–
Material gain	1.9	9.7	–	3.6	20.0	–	20.0	9.1	–	1.1
Prestige, self-esteem	1.9	–	3.4	5.5	26.7	12.5	20.0	–	33.3	6.7
Personal pleasure	15.4	35.5	55.2	4.5	6.7	25.0	20.0	–	50.0	49.4
Survival	–	4.7	–	1.8	20.0	–	–	–	–	1.1
Sexual favours	–	–	–	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
Avoid Losing: **Hedonic**										
Power	5.8	–	–	4.5	–	–	20.0	–	–	1.1
Material gain	3.8	–	–	4.5	–	–	20.0	–	–	2.2
Prestige, self-esteem	3.8	16.1	6.9	5.5	6.7	25.0	–	–	–	20.2
Personal pleasure	–	–	–	.9	–	25.0	–	–	–	–
Survival	51.9	9.7	–	8.2	20.0	–	–	90.9	–	5.6
Freedom	1.9	9.7	–	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Love	–	–	–	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Loved ones	3.8	–	–	1.8	–	12.5	–	–	–	2.2
Avoid Losing: **Ethical**										
Social contract legal	1.9	–	–	36.4	–	–	–	–	–	1.1
Social contract illegal	–	3.2	3.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Legal contract	–	–	–	.9	–	–	–	–	–	1.1
Moral obligation to another	7.7	–	17.2	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	7.9
Irrational	–	6.5	10.3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unknown	–	–	3.4	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In adventure shows, the motivation for aggression was survival (avoid losing) in 51.9 per cent of the episodes.

Motivation for aggression

In adventure episodes the most frequent motive for aggression was to avoid losing one's life or survival (in 51.9% of the aggressive episodes). In animated and non-animated children's episodes, gaining personal pleasure was a common motivation (35.5% and 55.2%, respectively), with moral obligation to another appearing with some frequency in non-animated shows (17.2%). In crime shows, a legal social contract was the most frequent motivating factor (36.4%), although gaining power (20%) and personal pleasure (4.5%) also occurred as motives. In situation comedy episodes, gaining personal pleasure (49.4%) and avoiding the loss of prestige or self-esteem (20.2%) were the most frequent motives for aggression.

Table 28

Motivation package
Means used to achieve goals in aggressive episodes for each program category.

Program categories

Means	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Negotiate										
Persuasian	–	3.2	–	3.6	–	–	–	-	–	–
Intimidation/threat	11.5	9.7	3.4	8.2	6.7	25.0	20.0	–	–	4.5
Aggression										
Attack directly	86.5	80.6	96.6	85.5	93.3	75.0	80.0	100%	100%	93.3
Attack indirectly–physical traps	1.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	-	-	–
Passive aggression	–	–	–	–	–	–	-	-	-	2.2
Do nothing	–	–	–	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unknown	–	6.5	–	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In crime show episodes, persuasion was used in 3.6 per cent of the episodes, and intimidation and threat in 8.2 per cent of the episodes.

Means used to achieve goals

In all program categories, attacking directly was the means used to achieve goals most often (e.g. 96.6% of the non-animated children's episodes, in 93.3% of situation comedy episodes). The other "means" most typically used was intimidation or threat (e.g.: in 11.5% of adventure episodes, 8.2% of crime episodes, 25% of drama/medical episodes).

Table 29

Motivation package
Provocations for engaging in conflict in all aggressive episodes for each program category.

Program categories

Provocation	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
To self:										
Physical	15.4%	9.7%	6.9%	3.6%	33.3%	–	–	36.4%	–	1.1%
Psychological	7.7	25.8	20.7	15.5	33.3	50.0	40.0	–	16.7	58.4
Security	51.9	58.1	–	19.1	33.3	–	50.0	45.5	–	12.4
Friends:										
Physical	7.7	–	3.4	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
Psychological	7.7	–	13.8	1.8	–	12.5	–	–	–	3.4
Security	–	–	–	18.2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Family:										
Physical	3.8	–	–	–	–	25.0	–	–	–	1.1
Psychological	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.1
Security	1.9	–	–	1.8	–	–	–	9.1	–	1.1

Program categories Provocation	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Society:										
Physical	–	–	–	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
Psychological	–	–	3.4	.9	–	–	–	–	–	2.2
Security	–	–	3.4	34.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unprovoked	3.8	6.5	48.3	1.8	–	12.5	–	–	83.3	19.1
Unknown	–	–	–	.9	–	–	–	9.1	–	–

e.g.: In adventure shows, the provocation for engaging in conflict was the security of one's self in 51.9 per cent of the episodes.

Provocation for engaging in conflict – aggression

In adventure episodes and animated episodes, threats to one's security were the most typical provocations to aggress (in 51.9% and 58.1% of the episodes, respectively). In non-animated children's episodes, 48.3 per cent of the aggressive episodes were unprovoked. In crime shows, provocation was most usually maintaining the security of society (in 34.5% of the episodes), although security of friends (18.2%) and self (19.1%) was also provoking. In music/variety/talk episodes, 83.3 per cent of the conflict was unprovoked, while in situation comedy episodes, provocation was usually psychological regarding the self (in 58.4% of the episodes).

Table 30

Motivation package
Emotional attitudes in all aggressive episodes for each program category.
Program categories

Attitude	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Fear/anxiety	7.7%	9.7%	–	10.9%	20.0%	12.5%	–	–	–	2.2%
Anger/hate	34.6	16.1	55.2	22.7	26.7	75.0	60.0	–	16.7	41.7
Sadistic/masochistic	1.9	41.9	24.1	.9	6.7	–	–	–	16.7	1.1
Cold/rational	50.0	22.6	–	55.5	13.3	12.5	40.0	–	–	23.6
Fatherly disappointment	–	–	–	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
Laughing, in fun	1.9	–	6.9	–	–	–	–	–	66.7	10.1
Sarcastic	–	–	–	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Friendly jibe	–	–	–	.9	6.7	–	–	–	–	2.2
Mischievous	–	–	–	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Irritated/tired	–	–	–	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	7.9
Not shown	1.9	3.2	10.3	.9	–	–	–	–	–	4.5
Concern/frustration	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.1
Competitive tension	–	–	–	–	6.7	–	–	–	–	–
Indifferent	1.9	–	3.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	2.2
Snobbish	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.1
Self-righteous	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.1
Jealousy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.1
Not applicable	–	6.5	–	1.8	20.0	–	–	100%	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Emotional attitudes

Anger and hate, as emotional attitudes accompanying aggressive acts, were most frequent in non-animated children's episodes (55.2%), drama/medical episodes (75%), game show episodes (60%) and situation comedy episodes (41.6%). Cold/rational attitudes occurred in adventure episodes (50%), animated episodes (22.6%), crime episodes (55.5%) and situation comedy episodes (23.6%). In documentary episodes, there was some evidence of fear and anxiety (20%), while in music/variety/talk episodes, most aggression was done in fun (66.7%). Sadism/masochism appeared in animated (41.9%) and non-animated (24.1%) episodes.

Table 31

Explicit justification in all aggressive episodes for each program category.

Program categories

Explicit justification	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
None	96.2%	96.8%	96.6%	64.5%	86.7%	100%	100%	100%	100%	96.6%
Self-defence	–	–	–	.9	13.3	–	–	–	–	3.4
Legal	–	–	–	30.0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Following orders	–	3.2	–	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
Avenge/revenge	–	–	3.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Protection of innocent	1.9	–	–	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
Treated unfairly	–	–	–	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unknown	–	–	–	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: No explicit justification was offered in 64.5 per cent of the aggressive episodes in crime shows.

Explicit justification for aggression
In most program categories, explicit justifications for aggression were not provided with the following notable exceptions: legal justification was provided in 30 per cent of crime show episodes, and self-defence in 13.3 per cent of documentary episodes.

Table 32

Motivation package
Implicit justification in all aggressive episodes for each program category.

Program categories

Implicit justification	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
None	25.0%	71.0%	69.0%	43.6%	60.0%	62.5%	40.0%	9.1%	100%	59.6%
Self-defence	17.3	19.4	13.8	9.1	6.7	12.5	20.0	27.3	–	19.1
Moral	1.9	–	6.9	4.5	–	–	–	–	–	9.0
Legal	3.8	–	–	4.5	–	–	20.0	–	–	–
Following orders	38.5	–	–	17.3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Contractual promise	–	–	–	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Avenge/revenge	1.9	6.5	10.3	2.7	20.0	12.5	–	–	–	6.7
Protection of innocent	5.8	–	–	4.5	–	–	–	–	–	1.1
Treated unfairly	5.8	3.2	–	3.6	–	12.5	20.0	–	–	2.2
Protecting criminal interests	–	–	–	5.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Family quarrel	–	–	–	1.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Basic need (e.g. hunger)	–	–	–	–	13.3	–	63.6	–	–	–
Duty to help friend or family	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.1
Fulfilling role demanded by occupation	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.1
Unknown	–	–	–	.9	–	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In adventure shows, the implicit justification for aggression in 38.5 per cent of the aggressive episodes was following orders.

Table 32

Implicit justification for aggression

In adventure episodes, the clearest implicit justification given was "following orders", (in 38.5% of the episodes). Although for the most part, no justification was provided in animated and non-animated children's episodes, there was some evidence of self-defence as justification. In crime episodes, a wider variety of implicit justifications was provided, although, again, no justification appeared in 43.6 per cent of the episodes. Following orders (17.3%), legal (4.5%) and self-defence (9.1%) appeared as some of the most frequent implicit justifications, as did protecting criminal interests (5.5%). Avenge/revenge was given as justification in 20 per cent of drama/medical episodes and self-defence was implicit in 19.1 per cent of situation comedy episodes.

Table 33

Outcome of conflict for characters for each program category

Program categories

Outcome	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
No stake in outcome	–	6.8	–	–	–	–	–	–	58.8	1.8
Winner through:										
Own aggression	22.9%	11.9%	9.1%	23.9%	40.0%	11.8%	33.3%	42.9%	–	11.8%
Others' aggression	6.4	22.0	1.5	2.9	–	–	–	–	–	3.6
No aggression	2.1	–	–	2.5	–	–	–	4.8	–	1.2
Loser through:										
Own aggression	2.1	23.7	3.0	2.5	–	–	11.1	9.5	–	1.8
Others' aggression	34.3	16.9	39.4	18.5	36.7	11.8	11.1	23.8	5.9	13.0
No aggression	–	–	1.5	1.2	–	–	–	4.8	–	.6
No clear outcome	32.1	18.6	45.5	47.7	23.3	76.5	44.4	14.3	35.3	66.3
Unknown	–	–	–	.8	–	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

e.g.: In adventure programs, characters were winners through their own aggression in 22.9 per cent of the aggressive episodes.

Outcome of conflict for characters

For most types of program categories, a fair proportion of characters came out as winners through their own aggression – for example, in 22.9 per cent of adventure episodes, in 23.9 per cent of crime episodes, in 40 per cent of documentary episodes. Additionally, however, there are frequently losers through the aggression of others – in 34.3 per cent of adventure episodes, 39.4 per cent of non-animated children's episodes, 18.5 per cent of crime show episodes. Often, though, there was no clear outcome in 47.7 per cent of crime episodes, 66.3 per cent of situation comedy episodes, et cetera.

Table 34

Total proportions of aggressors in the aggressive episodes over program categories

Aggressor Type	Total %	Absolute #
Human (live)	84.3	1265
Human (cartoon)	7.7	116
Human with extra powers	.8	12
Humanized animal	1.5	23
Animal (live or cartoon)	4.8	72
Thing or creature	.6	9
Act of nature	.2	3
Unclear (off-screen)	.1	1
	100%	

Types of aggressors: proportions over all categories

Over all categories, it is clear that most aggression was initiated by live humans (84.3%). Other aggressors that frequently appeared were cartoon humans (7.7%) and animals (4.8%).

Table 35

Distribution of victims in the aggression episodes across program categories

Victim Type	Total %	Absolute #
No victim	2.3	34
Human (live)	82.1	1233
Human (cartoon)	6.7	100
Human with extra powers	.5	8
Humanized animal	2.2	33
Animal	4.8	72
Thing	1.3	19
Group	.1	2
	100%	

Types of victims: proportions over all categories

Across categories, it is evident that most victims of aggression were human (82.1%), although there were some cartoon human victims (6.7%) and animal victims (4.8%).

,

Table 36

Total proportions of single aggressors and groups of aggressors across program categories

Aggressors	Total %	Absolute #
Single	87.5	1314
Group	12.3	184
Unknown	.2	3
	100%	

Single or groups of aggressors: total proportions over all categories

Over all categories, single aggressors were most common (in 87.5 per cent of the episodes).

Table 37

Total proportions of single victims and groups of victims across program categories

Victims	Total %	Absolute #
Single	81.9%	1229
Group	15.9	238
No victim	2.3	34
	100%	

e.g.: In 81.9 per cent of the aggressive episodes, victims were single individuals.

Table 38

Total proportions of types of aggressors and victims in aggressive interactions across program categories

Interactions between	Total %	Absolute #
Strangers	18.4	276
Spouses/mates	3.6	54
Direct family	4.0	50
In-laws	1.7	25
Extended family	1.0	15
Friends	11.3	170
Neighbours	.7	10
Colleagues	12.0	180
Public officials and others	2.2	33
Competitors	2.0	30
Police and others	17.2	258
Enemies	7.3	110
Labour-management	.2	3
Others	16.9	253
Boss-employee	1.1	17
Teacher-student	.3	5

Interactions between	Total %	Absolute #
Ex-mates	.1	1
Military and others	.1	1
	100%	

Aggressive interactions: total proportions of types of aggressors and victims across all categories

Over all categories, most aggressive interactions occurred between strangers (18.4%), or police and others (17.2%). Additionally, there were often aggressive interactions between friends (11.3%) and colleagues (12.0%).

Table 39

Group relations of opponents: total proportions over all categories

Group relations	Total %	Absolute #
Same nationality, ethnic, racial	63.7	955
Different	21.6	324
Uncodable	14.8	222
	100%	

Group relations of opponents: total proportions over all categories

For the most part, over all program categories, opponents in conflict tended to be of the same nationality or racial, ethnic origin (in 63.7% of the episodes). They were of different nationalities, et cetera, in 21.6 per cent of the episodes.

Table 40

Mode of aggression
The total proportion of the different modes of bodily aggression employed in all the aggressive episodes coded.
I Body

Mode of aggression	Total %	Absolute #
No "harm by body" mode	83.1	1247
Assault	4.9	73
Battery	5.6	84
Homicide	.1	1
Falling	.2	3
Rape and other sexual offences	.1	2
Martial arts	.1	2
Cartoon violence	1.3	20
Grab, restrain	1.4	21
Push, shove	1.0	15
Mischievous	.1	1
Animal harm (bite, maul, et cetera)	.6	9
Sneeze	.1	1
Trying to disarm	.2	3
Holding onto–in control	.2	3

Mode of aggression	Total %	Absolute #
Trip	.2	3
Wrestle	.1	1
Bite	.1	1
Kick	.5	7
Set adrift	.1	1
Run into, collide	.1	1
Pull by ear	.1	2
	100%	

Mode of aggression, body: proportions over all categories

Over all program categories, when the body was used as a mode of aggression, assault, (4.9%) and battery (5.6%) were most frequently employed.

Table 41

Mode of aggression
The total proportion of the different weapons and physical modes of aggression employed in all aggressive episodes coded.

II Weapon	Total %	Absolute #
No weapon involved	77.3	1161
Gun	.5	8
Hand gun	4.1	62
Rifle	1.8	27
Machine guns	.9	14
Small household device	.9	13
Small non-household device	1.5	23
Object not intended for aggression	5.8	87
Small explosive	.6	9
Sophisticated machinery	2.4	36
Elaborate organization	.3	4
Legal drug	.3	4
Poison	.5	7
Other agent	.1	2
Act of nature	.3	4
Water	.2	3
Unclear	.5	7
Handcuffs	.3	5
Magic	.6	9
Cage/trap	.2	3
Fantasy	.7	11
Tie-up	.1	1
Tear gas bomb	.1	1

e.g.: Rifles were the weapons used in 1.8 per cent of the aggression episodes.

Table 41

Weapons and physical modes of aggression: proportions over all categories

Over all types of programs, the weapon most frequently used was some object not intended to be a weapon (5.9%). In addition hand guns (3.9%), sophisticated machinery (2.7%), rifles (1.9%) and small non-household devices (1.5%) were used.

Table 42

The total proportion of different potential modes of aggression (explicit and implicit threats) over all categories.

III Threats (Explicit and Implicit)

Mode of aggression	Total %	Absolute #
No threat	72.8	1092
Direct verbal threat	5.5	82
Indirect verbal	2.7	41
Threat of use of other source	.8	12
Gestures (e.g. shaking fist)	1.0	15
Chasing	3.9	59
Brandishing a weapon	11.3	169
Person physically restrained	1.1	17
Kidnapping (no ransom demand)	.4	6
Hostage taking (no ransom demand	.5	8
	100%	

Explicit and implicit threats: proportions over all categories

Over all categories, the most frequent threat was brandishing a weapon (11.3%). Additionally, direct (5.5%) and indirect (2.7%) verbal threats occurred, as did chasing (3.9%)

Table 43

The total proportion of the different psychological modes of aggression employed in all the aggressive episodes coded

IV Psychological harm

Mode of aggression	Total %	Absolute #
None	75.1	1128
Verbal abuse	12.2	183
Sarcarsm	8.9	133
Passive aggression	.7	11
Harrassment	.3	4
Indirect verbal abuse	2.8	42
	100%	

Psychological harm: proportions over all categories

In terms of psychological harm, verbal abuse (12.2%) and sarcasm (8.9%) were clearly used most frequently over all categories.

Table 44

The total proportion of the different socio-economic or political aggression employed in all aggressive episodes coded

V Socio-economic or political harm

Mode of aggression	Total %	Absolute #
None	99.1	1488
Fraud	.1	2
Blackmail	.3	4
Demonstration/sit in	.1	2
Threat to sue	.1	2
Threaten to report to higher authority	.1	2
Copying secret papers	.1	1
	100%	

Socio-economic and political harm: proportions over all categories

It is clear that socio-economic or political harm occurred very rarely (in .9% of all aggressive episodes).

Table 45

The total proportions of "context of aggression" categories across program categories

Context of aggression	Total %	Absolute #
Unclear	7.2	108
Aggression occurs in serious quarrel	30.6	459
Aggression appears as scrimmage, friendly	1.7	25
Within sport context	1.2	18
Within comic, sham context	26.2	394
Sinister context (possibility of death)	33.1	497
	100%	

Table 46

The total proportion of "centrality" categories for all aggressive episodes coded

Centrality of aggressive episode to the program	Total %	Absolute #
Incidental to plot	69.3	1040
Central	28.9	432
Relation to plot unclear	1.9	29
	100%	

Centrality of Aggression: Proportions over all Categories

Across all categories, aggression was more often incidental to the plot (69.3% of the episodes) than central to the plot (28.9%).

Table 47

Total proportions of aggressive "intentions" across program categories

Aggressive intentions	Total %	Absolute #
Accidental	1.9	29
Intentional	97.6	1465
Unclear	.5	7

Table 48

The total proportion of each distance category in all aggressive episodes coded

Distance between aggressors and victims	Total %	Absolute #
Not appropriate	5.5	83
Direct	78.2	1174
Chase	4.8	72
Face to face (but beyond distance of normal conversation)	8.1	121
Without sight	2.8	9
Global	.6	
	100%	

e.g.: In 78.2 per cent of aggressive incidents, aggression occurred between people in direct and close proximity.

Table 49

Total proportions of cognitive preparations of victims across program categories

Cognitive preparation	Total %	Absolute #
Unclear	5.6	84
Unaware	37.8	567
Recognized aggression spontaneously	33.2	498
Anticipates aggression	18.6	279
Anticipates aggression in great detail	2.7	40
Not applicable	2.2	33
	100%	

Table 50

The total proportions of consequences to the victim, recovery and double context of consequences, in all aggressive episodes coded

Consequences	%	Total #	Recovery	%	Total #
None shown	4.5	68	N/A	82.7	1242
None	81.1	1217	yes	10.2	153
Little impaired	6.1	91	no	7.1	106
Severely impaired	1.9	28	100%		
Dead	1.9	28			
Apprehended	1.1	17			
Decapitated, et cetera	.8	12			
Shown in other episode	1.1	16			
Not applicable	1.6	24			
	100%				

Consequences to the victim and recovery: proportions over all categories

Over all categories, it can be seen that typically, no physical consequences accrued to the victim (in 81.1% of all episodes). When they did occur, 10.2 per cent of the victims recovered and 7.1 per cent did not.

Table 51

The action of witnesses to aggression in all aggressive episodes coded totalled across program categories

Action of witnesses	Total %	Absolute #
Passive; do not act	35.4	531
Cannot act (restrained)	3.1	46
Assist or encourage aggression	9.6	144
Use physical means to end aggression	1.0	15
Seek direct alternatives to aggression	2.9	44
Seek indirect alternative to aggression	.9	13
Other or no witnesses	47.1	707
Mixture of assist or encourage aggression and seek indirect alternative to aggression	.1	1
	100%	

Action of witnesses to aggression: proportions over all categories

Over all categories where witnesses were present, the clearest response was apathy; that is, witnesses did not act, were passive (in 35.4% of the aggressive episodes). However, there were also 9.6 per cent of the episodes where witnesses encouraged or assisted with the ongoing aggression.

Table 52

The pain and gore illustrated in aggressive episodes coded, totalled across all program categories

Pain	Total %	Gore	Total %
No	96.9	No	98.7
Moderate	2.8	Some blood	1.1
Extreme	.3	Blood and gore	.1
	100%		

e.g.: Read as 96.9 per cent of all aggressive episodes coded illustrate no pain, 2.8 per cent illustrate moderate pain and .3 per cent illustrate extreme pain.

Table 53

Immediate response of victim to aggression: proportions over all categories

Over all categories, the following were the most frequent responses of victims to aggression: submitting unconditionally (in 29.1% of the episodes); withdrawing from the encounter (15.8%); responding with physical aggression (13.3%), responding with verbal aggression (8.1%) or being unable to respond (6.3%).

The immediate response of the victim to aggression for all aggressive episodes coded, totalled across program categories

Response of victim	Total %	Absolute #
Not appropriate	.1	1
Unable to respond (dead)	6.3	92
Withdraws from encounter	15.8	232
Submits unconditionally	29.1	428
Submits conditionally	3.2	47
Responds with verbal aggression	8.1	128
Responds with physical aggression	13.3	195
Responds with pyschological aggression	2.6	38
Calls for help	.8	12
Tries to conciliate	2.6	38
Tries to deflect	1.0	15
Introduces arbitrator	.9	13
No victim or victim unaware	9.0	133
Response not recognizable	6.7	99
	100%	

Table 54

Motivation package
Total proportions of different motivations to aggress for all aggressive episodes coded, across all program categories.

Motivation gain: hedonic	Total %	Absolute #
Power	6.5	23
Material gain	3.9	14
Prestige, self-esteem	6.2	22
Personal pleasure	25.6	91
Survival	2.5	9
Sexual favours	.3	1
Avoid losing: hedonic		
Power	1.4	5
Material gain	2.8	10
Prestige, self-esteem	10.1	36
Personal pleasure	.8	3
Survival	16.0	57
Freedom	1.7	6
Love	.6	2
Loved ones	1.7	6

Avoid losing: ethical	Total %	Absolute #
Social contract–legal	11.8	42
Social contract–illegal	.6	2
Legal contract	.6	2
Moral obligation to another	5.1	18
Irrational	1.4	5
Unknown	.6	2
	100%	

e.g.: In 25.6 per cent of all aggressive episodes, the motivation was to gain personal pleasure.

Motivation to aggress: proportions over all categories

Across all program categories, it is clear that a wide variety of motivations to aggress were presented. However, the most frequent motives seemed to be the following: to gain personal pleasure (in 25.6% of the aggressive episodes), to avoid losing one's life or survival (in 16.0% of the episodes), and to maintain a legal social contract (in 11.8% of the episodes).

Table 55

Motivation package
Total proportions of means used to achieve goals for all aggressive episodes coded, across program categories.

Means	Total %	Absolute #
Negotiate		
Persuasion	1.4	5
Intimidation, threat	7.6	27
Aggression		
Attack directly	88.8	316
Attack indirectly– Physical traps	.3	1
Passive aggression	.6	2
Do nothing	.6	2
Unknown	.8	3
	100%	

e.g.: In 88.8 per cent of aggressive episodes, the means used to achieve one's goal was to attack directly.

Table 56

Provocation for engaging in conflict: proportions over all categories

Over all categories of programs, the provocation for aggression was usually a threat to self, either physical (in 7.6% of the episodes), psychological (in 27.8% of the episodes) or to security (in 25.3% of the episodes). Additionally, in 12.1 per cent of the episodes, there was no provocation.

Motivation package
Total proportions of provocations for engaging in conflict in all aggressive episodes over all program categories.

Provocation	Total %	Absolute #
To self:		
Physical	7.6	27
Psychological	27.8	99
Security	25.3	90
Friends:		
Physical	1.7	6
Psychological	3.9	14
Security	5.6	20
Family:		
Physical	1.4	5
Psychological	.3	1
Security	1.4	5
Society:		
Physical	.3	1
Psychological	1.1	4
Security	11.0	39
Unprovoked	12.1	43
Unknown	.6	2
	100%	

e.g.: The provocation for engaging in conflict was a psychological threat to self in 27.8 per cent of the episodes coded.

Table 57

Motivation Package
Total proportions of emotional attitudes in all aggressive episodes over all program categories.

Attitude	Total %	Absolute #
Fear/anxiety	7.0	25
Anger/hate	32.3	115
Sadistic/masochistic	7.0	25
Cold/rational	33.7	120
Fatherly disappointment	.3	1
Laughing, in fun	4.5	16
Sarcastic	.6	2
Friendly jibe	1.1	4

Attitude	Total %	Absolute #
Mischievous	.6	2
Irritated/tired	2.5	9
Not shown	2.8	10
Concern/frustration	.3	1
Competitive tension	.3	1
Indifferent	1.1	4
Snobbish	.3	1
Self-righteous	.3	1
Jealousy	.3	1
Not applicable	5.1	18
	100%	

e.g.: In 33.7 per cent of the aggressive episodes over all program categories, the emotional attitude of the aggressor was cold and rational.

Table 58

Motivation package
Total proportions of explicit justifications in all aggressive episodes over all program categories

Explicit justification	Total %	Absolute #
None	86.5	308
Self-defence	1.7	6
Legal	9.3	33
Following orders	.3	1
Contractual promise	.6	2
Avenge/revenge	.3	1
Protection of innocent	.6	2
Treated unfairly	.6	2
Unknown	.3	1
	100%	

e.g.: The explicit justification for aggression was legal in 9.3 per cent of the aggressive episodes.

Explicit justification for aggression: proportions over all categories

Over all categories, there was seldom explicit justification given for aggression (in 86.5% of the episodes).

Table 59

Implicit justification for aggression: proportions over all categories

For the most part, over all program categories, no implicit justification for aggression was provided (in 50.3% of the aggressive episodes). However, there was some evidence of self-defense as justification (14.6%), following orders as justification (11.0%) and avenge/revenge as justification (5.3%).

Motivation package
Total proportions of implicit justifications in all aggressive episodes over all program categories.

Implicit justification	Total %	Absolute #
None	50.3	179
Self-defence	14.6	52
Moral	4.5	16
Legal	2.2	8
Following orders	11.0	39
Contractual promise	.6	2
Avenge/revenge	5.3	19
Protection of innocent	2.5	9
Treated unfairly	3.5	12
Protecting criminal interest	1.7	6
Family quarrel	.6	2
Basic need (e.g. hunger)	2.5	9
Duty to help friend or family	.3	1
Fulfilling role demanded by occupation	.3	1
Unknown	.3	1
	100%	

e.g.: Over all program categories, the implicit justification for aggression in 14.6 per cent of the aggressive episodes was self-defense.

Table 60

Motivation package
Total proportions of outcome of conflict for characters across program categories.

Outcome	Total %	Absolute #
No stake in outcome	2.2	17
Winner:		
Through own aggression	19.3	149
Through others' aggression	4.7	36
Through no aggression	1.6	12
Loser:		
Through own aggression	4.0	31
Through others aggression	22.2	171
Through no aggression	.8	6
No clear outcome	45.0	347
Unknown	.3	2
	100%	

Outcome of conflict for characters: proportions over all categories

Although there was often no clear outcome (in 45% of the episodes), characters either came out of the conflict as winners through their own aggression (in 19.3% of the episodes) or as losers through others' aggression (in 22.2% of the episodes).

Harm to Self

In addition to analyzing programs for aggression, coders also looked at what we call "harm-to-self". Essentially this is a special form of aggressive behaviour where aggressor and victim are one and the same individual. Thus, harm-to-self episodes were coded according to the aggression episode format. As Table 1 illustrates, seven of the ten program categories depicted harm-to self episodes. The proportions of these to the total number of episodes was the following (ranked from highest to lowest proportions): animated shows 10.7 per cent; non-animated children's shows 4.2 per cent; drama medical 2.2 per cent; game shows 2 per cent; situation comedies 1.3 per cent; documentaries .6 per cent; and crime shows .1 per cent. Descriptions of how harm-to-self was depicted in each program category follow.

A. *Animated shows (AN)*
In animated shows, cartoon humans most frequently harmed themselves (59.1%), although harm-to-self also occurred with humanized animals (27.3%), and animals (11.4% – Table 2). This form of harm often involved falling (38.6%), cartoon aggression (34.1%) or even running into another (4.5% – Table 3). When weapons were used to harm the self, they were usually objects not intended for aggression (18.2%) although small household devices (2.3%) and small explosive (2.3%) also appeared (Table 4). The context for this form of aggression was most often comic (70.5% – Table 5), as one might expect in this category, but often sinister (20.5%) also. However, there was a comic element built in to 34.1 per cent of the episodes (Table 6). Harm-to-

self was usually incidental to the plot (70.5% – Table 7) and either accidental (97.7%) or due to carelessness (2.3% – Table 8). Although there were usually no physical consequences (28.6%), there were episodes where individuals were somewhat impaired (25.0%) or decapitated, skinned alive, et cetera (25.0% – Table 9). Where applicable, 29.5 per cent of the individuals involved recovered while 20.5 per cent did not (Table 10). Witnesses were usually passive (40.9% – Table 11). Although most often no pain was expressed (84.1%), there were instances where moderate pain was expressed (15.9%). In addition, in all of these episodes, there was never blood shown (Table 12).

B. *Non-animated children's shows (CH)*

In these programs, live humans (70%), cartoon humans (20%) and creatures (10%) harmed themselves. Cartoon aggression occurred in 20 per cent of these episodes; otherwise the harm consisted of falling (10%), walking into doors (10%) and running into another (10%). When weapons were used to harm the self, they included objects not intended for aggression (30%), small non-household devices (10%) and poison (10%). The context for these episodes was usually unclear (60%), otherwise comic (40%).

Harm-to-self was usually incidental to the plot (80.0%) and usually accidental (90.0%). Although no physical consequences occurred in 30.0 per cent of the episodes, some impairment did occur (20.0%), as did decapitation (20.0%). More individuals did not recover (30.0%), than did (10.0%) in this category. Witnesses were either passive (30.0%) or used physical means to end aggression (10.0%). There was never any pain expressed, nor was there any blood shown.

C. *Drama medical shows (D/M)*

In these shows harm-to-self always involved live humans. Of these episodes falling occurred in 20 per cent while the following "weapons" appeared in the other episodes – objects not intended for aggression (20%), poison (20%) and fire (40%). The context, when clear, was sinister (40%) or comic (20%). Aggression was more often central to the plot (80%) than incidental and harm-to-self was usually accidental (80%). Consequences consisted of both severe (60%) and moderate (20%) impairment. Of individuals who harmed themselves, 60% per cent did not recover. Witnesses were rarely present; when they were they did not act (20%). Although there was no blood shown, extreme pain was expressed in 20 per cent of these incidents.

D. *Game shows (GA)*

Harm-to-self in this category only consisted of one episode. This consisted of a live human who used an object not intended for aggression as a "weapon". The context was comic; the episode incidental to the "plot" and accidental. There were no physical consequences

although some moderate pain was expressed. Witnesses were passive.

E. *Situation comedies (SIT)*

Again, only live humans were involved in these episodes, using either an object not intended for aggression (33.3%) or committing suicide (33.3%). This was the only instance of suicide in all episodes coded! The context of these episodes was usually comic (66.7%), although one episode occurred in a serious quarrel (33.3%). The harm-to-self episodes were usually central to the plot (66.7%) and more often intentional (66.7%) than accidental. Usually there were no physical consequences except for the one instance of severe impairment (the suicide).

F. *Documentaries (DOC)*

Both live humans (75%) and cartoon humans (25%) harmed themselves in this category. This harm included cartoon aggression (25%), falling (25%), and the use of small non-household devices (50%). The context was always comic and harm-to-self was both incidental to the plot and accidental. There were no physical consequences, moderate pain (50%) and no blood shown. When witnesses were present, they encouraged the aggression (25%).

G. *Crimes shows (CR)*

As in the Game Show category, there was only one incident of harm to self in crime shows. This consisted of a live human who harmed himself with a small explosive device (that is, he blew himself up!). The context of the incident was clearly sinister. Further, this incident was central to the plot. The act was accidental, resulting in severe impairment to the individual involved. Recovery did not occur. Moderate pain was expressed and some blood shown in this particular episode. Witnesses sought a direct alternative to aggression.

In summary, it can be seen that harm-to-self did not occur, it was mostly in animated shows. What follows is a general description of how harm-to-self was depicted in all the episodes coded. Most harm-to-self involved cartoon humans (42.6%), although live humans (30.9%), and animals (7.4%) and creatures (1.5% – Table 13) also harmed themselves. Harm-to-self most frequently occurred by falling (29.4%) although instances of cartoon aggression (that is, forms of aggression that could *only* occur in cartoons, such as, being flattened by a steam roller or the like) also occurred (26.5% – Table 14). When weapons or other physical modes were involved, these most often consisted of objects not intended for aggression (20.6%) but there were instances of the use of small non-household devices (4.4%), explosive devices (2.9%), poison (2.9%) and fire (2.9% – Table 15).

The context of harm-to-self episodes was most often comic (63.2% – Table 16), or a double context (comic

element built in) was involved (30.9%). Harm-to-self was usually incidental to the plot (67.6%) and most often accidental (92.6% – Table 17). This latter finding was most *unlike* the aggressive episodes where aggression was usually intentional. although there were usually no physical consequences (41.2%), there were instances of moderate and severe impairment (20.6%

and 7.4%, respectively) and of decapitation (19.1% – Table 18). Where applicable, about half the individuals recovered (23.5%) while the rest did not (25% – Table 19). Witnesses were usually passive (35.3% – Table 20). Although there was only one instance where blood was shown, moderate pain was expressed in 16.2% of the episodes and extreme pain in 1.5% (Table 21).

Table 1

Harm-to-self package
Occurrence of harm-to-self in all episodes coded for each program category.

Program categories

Harm-to-self	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Yes	–	10.7% (38)	4.2% (11)	.1% (1)	.6% (2)	2.2% (4)	2.0% (1)	–	–	1.3% (3)
No	100	89.3	95.8	99.9	99.4	97.8	98.0	100	100	98.7

Table 2

The proportion of categories of characters who harmed themselves in all the harm-to-self episodes coded for each program category

Program categories

Characters who harmed themselves	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	SIT
Human live	2.3%	70.0%	100%	75.0%	100%	100%	100%
Human cartoon	59.1	20.0	–	25.0	–	–	–
Humanized animal	27.3	–	–		–		–
Animal	11.4	–		–			
Thing/creature	–	10.0				–	.
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Types of characters who harmed themselves

In most program categories, live humans harmed themselves. Cartoon humans harmed themselves in animated (59.1%) and children's non-animated programs (20%). Additionally, humanized animals (27.3%) and animals (11.4%) harmed themselves in animated programs.

Table 3

The mode portrayed in harm-to-self episodes for each program category: body

Program categories

I Body Mode of harm-to-self	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	SIT
Not body	22.7%	50.0%	100%	50.0%	80.0%	100%	100%
Falling	38.6	10.0	–	25.0	20.0	–	–
Cartoon aggression	34.1	20.0	–	25.0	–	–	–
Walking into a door	–	10.0				.	
Running into another	4.5	10.0	–	–	–		–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 3

Mode of harm-to-self: body

In animated and children's non-animated shows, falling, cartoon aggression and running into another occurred. In children's non-animated programs, walking into a door also occurred (10%). Documentaries and drama/medical shows also had incidents of falling, (25% and 20%, respectively).

Table 4

Mode in harm-to-self episodes for each program category: weapon

Program categories

II Weapon

Mode of harm-to-self	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	SIT
No weapon	77.3%	50.0%	–	50.0%	20.0	–	33.3%
Small household device	2.3	–		–	–	–	–
Small non-household device	–	10.0	–	50.0	–	–	–
Object not intended for aggression	18.2	30.0	–	–	20.0	100%	33.3
Small explosive	2.3	–	100%	–	–	–	–
Poison	–	10.0	–	–	20.0	–	–
Suicide	–	–	–	–	–	–	33.3
Fire	–	–	–	–	40.0	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Mode of harm-to-self: weapons and other physical modes

In most of the program categories, objects not intended for aggression were used as weapons (eg. Animated episodes – 18.2%, children's non-animated episodes – 30%). Small explosives were used in animated programs (2.3%) and crime shows (100%). Fire (40%) and poison (20%) appeared in drama/medical episodes and poison also appeared in children's non-animated shows (10%). A suicide occurred in situation comedies (33.3%).

Table 5

The proportion of context categories in all harm-to-self episodes coded for each program category

Program categories

Context of harm-to-self	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	SIT
Unclear	2.3%	60.0%	–	–	40.0%	–	–
Harm-to-self occurs in a quarrel	–	–	–	–	–	–	33.3
Occurs in a sport context	6.8	–	–			–	
Occurs in comic or sham context	70.5	40.0	–	100%	20.0	100%	66.7
Occurs in a sinister context	20.5	–	100%	–	40.0	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Context of aggression in harm-to-self episodes

In most program categories, harm-to-self occurred in a comic context (e.g. in 70.5% of animated episodes, in 66.7% of situation comedy episodes). Sinister contexts appeared in animated programs (20.5%), crime shows (100%) and drama/medical shows (40%).

Table 6

The double context of harm-to-self episodes for each program category

Program categories							
Double context	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	SIT
Yes	34.1%	40.0%	–	–	–	–	66.7%
No	65.9	60.0	100%	100%	100%	100%	33.3

Double context of harm-to-self

Double context of harm-to-self episodes occurred in animated programs (34.1%), children's non-animated programs (40%) and situation comedies (66.7%).

Table 7

The centrality of the harm-to-self episodes to the program for each program category

Program categories							
Centrality	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	SIT
Incidental	70.5%	80.0%	–	100%	20.0%	100%	33.3%
Central	29.5	20.0	100%	–	80.0	–	66.7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Centrality of harm-to-self episodes to plot

Harm-to-self episodes were central to plots in crime shows (100%), drama/medical shows (80%) and situation comedies (66.7%). Otherwise, these episodes were largely incidental to plots.

Table 8

The intentions of "aggressors" in harm-to-self episodes for each category

Program categories							
Intentional	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	SIT
Accidental	97.7%	90.0%	100%	100%	80.0%	100%	33.3%
Intentional	–	10.0	–	–	–	–	66.7
Carelessness	2.3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unclear	–	–	–	–	20.0	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Harm-to-self intentions

Most episodes of harm-to-self were accidental with the following exceptions: in 2.3 per cent of animated episodes, the incidents were due to carelessness; in 10 per cent of children's episodes and 66.7 per cent of situation comedies, these acts were intentional.

Table 9

The proportion of consequence categories in all harm-to-self episodes coded for each program category

Program categories Consequences to the person	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	SIT
None shown	6.8	30.0	–	–	–	–	–
None	38.6	30.0	–	100%	20.0	100%	66.7
Somewhat impaired	25.0	20.0	–	–	20.0	–	–
Severely impaired	–	–	100%	–	60.0	–	33.3
Decapitated	25.0	20.0	–	–	–	–	–
Shown in subsequent episode	4.5	–	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Physical consequences due to harm-to-self

Although no physical consequences occurred in a majority of each category's episodes (eg. 66.7% of situation comedies, 38.6% of animated programs), some impairment occurred in animated shows (25%), children's (20%), and drama/medical shows (20%), while severe impairment occurred in crime (100%), drama/medical (60%) and situation comedies (33.3%). Decapitations appeared in animated and non-animated children's shows (25% and 20%, respectively).

Table 10

The proportion of recovery in all harm-to-self episodes coded for each program category

Program categories Recovery	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	SIT
Not applicable	50.0%	60.0%	–	100%	–	100%	66.7%
Yes	29.5	10.0	–	–	40.0	–	–
No	20.5	30.0	100%	–	60.0	–	33.3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Recovery of individuals from harm-to-self

When applicable, individuals often did not recover from harm (eg. crime – 100%, children's non-animated – 30%, drama/medical – 60%, situation comedies – 33.3%). In animated shows, there was somewhat more recovery (29.5%).

Table 11

The proportion of witnesses reaction categories in all harm-to-self episodes coded for each program category

Program categories Reaction of witnesses	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	SIT
Passive	40.9%	30.0%	–	–	20.0	100%	33.3%
Encourage aggression	2.3	–	–	25.0	–	–	–
Use physical means to end aggression	–	10.0	–	–	–	–	–
Seek direct alternative to aggression	2.3	–	100%	–	–	–	–
Other or no witnesses	54.5	60.0	–	75.0	80.0	–	66.7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Action of witnesses to harm-to-self

In most program categories, where witnesses were present, they were usually passive (eg. animated shows – 40.9%, children's – 30%, drama/medical – 20%).

Witnesses encouraged aggression in 25% of documentary episodes, while witnesses in animated (2.3%) and crime (100%) shows sought a direct alternative to aggression.

Table 12

Illustrated pain and gore in all harm-to-self episodes coded for each program category

Program categories I Pain	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	SIT
No pain	84.1%	100%	–	50.0%	80.0%	–	100%
Moderate	15.9	–	100%	50.0	–	100%	–
Extreme	–	–	–	–	20.0	–	–
II Gore							
No gore	100%	100%	–	100%	100%	100%	100%
Some blood shown	–	–	100%	–	–	–	–
Blood & gore	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Illustrated pain and gore

Moderate pain was expressed in animated shows (15.9%), crime shows (100%) and documentaries (50%).

Extreme pain was expressed in drama/medical episodes. Some amount of blood appeared in the crime episode.

Table 13

The total proportions of characters who harmed themselves in all the harm-to-self episodes coded across all the program categories

Characters who harmed themselves	Total %	Absolute #
Human live	30.9	21
Human cartoon	42.6	29
Humanized animal	17.6	12
Animal	7.4	5
'Thing', creature	1.5	1
	100%	

Types of characters who harmed themselves: proportions across categories

Most characters who harmed themselves were cartoon humans (42.6%), although there were quite a few incidents where live humans (30.9%) and humanized animals (17.6%) harmed themselves.

Table 14

Total proportions of the mode portrayed in harm-to-self episodes across all program categories: body

I Body Mode of harm-to-self	Total %	Absolute #
Not body	38.2	26
Falling	29.4	20
Cartoon aggression	26.5	18
Walking into a door	1.5	1
Running into another	4.4	3
	100%	

Mode of harm-to-self – body: proportions across categories

Falling (29.4%) and cartoon aggression (26.5%) were the most frequent body modes of harm-to-self.

Table 15

Mode in harm-to-self episodes across all program categories: weapon

Mode of harm-to-self	Total %	Absolute #
No weapon	63.2	43
Small household device	1.5	1
Small non-household device	4.4	3
Object not intended for aggression	20.6	14
Small explosive devices	2.9	2
Poison	2.9	2
Suicide	1.5	1
Fire	2.9	2
	100%	

Table 15

Mode of harm-to-self – weapons: proportions across categories

Objects not intended for aggression (20.6%) were the major weapons used in harm-to-self episodes.

Table 16

The proportion of context categories in all harm-to-self episodes coded across all program categories

Context of harm-to-self	Total %	Absolute #
Unclear	13.2	9
Occurs in quarrel	1.5	1
Occurs in sport context	4.4	3
Occurs in comic/sham context	63.2	43
Occurs in sinister context	17.6	12
	100%	

Table 16

Context of aggression in harm-to-self: proportions across categories

Although most harm-to-self episodes occurred in a comic context (63.2%), there were instances of sinister contexts (17.6%).

Table 17

Total proportions of the following for all episodes coded

Double context	Total %	Absolute #
Yes	39.0	21
No	79.1	47
Centrality		
Incidental	67.6	46
Central	32.4	22
Intentional		
Accidental	92.6	63
Intentional	4.4	3
Carelessness	1.5	1
Unclear	1.5	1

Table 17

Double context, centrality to plot and intentions in harm-to-self episodes: proportions across categories

A double context occurred in 30.9 per cent of these episodes. Harm-to-self was more often incidental to the plots (67.6%) and usually accidental (92.5%).

Table 18

The consequences to the character in all harm-to-self episodes coded across all program categories

Consequences	Total %	Absolute #
None shown	8.8	6
None	41.2	28
Somewhat impaired	20.6	14
Severely impaired	7.4	5
Decapitated	19.1	13
Shown in subsequent episode	2.9	2
	100%	

Physical consequences due to harm-to-self: proportions across categories

Although in the majority of episodes there were no physical consequences (41.2%), moderate impairment (20.6%) and decapitation (19.1%) did occur with some frequency.

Table 19

Total proportions of recovery in harm-to-self episodes across program categories

Recovery	Total %	Absolute #
Not applicable	51.5	35
Yes	23.5	16
No	25.0	17
	100%	

Recovery of individuals from harm-to-self: proportions across categories

When applicable, 23.5 per cent of the individuals who harmed themselves recovered while 25 per cent did not.

Table 20

The proportion of witnesses' reaction categories in all harm-to-self episodes coded across all program categories

Reaction of witnesses	Total %	Absolute #
Passive	35.3	24
Encourage aggression	2.9	2
Use physical means to end aggression	1.5	1
Seek direct alternative to aggression	58.8	40
Other or no witnesses	1.5	1
	100%	

Table 20

Action of witnesses to harm-to-self: proportions across categories

When witnesses were present, they were mostly passive (35.3%).

Table 21

Total proportions of illustrated pain and gore in harm-to-self episodes across program categories

I Pain	Total %	Absolute #
No pain	82.4	56
Moderate	16.2	11
Extreme	1.5	1
	100%	

II Gore		
No gore	98.5	67
Some blood shown	1.5	1
Blood & gore	–	–
	100%	

Illustrated pain and gore: proportions across categories

Although there was usually no pain (82.4%) and no gore (98.5%), there were a few episodes depicting moderate pain (16.2%) and one episode that showed some blood (1.5%).

Chapter Eight

Arguments

A separate argument was coded only if no aggression occurred during the argument; if the latter happened then an aggressive incident was coded for that episode. The occurrence of an argument in the aggression episode was noted by coding the context of aggression as a serious quarrel or disagreement, and whether coded separately or incorporated in the aggression, was timed. In table 1, the mean proportion of argument episodes and the mean duration of arguments in the different program categories are indicated. Children's non-animated, game, and instruction/religious programs contained no arguments at all. Situation comedies ranked the highest for arguments. (4.5%), crime shows were second (2.6%), drama and medical programs were third (1.96%), adventure shows were fourth (0.91%), documentaries were fifth (0.5%), music, variety and talk shows were sixth (0.1%), and animated programs (0.04%) ranked seventh. The program categories will be examined in detail in their ranked order. Table 2 to 14 will be referred to in the same order for each individual program category. Because there were relatively few arguments coded separately (most apparently involved

aggression and were coded and discussed in that way), the argument data in this chapter should be considered with caution.

In situation comedies (ranked first for arguments; category SIT) all the arguments were initiated and responded to by human characters (Tables 2 and 3). Argument interactions occurred most frequently in the direct family (27.3% – Table 4), and next between in-laws (18.2%), and friends (18.2%). The most frequently portrayed modes of abuse were accusation and blame (72.7% – Table 5); eight of 11 argument episodes coded in situation comedies involved this particular mode, however, the majority were portrayed in a double context (i.e. a comic element was involved), (90.9% – Table 6). The majority of the arguments were resolved by compliance to an authority, arbitration, or constructive resolution (each 18.2% – Table 7). Situation comedies did portray more methods of resolving conflict that any other program type, portraying arbitration, deflection, constructive resolution, compliance to an equal and to an authority, and conflict suspended (Table 7). Gaining prestige or self-esteem were the motives most frequently portrayed for the arguments (50% – Table 8). In all cases the means employed by the initiators of the arguments were to attack directly (100% – Table 9), derogation and threats to honour or prestige (75% – Table 10). In all cases the emotional attitude of the initiator was one of anger and hate, (100% – Table 11). No explicit justifications were given (Table 12) and being treated fairly was the major implicit justification (50% – Table 13). There was no clear outcome for any of the participants of an argument interaction (Table 14).

In crime shows (category CR), all the initators and respondents were human characters. Conflicts most often occurred between colleagues and co-workers (41.7%), and then (equally) between direct family (16.7%) and police and others (16.7%). Note that the arguments which occurred between police and others were a small percentage in comparison to the aggression that occurred between police and others. Accusation and blame were the modes of abuse most frequently portrayed (87.5%) and arguments usually occurred with no double context (95.8%). Arguments were not frequently resolved by compliance to an authority (50%). The major motivation depicted was the maintenance of society (legally) (30%). Persuasion and caution were most often portrayed as the means to achieve a goal (44.4%). A variety of provocations were portrayed; security for society, friends and self were those shown more often (33.3%, 22.2%, 22.2% respectively).The emotional attitude of the initiators was usually one of anger or hate (55.6%). No explicit justification was given for one-third of the arguments (33.3%). When explicitly justified, the most frequent reason was protection of the innocent (27.8%) Several implicit justifications were offered, including legal (22.2%), treated unfairly (11.1%), protection of the innocent (11.1%) and moral (11.1%).

Usually there was no clear outcome to the conflict (55%), but the participants were portrayed as winning without resorting to aggression in 15 per cent of the arguments.

In drama and medical shows (considered together under category D/M), all the initiators and respondents were again human characters. The majority of argument interactions occurred within the direct family (37.5%). The modes of abuse in all eight arguments in this category were accusation and blame (100%), and arguments did not usually occur in a double context (87.5%); that is, no comedy was involved. Constructive resolution was portrayed in 37.5 per cent of the arguments. Avoiding the loss of prestige and self-esteem were the major motivations portrayed (60%) and persuasion and caution were the most frequently shown means used to achieve a goal (80%). Psychological insult, derogation and threats to honour and prestige were the provocations for engaging in the conflict portrayed in the majority of episodes. The major emotional attitudes of the initiators were anger and hate (80%). Explicit justification was, on the whole, not offered (80%); protection of the innocent was the only justification explicitly portrayed (20%). Moral reasons (20%) and protection of the innocent (20%) were equally offered as implicit justifications. Usually there was no clear outcome for any of the participants in the argument (80%); in the remaining arguments the participants won through their own aggression (10%) or lost through the aggression of others (10%).

In adventure programs (category AD) only one argument episode was coded, and this occurred in the program *Forest Rangers.* The interaction was between two colleagues (Yaworski and Blue). The mode of abuse employed was one of accusation and blame, and did not occur in a double context. The argument was not resolved, so no method of resolution was depicted. The motivation for the argument was a moral obligation to self (i.e. personal retribution or vengeance) and the means used to achieve the goal was to attack directly. A physical provocation to self provoked the argument and the emotional attitude of the initator was anger or hate. Self defence was the explicit justification and the implicit justification was avenge or revenge. There was no clear outcome for either of the two participants.

In documentaries (category DOC) the interactions occurred equally between strangers (40% – Table 4), and spouses or mates (40%), and all involved were human (100% – Tables 1 and 2). The modes of abuse were usually accusation and blame (80%), and no comedy (double context) was involved, (100%). The arguments were usually resolved; the major method of resolution portrayed was compliance to an equal (40%). The gain of loved ones was the usual motivation depicted (50%), and a variety of means to achieve a goal were shown, with persuasion and caution in the majority (66.7%). The provocations offered for engaging in the conflict were physical and psychological provoca-

tions to friends and to family, and physical and security provocations to society (all 16.7%). The usual emotional attitudes of the initiators were anger or hate (50%). The only explicit justification offered was a moral one (33.3%), and the major implicit justification was the protection of the innocent (33.3%). The two major outcomes were that the participants were losers through no aggression (33.3%), or the participants were winners through their own aggression (25%).

In variety, music and talk shows (considered together under category M/V/T) 0.1 per cent of the time was spent in arguments. However, since aggression was also involved in these arguments, no separate argument coding sheets were completed.

In animated programs (category AN), only one argument episode was coded and this occurred in the program *The Flintstones*. The initiator and respondent were cartoon humans (i.e. Wilma and Fred Flintstone), therefore the conflict occurred between spouses. The mode used was accusation and blame (Fred had driven the car into the fence!), which did not occur in a double context. The argument was resolved by compliance to an equal. The motive for the argument was the avoidance of loss of prestige or self-esteem, and attacking directly was the means advocated for achieving goals. A psychological threat to self was the provocation, and anger and hate were the emotions expressed during the argument. No explicit justification was offered; the implicit justification was self-defence.

By combining the date contained in Table 15 to 25 an argument profile can be obtained for the television programs taped over the two week period.

The participants were all human characters (Table 15), with the exception of one argument episode which occurred in an animated program *The Flintstones*. The interactions usually occurred between colleagues and co-workers (28% – Table 16), or direct family (20%), and the overwhelming mode of abuse employed was accusation and blame (86% – Table 17). The majority of the arguments had no comic element associated with them (76% – Table 18) and they were, on the whole, unresolved (36% – Table 19). A variety of motives were portrayed but the majority involved the avoidance of losing the legal social contract (i.e. involved the mainte-nance of law and order) (25.7% – Table 20). The avoidance of losing or the gaining of prestige and self-esteem were also motives portrayed quite frequently (20%). The means portrayed to achieve a goal were persuasion and caution (45.7% – Table 21) and also to attack directly (34.3%). A variety of provocations to argue were portrayed, the majority involving threat to the security of society, family or self (20%, 11.4%, 14.3% respectively – Table 22). The emotional attitudes of the initiators were usually anger and hate (65.7% – Table 23). No justification, explicit or implicit, was offered in the majority of argument episodes (54.3% – Table 24); in those episodes where explicit justification was implict, being treated unfairly was usually shown

(17.1%). There was, on the whole, no outcome portrayed for the participants in the conflict episodes (56.7% – Table 25).

Table 1

Mean proportion and duration of arguments, by program category

Program categories	Mean proportion of argument episodes	Mean duration of arguments as a percent-age of the mean duration of the show
AD	0.43%	0.91%
AN	0.3	0.04
CH	0.0	0.0
CR	3.05	2.6
DOC	1.45	0.5
D/M	4.4	1.96
GA	0.0	0.0
I/R	0.0	0.0
M/V/T	0.0	0.1
SIT	3.37	4.5

Drama/medical shows had the highest mean proportion of argument episodes (4.4%) but these shows did not rank first for the mean duration of arguments. Situation comedies ranked highest in mean propor-tionate duration of arguments (4.5%). In music/varie-ty/talk shows the proportionate duration of arguments was 0.1 per cent and when arguments occurred in these shows aggression also occurred, so an argument was not coded separately.

Table 2
The initiating character in the argument episodes coded (50) in each program category

Program categories Initiator	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Human live	100%	–	–	100%	100%	100%	–	–	–	100%
Human cartoon	–	100%	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Number of argument episodes	1	1	–	24	5	8	–	–	–	11

In program categories CH, GA, I/R, M/V/T there were no argument episodes coded; if any arguments did occur they were timed only (Table 1). In all arguments, except the one that occurred in an animated program, the initiator was a human. In the animated show the initiator was a cartoon human.

Table 3

The responding character in the argument episodes in each program category

Program categories Responder	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Human live	100%	–	–	100%	100%	100%	–	–	–	100%
Human cartoon	–	100%	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Coinciding with Table 2, the respondent in the animated show was a cartoon human, and the respon- dents in the remaining arguments were human charac- ters.

Table 4

The argument interactions occurred between the following groups in the argument episodes in each program category

Program categories Interaction occurred between	AD	AN	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
Strangers	–	–	4.2%	40.0%	–	9.1%
Spouses/mates	–	100%	8.3	40.0	25.0	9.1
Direct family	–	–	16.7	–	37.5	27.3
In-laws	–	–	4.2	–	–	18.2
Family extended	–	–	–	–	–	9.1
Friends	–	–	4.2	–	12.5	18.2
Neighbours	–	–	–	–	12.5	–
Colleagues/co-workers	100%	–	41.7	20.0	12.5	9.1
Public officials and others	–	–	4.2	–	–	–
Police and others	–	–	16.7	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(e.g. In documentaries 40 per cent of the arguments occurred between strangers and between spouses/- mates, and 20% occurred between colleagues/co-work- ers.)

Both situation comedies and crime shows depicted a wider spectrum of groups interacting in conflict than any of the other program categories. In all program categories (with the exception of animated shows), arguments between colleagues and co-workers were portrayed (100% in AD, 41.7% in CR, 20.0% in DOC, 12.5% in D/M and 9.1% in SIT); also, in all the programs (except adventure shows) arguments occurred between spouses/mates (100% in AN, 8.3% in CR, 40.0% in DOC, 25% in D/M and 9.1% in SIT).

Table 5

The mode of abuse in the argument episode in each program category

Program categories

Mode of abuse	AD	AN	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
Sarcasm	–	–	4.2% (1)	20.0% (1)	–	9.1% (1)
Ridicule	–	–	4.2 (1)	–	–	18.2 (2)
Accusation/blame	100 (1)	100 (1)	87.5 (21)	80.0 (4)	100 (8)	72.7 (8)
No abuse	–	–	4.2 (1)	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The number in parentheses indicates the actual number of argument episodes which involved that particular mode of abuse.

In all program categories in which separate arguments were coded, the most usual mode of abuse was accusation and blame.

Situation comedies and crime shows portrayed the largest variety of modes of abuse.

Table 6

The role of comedy in the arguments in each program category

Program categories

Context	AD	AN	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
No double context	100%	100%	95.8%	100%	87.5%	9.1%
Double context (comedy present)	–	–	4.2	–	12.5	90.9

The majority of all arguments coded did not occur in a double context, with the notable exception of arguments in situation comedies, where comedy was usually involved.

Table 7

Methods portrayed for resolving conflict in all argument episodes coded in each program category

Program categories

Methods of resolution	AD	AN	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
Arbitration	–	–	4.2% (1)	–	–	18.2% (2)
Deflection	–	–	–	20.0 (1)	–	9.1 (1)
Constructive resolution	–	–	8.3 (2)	–	37.5 (3)	18.2 (2)
Compliance to an equal	–	100 (1)	–	40.0 (2)	25.0 (2)	9.1 (1)
Compliance to an authority	–	–	50.0 (12)	–	–	18.2 (2)
Conflict suspended	100 (1)	–	37.5 (9)	40.0 (2)	37.5 (3)	27.3 (8)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: The numbers in parentheses represent the total number of argument episodes in the program categories which involved that mode of resolution.

37.5 per cent of the arguments in drama/medical shows portrayed a constructive resolution to the argument, also 37.5 per cent portrayed that the conflict was suspended, and 25 per cent portrayed compliance to an equal.
In program categories AD, DOC, D/M and SIT the

major method of resolution portrayed was to suspend the conflict (100%, 40%, 37.5% and 27.3% respectively). In crime shows the usual method of resolution was compliance to an authority. In animated programs the only argument coded portrayed compliance to an equal.

Table 8

The proportion of motivation categories for argument episodes coded in long form in each program category

| Program categories | | | | | | |
Motivation	AD	AN	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
Gain: hedonic						
Power or political status	–	–	5.6% (1)	–	–	–
Prestige; self-esteem	–	–	11.1 (2)	–	–	50.0 (2)
Loved ones	–	–	5.6 (1)	50.0 (3)	–	–
Avoid losing: hedonic						
Material gain	–	–	–	–	–	25.0 (1)
Prestige; self-esteem	–	100 (1)	11.1 (2)	–	60.0 (3)	25.0 (1)
Personal pleasure	–	–	–	–	20.0 (1)	–
Survival	–	–	11.1 (2)	–	–	–
Loved ones	–	–	5.6 (1)	16.7 (1)	–	–
Avoid losing: ethical						
Social contract legal	–	–	50.0 (9)	–	–	–
Moral obligation to someone	–	–	–	33.3 (2)	20.0 (1)	–
Moral obligation to self	100 (1)	–	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total number of motivations coded for each program category.	1	1	18	6	5	4

The motivation data were obtained only when the long coding format was used, thus fewer argument motivations (35) than arguement episodes (50), were coded (15 of the latter were coded in the short form). Only the initiator's motiviations, et cetera were coded, except for the outcome of the conflict (see Table 15). Across the program categories a variety of motives were portrayed. As expected, the predominant motivation in crime shows was legally maintaining the social contract (50%). In documentaries (50%) and animated shows (100%) it was the gain of loved ones (50%). In drama/medical programs the avoidance of losing prestige and self-esteem were the major motives (50%) and in situation comedies, the gain of prestige and self-esteem (50%). In adventure programs, moral obligation to self was the motivation portrayed (100%).

Table 9

The proportions of the "means used to achieve a goal", for argument episodes in each program category

Program categories Means used	AD	AN	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
Persuasion/caution	–	–	44.4%	66.7%	80.0%	–
Intimidation/threat blackmail	–	–	22.2	16.7	–	–
Direct attack	100%	100%	22.2	16.7	20.0	100%
Passive aggression	–	–	11.1	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In AD, AN and SIT, attack directly was the only means portrayed to achieve a goal; in CR, DOC and D/M the usual means portrayed were persuasion or caution (44.4%, 66.7% and 80% respectively). Passive aggression was portrayed only in CR shows as the means to achieve a goal (11.1%).

Table 10

The provocation for engaging in the argument; the proportions for each program category

Program categories Provocation	AD	AN	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
To self						
Physical	100%	–	–	.	–	
Psychological insult derogation, or threat to honour or prestige	–	100	6.7	–	60.0	75.0
Security	–	–	22.2	–	–	25.0
To Others						
(i) Friends						
Physical	–	–	–	16.7	20.0	–
Psychological	–	–	–	16.7	–	–
Security	–	–	5.6	–	–	–
(ii) Family						
Physical	–	–	–	16.7	–	–
Psychological	–	–	–	16.7	20.0	–
Security	–	–	22.2	–	–	–
(iii) Society						
Physical	–	–	–	16.7	–	–
Security	–	–	33.3	16.7	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In AN, D/M and SIT, the main provocation to argue was a psychological threat to self. The provocation in CR shows was overwhelmingly involved with security (83.3%); i.e. 33.3 per cent security to society, 22.2 per cent security to family and self, and 5.6 per cent security to friends.

Table 11
The emotional attitude of the initiators for each program category

Program categories

Emotional attitude	AD	AN	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
Fear/anxiety	–	–	–	33.3%	20.0%	–
Anger/hate	100%	100%	55.6	50.0	80.0	100%
Rational cold	–	–	44.4	–	–	–
General anxiety, concern and frustration	–	–	–	16.7	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In all categories the usual emotional attitudes (and in AD, AN, and SIT the only one portrayed) were anger and hate. Rational, cold emotions were also portrayed quite frequently in crime shows (44.4%).

Table 12
The explicit justifications portrayed for arguments in each program category

Program categories

Explicit justification	AD	AN	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
No justification	–	100%	33.3%	66.7%	80.0%	100%
Self defence	100%	–	5.6	–	–	–
Moral	–	–	–	33.3	–	–
Legal (contractual obligation)	–	–	11.1	–	–	–
Following orders (contractual)	–	–	16.7	–	–	–
Protection of innocent	–	–	27.8	–	20.0	–
Treated unfairly	–	–	5.6	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In most argument episodes there was no explicit justification given for the conflict, however, in crime shows some kind of explicit justification was given in the majority of argument episodes, i.e. protection of the innocent (27.8%), following orders (16.7%), legal (contractual obligation, 11.1%), self-defence and treated unfairly (both 5.6%).

Table 13
The implicit justifications portrayed for arguments in each program category

Program categories

Implicit justification	AD	AN	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
No justification	–	–	27.8%	50.0%	60.0%	25.0%
Self defence	–	100%	5.6	–	–	25.0
Moral	–	–	11.1	–	20.0	–
Legal	–	–	22.2	–	–	–
Avenge/revenge	100%	–	5.6	–	–	–
Protection of innocent	–	–	11.1	33.3	–	–
Treated unfairly	–	–	11.1	16.7	20.0	50.0
Duty to help friend and family	–	–	5.6	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Implicit justifications were present more often than explicit justifications (Table 12). As before, crime shows portrayed the largest variety of implicit justifications.

Table 14

The portrayal of outcomes of conflict in each program category

Program categories

Outcome of conflict		AD	AN	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
(I)	Winner						
	Through own aggression	–	–	12.5%	25.0%	10.0%	–
	Through no aggression	–	–	15.0	16.7	–	–
(II)	Loser						
	Through own aggression	–	–	–	8.3	–	–
	Through aggression of others	–	–	5.0	8.3	10.0	–
	Through no aggression	–	–	12.5	33.3	–	–
	No clear outcome	100%	100%	55.0	8.3	80.0	100%
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

On the whole no clear outcome was portrayed for the participants, except in documentaries where the major outcome was being a loser through no aggression.

Table 15

The total proportions and actual numbers of initiators and respondents in the argument episodes

Character	Total proportion of all argument episodes	Actual number of episodes
Human initiator	98.0%	49
Human responder	98.0	49
Cartoon human initiator	2.0	1
Cartoon human responder	2.0	1

Of all the argument episodes coded (50), 98 per cent involved human initators and respondents, and the remaining 2 per cent (1 episode) involved a cartoon human initiator and a cartoon human respondent.

Table 16

Total proportions and actual numbers of categories of people involved in arguments

Interaction occurred between	Actual number of episodes	Total proportion of all argument episodes
Strangers	4	8.0%
Spouses/mates	8	16.0
Direct family	10	20.0
In-laws	3	6.0
Family extended	1	2.0
Friends	4	8.0
Neighbours	1	2.0
Colleagues/co-workers	14	28.0
Public officials and others	1	2.0
Police and others	4	8.0
	50	100%

28 per cent of the argument episodes coded involved conflict between colleagues and co-workers. Conflict within the direct family also occurred quite frequently (20%; 36% when spouses/mates are included).

Table 17

The total proportions and actual numbers of the mode of abuse for all argument episodes

Mode of abuse	Actual number	Total proportion of all argument episodes
Sarcasm	3	6.0%
Ridicule	3	6.0
Accusation/blame	43	86.0
No abuse	1	2.0
	50	100%

The overwhelming mode of abuse employed in all the arguments was accusation and blame (86.0%).

Table 18

The total proportions and actual numbers of the context of the argument episodes (presence or absence of comedy)

Context	Actual Numbers	Total proportion of all argument episodes
No double context	38	76.0%
Double context (comedy added)	12	24.0
	50	100%

The large majority of arguments did not occur in a double context, i.e. no comedy was involved (76.0%).

Table 19

The total proportions and actual numbers of methods of resolution in the argument episodes

Method of resolution	Actual Numbers	Total proportion of all argument episodes
Arbitration	3	6.0%
Deflection	2	4.0
Constructive resolution	7	14.0
Compliance to an equal	6	12.0
Compliance to authority	14	28.0
Conflict suspended	18	36.0
	50	100%

For the arguments coded, suspending the conflict was the method of resolution most often portrayed (36.0%) and compliance to authority ranked second (28.0%).

Table 20

The total proportion and actual numbers of motivation categories for all argument episodes coded (long form)

Motivation	% of all argument episodes	Actual # of episodes
Gain: hedonic		
Power or political status	2.9%	1
Prestige; self-esteem	11.4	4
Loved ones	11.4	4
Avoid losing: hedonic		
Material gain	2.9	1
Prestige; self-esteem	20.0	7
Personal pleasure	2.9	1
Survival	5.7	2
Loved ones	5.7	2
Avoid losing: ethical		
Social contract (legal)	25.7	9
Moral obligation to someone	8.6	3
Moral obligation to self	2.9	1
	100%	35

The avoidance of losing the legal social contract was the motivation for argument most frequently portrayed (25.7% of all the long form argument episodes coded). The avoidance of losing prestige and self-esteem was also quite frequently portrayed (20.0%).

Table 21

The total proportions and actual numbers of categories of means for all argument episodes coded (long form)

Means used	Total % of argument episodes	Actual # of episodes involved
Persuasion/caution	45.7%	16
Intimidation/threat/blackmail	14.3	5
Direct attack	34.3	12
Passive aggression	5.7	2
	100%	35

For arguments coded in the long form persuasion and caution were most often portrayed as the means to achieve a goal (45.7%), although attacking directly was also portrayed frequently (34.3%).

Table 22

The provocation for engaging in the argument: the total proportions of all argument episodes, and the actual number of episodes involved

Provocation		Total %	Actual #
To self			
	Physical	2.9%	1
	Psychological insult derogation honour prestige	28.6	10
Security		14.3	5
To others			
(i)	Friends		
	Physical	5.7	2
	Psychological	2.9	1
	Security	2.9	1
(ii)	Family		
	Physical	2.9	1
	Psychological	5.7	2
	Security	11.4	4
(iii)	Society		
	Physical	2.9	1
	Security	20.0	7
		100%	35

A threat to security was the provocation most often portrayed in the arguments coded (48.6%). It included threats to the security of society (20%), self (14.3%), family (11.4%), and friends (2.9%). A psychological threat was also portrayed relatively frequently (28,6%).

Table 23

The emotional attitude of the initiator of the argument, as total proportion of all argument episodes and actual numbers of episodes

Emotional attitude	Total %	Actual #
Fear/anxiety	8.6	3
Anger/hate	65.7	23
Rational cold	22.9	8
General anxiety concern and frustration	2.9	1
	100%	35

In the majority of argument episodes the initiator was portrayed as having emotional attitudes of anger and hate (65.7%).

Table 24

The explicit and implicit justifications portrayed as a proportion of the total argument episodes coded, and the actual numbers involved

Explicit justification	Total %	Actual #	Implicit justification	Total %	Actual #
No justification	54.3%	19	No justification	34.3%	12
Self-defence	5.7	2	Self-defence	8.6	3
Moral	5.7	2	Moral	8.6	3
Legal (contractual obligation)	5.7	2	Legal	11.4	4
			Avenge/revenge	5.7	2
Following orders (contractual)	8.6	3	Protection of innocent	11.4	4
Protection of innocent	17.1	6	Treated unfairly	17.1	6
			Duty to help friend or family	2.9	1
Treated unfairly	2.9	1			
	100%	35		100%	35

In the majority of arguments coded neither explicit (54.3%) nor implicit (34.3%) justifications were offered. When justifications were present, the major explicit justification was protection of the innocent (17.1%) and the major implicit justification was treated unfairly (17.1%).

Table 25

The outcome of the conflict

Outcome of conflict		Total proportion for all participants	Actual number
(i)	Winner		
	Through own aggression	12.5%	9
	Through no aggression	11.1	8
(ii)	Loser		
	Through own aggression	1.4	1
	Through aggression of others	5.6	4
	Through no aggression	12.5	9
	No clear outcome	56.9	41
		100%	72

An outcome for each participant in the conflict episode was coded (hence the total is 72 and not 35 as before). For the majority of participants there was no clear outcome (56.9%). When there was a definite outcome, the participants either usually won through their own aggression (12.5%) or lost with no aggression involved (12.5%).

Theft

List of Tables

If a theft occurred in an episode it was coded separately regardless of whether conflict, aggression, argument, et cetera occurred and were coded. Table 1 indicates the percentage of theft episodes in each program category. Adventure shows, drama/medical, game, instructional/religious and music/variety/talk shows portrayed no theft at all. Animated programs ranked the highest for theft (2.0%), followed by crime shows (1.3%), situation comedies (0.8%), children's non-animated shows (0.4%), and documentaries (0.3%). The programs portraying theft will be discussed in detail in their ranked order. Tables 2 to 8 will be referred to in the same order for each individual program category. Because only 21 thefts occurred in the programs coded, any findings based on a breakdown of these thefts (by program category or otherwise) must be considered with caution.

In animated shows (category AN) seven thefts were portrayed in 354 episodes. All the thefts were committed by a single thief (100% – Table 2) against a single victim (85.7% – Table 3). All of the thefts were shown on the screen (100% – Table 4). Although, usually no consequences to the thief were indicated (71.4% – Table 5), when consequences were portrayed the depiction was of the thief being caught (28.6% – Table 6). Similarly, no consequences were specified for the majority of the victims of theft (85.7% – Table 7). The only consequence portrayed was that one victim caught the thief.

In crime shows, thefts were most often perpetrated by a single thief (50%) against an unknown victim (40%), and these thefts were usually shown on the screen (80%). Contrary to the finding for animated programs, consequences to the thief were usually portrayed (50%); the most frequent consequence was to be caught. For victims, however, no consequences were the norm (80%); calling the police (10%), and being killed (10%) were the only two specific consequences both to the thief and to the victim in comparison with the theft episodes in other program categories Table 6 and 8).

Two thefts were coded in situation comedies. One was committed by a group of thieves and in the other the thief was unknown. One theft was against a single

victim and the second was against a group of victims. One theft was shown on the screen and the other was not. In one episode the thief turned himself in, while no consequences were indicated in the second. Both showed the consequences to the victim, one caught the thief or had his money returned and the other installed a burglar alarm.

The theft episode coded in children's non-animated programs (one in 263 episodes) portrayed, on the screen (100% – Table 2) stealing from a single victim (100% – Table 3) and no consequences to the thief or victim were indicated (Tables 5 and 7).

In the documentaries coded, again only one theft was portrayed (one in 343 episodes). The thief and victim were alone (Table 2 and 3), and the theft was shown on the screen (Table 4). No consequences were indicated for either the thief or the victim (Tables 5 and 7).

The data in Tables 9 to 16 can be employed in providing a profile of the thefts that occurred on television during the two weeks when the programs were taped. It is immediately apparent that not many thefts were portrayed (21 – Table 9). These thefts were usually perpetrated by a single thief (66.7% – Table 10) against a single victim (57.14% – Table 11). It is interesting to note that more victims were portrayed as unknown (19.05% – Table 11), than thieves (9.5% – Table 10). The majority of thefts were shown on the screen (85.7% – Table 12). Consequences to the thief were portrayed slightly more than not (52.4% in comparison to 47.6% – Table 13); these consisted mainly of the thief being caught (28.6% – Table 14). On the other hand, it was usual that no consequences to the victim were portrayed (76.2% – Table 15). Of those few that were, catching the thief or having the money returned were portrayed more often (9.5% – Table 16).

Table 1

Occurrence of theft (21 episodes) as a percentage of episodes coded (2691) in each program category

Program categories										
Theft	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
Yes	–	2.0% (7)	0.4% (1)	1.3% (10)	0.3% (1)	–	–	–	–	0.8% (2)
No	100%	98.0	96.6	98.7	97.7	100%	100%	100%	100%	99.2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total number of episodes in each program category	232	354	263	797	343	181	49	140	94	238

Note: The number in parentheses indicates the number of thefts that occurred in each program category. For example, 10 instances of theft occurred in crime shows, that is, in 1.3 per cent of all episodes coded in crime shows theft occurred.

In AD, D/M GA, I/R and M/V/T no thefts occurred; crime shows portrayed the highest number of thefts (10), thought animated shows portrayed the highest percentage (2.0%). Of the 2691 episodes coded, theft occurred only in 0.8 per cent (i.e. 21/2691). See Table 9.

Table 2
The thief categories for all theft episodes coded in each program category

Program categories					
Thief	AN	CH	CR	DOC	SIT
Single	100% (7)	100% (1)	50.0% (5)	100% (1)	–
Group	–	–	40.0 (4)	–	50.0 (1)
Unknown	–	–	10.0 (1)	–	50.0 (1)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total number of episodes involving theft	7	1	10	1	2

The number in parentheses represents the actual number of episodes involving theft in each program category.

The majority of thefts were performed by a single thief, except in situation comedies where one theft was committed by a group of thieves and in the other the thief was unknown.

Table 3

The victim categories for all theft episodes coded in each program category

Program categories

Victim	AN	CH	CR	DOC	SIT
Single	85.7% (6)	100% (1)	30.0% (3)	100% (1)	50.0% (1)
Group	14.3 (1)	–	30.0 (3)	–	50.0 (1)
Unknown	–	–	40.0 (4)	.	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

E.g. In crime shows, there was a single victim in 30.0 per cent of the theft episodes, a group of victims in 30.0 per cent of the episodes, and the victim was unknown in 40.0 per cent of the episodes.

The majority of thefts were perpetrated against single victims, except in crime shows where in 40 per cent of the thefts the victims were unknown.

Table 4

Depiction of the theft in each program category

Program categories

Theft	AN	CH	CR	DOC	SIT
Off-screen	–	–	20.0%	--	50.0%
On-screen	100%	100%	80.0	100%	50.0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

E.g. In crime shows, 80 per cent of the thefts were shown and 20% were not shown.
   The theft was usually shown on the screen, and only in situation comedies and crime shows was this not always the case.

Table 5

Indication of the consequences to the thief in each program category

Program categories

Consequences to the thief indicated	AN	CH	CR	DOC	SIT
Yes	28.6% (2)	–	80.0% (8)	–	50.0% (1)
No	71.4 (5)	100 (1)	20.0 (2)	11 (1)	50.0 (1)
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

E.g. In animated programs, consequences to the thief were indicated in 28.6 per cent of the thefts, and not indicated in 71.4 per cent.

On the whole no consequences to the thief were indicated, except in crime shows where the majority of thefts (80%) portrayed some consequences to the thief.

Table 6

The consequences to the thief, if specified, for all theft episodes coded in each program category

Program categories

Consequences to the thief	AN	CH	CR	DOC	SIT
None	71.4%	100%	20.0%	100%	50.0%
Caught	28.6	–	40.0	–	–
Injured	–	–	10.0	–	–
Turns self in	–	–	–	–	50.0
Convicted and sentenced	–	–	10.0	–	–
Killed	–	–	10.0	–	–
Mixed (one thief apprehended, one thief killed)	–	–	10.0	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

E.g. 71.4 per cent of the thefts in animated programs did not specify any consequencs to the thief. In the remaining theft episodes the thief was caught (28.6%).

Usually no consequences to the thief were specified, except in crime shows where a variety of consequences were portrayed; as expected, catching the thief was the usual consequence (40%).

Table 7

In each program category, the percentage of theft episodes which indicate the consequences to the victim

Program categories

Consequences to the victim indicated	AN	CH	CR	DOC	SIT
Yes	14.3%	–	20.0%	–	100%
No	85.7	100	80.0	100	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

E.g. 85.7 per cent of the theft episodes in animated programs did not indicate any consequences to the victim, therefore the remaining 14.3 per cent did indicate some consequence.

In all categories, except SIT, there were usually no consequences to the victim specified (85.7%, 100% in AN, CH, CR. DOC respectively).

Table 8

The consequences to the victim if shown, for all theft episodes coded in each program category

Program categories

Consequences to the victim	AN	CH	CR	DOC	SIT
Not shown	85.7%	100%	80.0%	100%	–
Call the police	–	–	10.0	–	–
Caught the thief, or money returned	14.3	–	–	–	50.0
Installed burglar alarm	–	–	–	–	50.0
Killed	–	–	10.0	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

E.g. 85.7 per cent of the theft episodes in animated programs did not portray any consequences to the victim. In the remaining episodes, 14.3 per cent the victim was shown catching the thief.

Usually no consequences to the victim were specified, except in situation comedies, where catching the thief and taking some action (i.e. installing a burglar alarm) were shown.

Table 9

The occurrence of theft in the episodes coded

Occurrence of theft	Actual number of theft episodes	Percentage for all episodes coded
Yes	21	0.8%
No	2670	99.2
	2691	100%

0.8 per cent of all episodes coded (2691) portrayed a theft; while in the remaining 99.2 per cent theft was portrayed.

Table 10

The percentage of thief categories for all theft episodes and the actual number of episodes involved

Thief	Actual number of theft episodes	Percentage of all theft episodes coded
Single	14	66.7%
Group	5	23.8
Unknown	2	9.5
	21	100%

E.g. 66.7 per cent of all theft episodes (21) portrayed a single thief.

The majority of thefts were portrayed as being committed by a single thief.

Table 11

The percentage of victim categories for all theft episodes and the actual number of episodes involved

Victim	Actual number of theft episodes	Percentage of all theft episodes coded
Single	12	57.14%
Group	5	23.81
Unknown	4	19.05
	21	100%

E.g. 19.05 per cent of the theft episodes portrayed the victim as being unknown.

The majority of thefts were perpetrated against a single victim, however, there was higher percentage of unknown victims (19.05%) than unknown thieves (9.5% – Table 10).

Table 12

The percentage of thefts depicted on the screen, and the actual number of episodes involved

Theft	Actual number of episodes	Percentage of all theft episodes
Off-screen	3	14.3%
On-screen	18	85.7
	21	100%

E.g. 14.3 per cent of all theft episodes coded did not show the theft being committed.

The majority of thefts committed were portrayed on the screen (85.7%).

Table 13

The percentage of theft episodes indicating the conse-quences to the thief, and the number of episodes involved

Consequences to thief indicated	Actual number of episodes	Percentage of all theft episodes
Yes	11	52.4%
No	10	47.6
	21	100%

Only slightly more theft episodes portrayed any consequences to the thief (52.4%), than did not (47.6%).

Table 14

The portrayal of consequences to the thief as a percentage of all theft episodes, and the number of episodes involved

Consequences to the thief	Actual number of episodes	Percentage for all theft episodes
None	10	47.6%
Caught	6	28.6
Injured	1	4.8
Turns self in	1	4.8
Convicted and sentenced	1	4.8
Killed	1	4.8
Mixture (killed and apprehended)	1	4.8
	21	100%

For the 52.4 per cent of episodes portraying a conse-quence to the thief, the usual consequence was for the thief to be caught (28.6%).

Table 15

The percentage of theft episodes indicating the conse-quences to the victim, and the number of episodes involved

Consequences to the victims indicated	Actual number of episodes	Percentage for all theft episodes
Yes	5	23.8%
No	16	76.2
	21	100%

Usually no consequences to the victim were indicated (76.2%).

Table 16

The portrayal of consequences to the victim as a percent-age of all theft episodes, and the number of episodes involved

Consequences to the victim	Actual number of episodes	Percentage for all theft episodes
Not shown	16	76.2%
Called the police	1	4.8
Caught the thief, or money returned	2	9.5
Installed burglar alarm	1	4.8
Killed	1	4.8
	21	100%

Consequences to a victim was portrayed in 23.8 per cent of the theft episodes coded.

Chapter Ten

Destruction of Property

The destruction of property was coded separately whether aggression, arguments, conflicts, et cetera occurred or not. The mode of destruction and the intentionality were coded. Table 1 indicates the percentage of episodes in each program category involving destruction of property; animated shows ranked first with 5.9 per cent of the episodes coded in this category portraying property destruction, documentaries ranked second with 3.5 per cent, children's non-animated programs ranked third with 2.7 per cent, crime shows ranked fourth with 2.1 per cent, adventure shows ranked fifth with 1.7 per cent, drama and medical programs ranked sixth with 1.1 per cent and situation comedies ranked seventh with 0.4 per cent. Game, instructional/religious, and music/variety/talk shows did not portray any destruction of property. The programs will be discussed in detail in their ranked order.

In animated programs there were 21 episodes recorded involving destruction of property. The usual mode of destruction was the body (42.9% – Table 2). "Cartoon destruction vehicles" were also portrayed quite frequently (28.6%). The majority of the destruction was portrayed as intentional (71.4% – Table 3).

In documentaries the most frequently portrayed modes of destruction included were the use of tanks and artillery (58.3% – Table 2). This result is not surprising as on of the documentaries coded was *The War Years.* The destruction was overwhelmingly portrayed as intentional (91.7% – Table 3).

Children's non-animated programs portrayed the body as the major mode of destruction (42.9%). Fire was also depicted quite frequently (28.6%).. The destruction was portrayed equally as intentional (42.9%) and unintentional (42.9%). The intentionality was unclear in the remaining episodes (14.3%).

In crime shows there were 18 episodes coded involving destruction of property, and a number of methods were portrayed. Although the body was depicted most frequently (27.2%), the use of explosives (22.2%) and a car or truck (22.2%) were also common. Property destruction was almost always conducted intentionally, (88.9% – Table 3).

In adventure shows there were four destruction of property episodes coded, and each one portrayed a different mode. These were the body, an axe, fire, and lock-breaking tools (Table 2). In two of these episodes the destruction was intentional and in two it was not (Table 3).

In the drama and medical category there was only one episode of property destruction coded, occurring in the show *Medical Centre.* The mode used was the body and the destruction was intentional.

In situation comedies, again, only one destruction of property episode was recorded and this occurred in the show *Phyllis.* In this episode a door was broken down because it was thought that a person inside was committing suicide; the mode used was the body and the destruction was thus intentional.

Table 4, 5, and 6 provide information as to how the destruction of property was portrayed across all the programs coded. It is apparent that destruction of property did not occur very often (2.4% of all episodes coded – Table 4). The major mode of destruction was the body (32.8% – Table 5), however, quite a large variety of methods were portrayed (17 categories in all).

The destruction was usually portrayed as intentional (76.6% – Table 6).

Table 1

The occurrence of destruction of property in each program category

Program categories Destruction of property	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	GA	I/R	M/V/T	SIT
% of episodes with no destruction of property	98.3	94.1	97.3	97.9	96.5	98.9	100	100	100	99.6
% of episodes portraying destruction of property	1.7 (4)	5.9 (21)	2.7 (7)	2.1 (17)	3.5 (12)	1.1 (2)	– (0)	– (0)	– (0)	0.4 (1)
Total number of episodes in each program category	232	354	263	797	343	181	49	140	94	238

E.g. In adventure shows 98.3 per cent of the episodes coded did not portray any destruction of property, the remaining 1.7 per cent did.

The greatest percentage of episodes involving destruction of property occurred in animated programs (5.9%); programs in categories GA, I/R and M/V/T did not portray any destruction of property.

Table 2

The portrayal of the modes of destruction of property in each program category

Mode of destruction	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
Body	25.0% (1)	42.9% (9)	42.9% (3)	27.8% (5)	8.3% (1)	100% (1)	100% (1)
Axe	25.0 (1)	–	–	–	8.3 (1)	–	–
Crane	–	4.8 (1)	–	–	–	–	–
Ray-gun	–	9.5 (2)	–	–	–	–	–
Explosives	–	–	–	22.2 (4)	8.3 (1)	–	–
Knife	–	–	–	5.6 (1)	–	–	–
Car/truck	–	9.5 (2)	–	22.2 (4)	–	–	–
Boulder	–	4.8 (1)	–	–	–	–	–
Symbols	–	–	14.3 (1)	–	–	–	–
Fire	25.0 (1)	–	28.6 (2)	–	–	–	–
Lock-breaking tools	25.0 (1)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Rifle	–	–	–	5.6 (1)	16.7 (2)	–	–
Tanks/artillery	–	–	–	–	58.3 (7)	–	–
Grenade	–	–	–	5.6 (1)	–	–	–

Mode of destruction	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
Cartoon destruction vehicles	–	28.6 (6)	–	–	–	–	–
Hammer	–	–	–	5.6 (1)	–	–	–
Unknown	–	–	14.3 (1)	5.6 (1)	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total number of episodes with destruction of property	4	21	7	18	12	1	1

E.g. In documentary episodes involving destruction of property, tanks and artillery were depicted as the mode of destruction in 58.3 per cent of the episodes, a rifle in 16.7 per cent, explosives in 8.3 per cent, an axe in 8.3 per cent, and the body in the remaining episodes (8.3%).

In animated shows, crime shows and documentaries a variety of modes of destruction were portrayed. The body was the major mode of destruction in all shows except documentaries where tanks and artillery were in the majority. (body: AD, 25.0%; AN, 42.9%; CH, 42.9%; CR, 27.8%; D/M, 100%; SIT 100%; tanks and artillery DOC 58.3%).

Table 3

The intentionality of the destruction in each program category

Program categories Destruction was intentional	AD	AN	CH	CR	DOC	D/M	SIT
No	50.0%	28.6%	42.9%	11.1%	8.3%	–	–
Yes	50.0	71.4	42.9	88.9	91.7	100	100
Unclear	–	–	14.3	–	–	–	–
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

E.g. In children's non-animated programs, 42.9 per cent of the destruction of property was not intentional, 42.9 per cent was intentional and in 14.3 per cent of the episodes the intentionality was unclear.

The majority of the destruction of property was conducted intentionally.

Table 4

Destruction of property as a percentage of all the episodes coded, and the number of episodes involved

Destruction of property	Actual number of episodes	Percentage of all episodes coded
No	2627	97.6%
Yes	64	2.4
	2691	100%

2.4 per cent of all episodes coded (2691) portrayed destruction of property.

Table 5

The modes of destruction portrayed as a percentage of the destruction episodes and the number of episodes involved

Mode of destruction	Actual number of episodes	Percentage of the total number of destruction episodes
Body	21	32.8%
Axe	2	3.1
Crane	1	1.6
Ray-gun	2	3.1
Explosives	5	7.8
Knife	1	1.6
Car/truck	6	9.4
Boulder	1	1.6
Cymbals	1	1.6
Fire	3	4.7
Lock-breaking tools	1	1.6
Rifle	3	4.7
Tanks/artillery	7	10.9
Grenade	1	1.6
Cartoon destruction vehicles	6	9.4
Hammer	1	1.6
Unknown	2	3.1
	64	100%

E.g. 32.8 per cent of the destruction episodes coded (64) portrayed the body as the mode, 10.9 per cent depicted tanks and artillery as the mode, et cetera.

The major method of the destruction of property was the body, with tanks and artillery (10.9%), cartoon destruction vehicles (9.4%) and a car/truck (9.4%) being portrayed quite frequently.

Table 6

The intentionality of the property destruction as a percentage of the destruction episodes, and the number of episodes involved

Destruction was intentional	Actual number of episodes	Percentage of destruction episodes
No	14	21.9%
Yes	49	76.6
Unclear	1	1.6
	64	100%

The majority of property destruction was portrayed as intentional.

Chapter Eleven

Comparison of Canadian and United States Programming

The portrayal of aggression in Canadian programming was of particular interest in this research project since most previous research, and all of Gerbner's work, has been restricted to U.S. programming. Unfortunately, comparisons between Canadian and U.S. programming are not necessarily straightforward. One approach would be to compare production sources. Of the 109 programs in our sample, 24 were produced in Canada, 83 in the U.S., and two in other countries. Thus, one could compare the depiction of aggression in the 24 Canadian-produced programs with that for the 83 U.S.-produced programs. However it is important to realize that crime shows, which ranked highest of the program categories on aggression, comprised a larger proportion of U.S.-produced sample (24.1%) than of the Canadian-produced sample (4.2%). Indeed, there is only one Canadian-produced crime show (*Sidestreet*). Similarly, animated programs made up 10.8 per cent of the U.S. sample, but there were no Canadian-produced animated programs among those analyzed. Thus it could be argued that comparisons involving average Canadian and U.S. data are biased, and only comparisons for program category data are legitimate. However, the fact that there exists only one Canadian-produced crime show and there were no Canadian-produced animated shows in the program sample is probably not happenstance, but is in itself information about the portrayal of aggression in Canadian programming. Some comparative data for Canadian-produced and U.S.-produced programs are given in Table 1 and are discussed below.

A second approach to comparing Canadian and U.S. content would be to compare the "media diets" available to Canadians via CBC. CTV. other Canadian channels, and U.S. channels. We have not yet completed such an analysis, which requires that programs be categorized according to the channels on which they were shown, not just the ones from which they were taped (the same program is often aired on several different channels over a two-week period). A somewhat simple (and cruder) approach would be to compare programs in the sample according to the channels from which they were videotaped. Such an analysis was carried out, comparing programs taped from CBC with, a) all other programs; b) those taped from ABC. CBS. and NBC; and c) those taped from CTV. The results are presented in Table 2 and discussed below.

Production Source Comparisons.

A comparison of Canadian and U.S. programming according to production source is outlined in Table 1. In the first two columns of that table, findings are given for all 24 Canadian-produced and 83 U.S.-produced programs. On the average, Canadian-produced programs contained proportionately fewer episodes involving aggression (18.9% versus 22.7%), conflict (5.3% versus 7.3%), and harm-to-self (0.2% versus 2.4%) than U.S.-produced programs. Canadian-produced programs contained proportionately more episodes containing no conflict (72.9% versus 68.5%) but also more episodes containing argument (3.0% versus 1.5%). In terms of duration, less time in Canadian-produced programs was spent depicting aggression (5.2% versus 7.6%) and build-up to aggression (suspense, 0.3% versus 3.4%), and thus less total time was concerned with aggression (5.5% versus 11.0%) than in U.S.-produced programs. There was also less time in the lead-ins to the Canadian-produced programs spent in depicting aggression (5.7% versus 13.6%). Time spent depicting arguments was equal for programs produced in Canada and U.S. (1.6%). These findings indicate that on the average, Canadian-produced programs contained less aggressive content than U.S.-produced programs. Three of the findings deserve further comment.

Arguments were coded only if they were not superseded by conflict or aggression. That there were proportionately more Canadian-than U.S.-produced episodes involving argument but proportionately fewer episodes involving conflict and aggression indicates that there

was more portrayal in Canadian-produced programs of mild forms of conflict. Further, since the proportionate duration of arguments was the same for both programs produced in Canada and the U.S. but there were proportionately more arguments in the programs produced in Canada, the arguments portrayed on Canadian programs were on the average shorter in duration than those in U.S. programs.

The second point in Table 1 deserving general comment centres on the proportionate duration of build-up to aggression (suspense). This does not refer to general suspense in a program ("whodunit"), but to a specific technique in which the audience is prepared for an aggressive event which almost invariably follows. For example, the audience may be allowed to see an assassin with a rifle who is stealthily creeping up on his or her unsuspecting victim. Members of the audience know that the assassin will act aggressively toward the victim and are kept on the edge of their chairs waiting for the precise moment of aggression. This technique increases the amount of time in a program devoted specifically to aggressive content without increasing the actual amount of time spent in showing aggressive behaviour. And, as indicated in Table 1, this technique was used much less in Canadian-produced than in U.S.-produced programs. The figures for proportionate duration of actual aggression were 5.2 per cent and 7.6 per cent (Canadian-produced programs being slightly lower), but when build-up to aggression was added, the total figures were 5.5 per cent and 11.0 per cent with the figure for Canadian-produced programs being half that for U.S.-produced programs.

The third point pertaining to the general comparison of programs produced in Canada and the U.S. concerns the depiction of aggression in program lead-ins (sometimes called 'teasers'). The lead-in is presumably intended to catch the audience's attention, interest them in the program about to begin, and keep them tuned in to that program (and channel). Averaging across program categories, there was proportionately more than twice as much aggression in the lead-ins to programs produced in the U.S. than to Canadian-produced programs (13.6% versus 5.7%). Looked at another way, the proportionate duration of aggression in the lead-ins was comparable to the proportionate duration of aggression and build-up to aggression in the Canadian-produced programs (5.7% and 5.5%, respectively), but was greater for U.S.-produced programs (13.6% and 11.0%, respectively). Aggression in Canadian-produced program lead-ins occurred only in game (proportionate duration 3.7%), music/variety/talk (8.4%), and documentary (35.2%) categories, and was clearly due largely to the high level of aggression in the lead-ins to the two Canadian-produced documentaries, *Time of the Jackals* and *The War Years.*

Because of the problems discussed above in making production source comparisons across program categories, comparisons were made separately for crime,

situation comedy, adventure, and children's programs. The results are shown in Table 1.

The comparison for crime shows involves only the one Canadian-produced program, *Sidestreet,* and thus must be considered with caution. The most interesting finding is that the Canadian-produced program contained more conflict than the U.S.-produced programs (proportions of no-conflict episodes were 44.2 per cent and 61.0 per cent respectively), but that conflict was of a decidedly milder nature. Proportionately half as many episodes produced in Canada as in the U.S. contained aggression (13.9% versus 27.8%), and the proportionate duration of aggression and build-up to aggression was only slightly more than half that for the U.S. sample (10.05% versus 18.6%). However, there were proportionately twice as many conflict episodes (18.6% versus 9.3%) and more than ten times as many argument episodes (23.3% versus 1.9%) in the sample produced in Canada than in the U.S.. produced sample. The proportionate duration of arguments in the Canadian-produce sample was roughly six times that for the U.S. sample, whereas the proportionate frequency of argument episodes was ten times that for the U.S. sample. Again, it appears that since the difference for frequency is greater than the difference for duration, the arguments in the Canadian sample tended to be shorter. Finally, there was no "teaser" aggression in *Sidestreet,* but 18.6 per cent of the duration of lead-ins to U.S.-produced crime shows was spent portraying aggression. Historically, conflict has been a central theme in most dramatic fiction. It is interesting that conflict was central to the crime shows in our sample produced in both Canada and the U.S., but tended to take the form of argument and non-aggressive conflict in the former and aggression in the latter.

As discussed earlier in this report, the aggression depicted in crime shows tended to be physical in nature, in contrast to the verbal and psychological aggression portrayed in situation comedies. Thus it is interesting to note that whereas on the average Canadian-produced programs contained slightly less aggression than U.S.-produced programs, and the crime show produced in Canada contained substantially less physical aggression than the crime shows produced in the USA, the four Canadian-produced situation comedies (two versions of each of *King of Kensington* and *Excuse my French*) contained slightly more verbal and/or psychological aggression than the 20 U.S.-produced situation comedies. Specifically, there were slightly more Canadian-produced than U.S.-produced aggressive episodes (42.9% and 39.8%, respectively), conflict episodes (17.9% and 14.2%), and again, more argument episodes (7.1% and 2.8%), for a total of about 10% fewer no-conflict episodes (32.1% and 43.1%). However, the proportionate duration of aggression and build-up to aggression was somewhat greater for the U.S.-produced sample than for the Canadian-produced sample (8.6%

versus 2/3%), indicating that the verbal and/or psychological aggression in U.S.-produced situation comedies that did occur lasted somewhat longer. The proportionate duration of arguments was comparable (5.1% versus 4.4) for the two production sources. There was slightly more aggression in the lead-ins to situation comedies produced in the U.S. than to those produced in Canada although in absolute terms the difference was not substantial.

There were three programs in the Adventure Category produced in Canada (*Beachcombers* and two versions of *Forest Rangers*) and three produced in the United States (*Bionic Woman, Six Million Dollar Man,* and *World of Disney*). The Canadian-produced programs contained fewer aggressive episodes than the U.S.-produced shows (12.7% and 17.0%, respectively), substantially more conflict episodes (12.7% and 0.7%), only very slightly more argument episodes (1.6% and 0), and, as was the case for situation comedies, about 10 per cent fewer no-conflict episodes. The pattern for proportionate duration of aggression and build-up to aggression discussed above for crime and situation comedy programs held true for adventures, with the Canadian figure being somewhat lower than the U.S. proportion (2.8% and 10.0%). The proportionate duration of arguments was low for both production sources but slightly higher for Canada than the U.S. (1.3% and 0.3%). There was no aggression in the Canadian-produced lead-ins to adventure shows; 3.1 per cent of the time in the U.S.-produced lead-ins was spent depicting aggression. These findings for the adventure category mirror those for the crime and situation comedy categories, and thus lend weight to the crime show findings which were problematic because there was only one Canadian-produced crime show. In all three categories, conflict occurred in programs produced in both Canada and the U.S. and there were actually fewer episodes containing no conflict produced in Canada than in the U.S. However, there was consistently more of the less-severe forms of conflict, and less of the more-severe forms of conflict in Canadian-produced programs than in the U.S.-produced programs.

The final production source comparison outlined in Table 1 is for children's (non-animated) programs. There were three programs in the sample produced in Canada (two versions of *Mr. Dressup,* and *Tiny Talent Time*), and eight produced in the United States (two versions of *Electric Company, Land of the Lost, Lost Saucer,* two versions of *Mister Rogers, Sesame Street,* and *Shazam/Isis*). The Canadian-produced shows contained no aggression, conflict, argument, harm-to-self, or aggression in lead-ins. Thus U.S.-produced sample of children's shows had about the same proportion of episodes containing no conflict (84.8%) as the U.S.-produced sample of adventures programs (82.3%). And, the proportionate duration of aggression and build-up to aggression was also compa-

rable (9.2% for U.S. children's shows, 10.0% for U.S. adventure programs). There was more aggression depicted in the lead-ins to children's programs (6.8%) than to adventure programs (3.1%) produced in U.S. There were, however, proportionately fewer episodes containing aggression in the U.S.-produced children's shows (12.5%) than in the U.S.-produced adventure shows (17.0%). Thus it appears that the incidents of aggression which were depicted lasted longer in the U.S. children's shows than in the U.S. adventure shows. It is perhaps surprising that 9.2 per cent of the time in U.S.-produced children's non-animated shows was spent depicting aggression, and that 14.8 per cent of the episodes contained aggression; that is, although animated children's programs have been the focus of considerable criticism (and deservedly so; the analogous figures are 15.9 per cent and 27.8 per cent), one hears little about other programming aimed at children. Keeping in mind that there were no Canadian-produced animated programs in our sample, our data indicate that Canadian-produced programming popular with children portrays relatively little aggression.

Videotaping Source Comparisons.
The second approach to comparing Canadian and U.S. programming was based on videotaping source. As noted earlier, this procedure does not provide data about the "media diets" of people who, for example, have access only to CBC versus those who have access to CTV, ABC, CBS, NBC, or other channels. In Table 2, information about programs taped from CBC; from all channels except CBC; from ABC, CBS, and NBC; and from CTV, is given.

As the first row of Table 2 indicates, the proportions of episodes containing no conflict were very similar for the four comparison groups (68.7% for CBC, 69.4% for all but CBC, 68.6% for ABC, CBS, NBC, and 66.7% for CTV). However, by comparison with the U.S. channels (21.5%), CBC (18.4%) was slightly lower in proportion of aggressive episodes and CTV (27.98%) was slightly higher. CBC was slightly higher in proportion of conflict episodes (9.2% in comparison to 8.1% for the U.S. channels), and CTV was somewhat lower (3.8%). CBC was higher in proportion of argument episodes (3.8%), while CTV (1.6%) and the U.S. channels (1.7%) were comparable. CBC was lower in proportion of harm-to-self episodes (0.5% in comparison to 3.4% for the U.S. channels and 2.4% for CTV). The results for proportionate duration of aggression and build-up to aggression are more striking; the CBC proportion was slightly more than half that for the U.S. channels (5.7% and 10.2%, respectively), and the CTV proportion was even slightly higher (11.9%). The same was true for the proportionate duration of aggression in the lead-ins (3.6%, 6.4%, and 7.2%, respectively). CBC had proportionately slightly more time spent in arguments (2.5%) than either the U.S. channels (1.6%) or CTV (1.4%),

which were comparable. These results follow roughly the same pattern as the comparisons for production sources, but to a lesser degree; programs taped from CBC contained less aggression and slightly more conflict and argument than programs taped from U.S. channels and from CTV, and the latter were roughly comparable to the U.S. channels.

On the basis of the findings described in this chapter, it would appear that Canadian-produced programming and programs shown on CBC contain less aggression than those produced in the United States and/or shown on ABC, CBS, and NBC. More detailed analyses of the ways in which aggression and conflict are portrayed in Canadian and U.S. programming, and further research, are warranted to document this conclusion.

Table 1

Comparison of programs produced in Canada and in the U.S.

	All programs Canada U.S.		Crime Canada U.S.		Situation comedy Canada U.S.		Adventure Canada U.S.		Children's Canada U.S.	
Number of programs	24	83	1	20	4	20	3	3	3	8
Proportion of episodes containing no conflict	72.9%	68.5%	44.2%	61.0%	32.1%	43.1%	73.0%	82.3%	100%	84.8%
Proportion of aggressive episodes	18.9	22.7	13.9	27.8	42.9	39.8	12.7	17.0	–	12.5
Proportion of conflict episodes	5.3	7.3	18.6	9.3	17.9	14.2	12.7	0.7	–	2.7
Proportion of argument episodes	3.0	1.5	23.3	1.9	7.1	2.8	1 6	–	–	–
Proportion of episodes containing harm-to-self	0.2	2.4	–	0.1	–	1.4	–	–	–	2.3
Proportionate duration of aggression	5.2	7.6	9.2	11.6	2.3	8.1	2.8	5.7	–	5.7
Proportionate duration of build-up to aggression	0.3	3.4	0.85	7.0	–	0.5	–	4.3	–	3.5
Proportionate total of aggression and build-up	5.5	11.0	10.05	18.6	2.3	8.6	2.8	10.0	–	9.2
Proportionate duration of aggression in program lead-in	5.7	13.6	–	18.6	–	2.7	–	3.1	–	6.8
Proportionate duration of argument	1.6	1.6	12.2	2.1	5.1	4.4	1.3	0.3	–	–

Note: The proportions of episodes containing no conflict, aggression, conflict, and argument total 100 per cent (give or take 1% for rounding). If aggression occurred, the episode was coded as aggressive, and this superseded conflict and argument, if conflict occurred, the episode was coded for conflict and this superseded argument. Thus no conflict, argument, conflict, and aggression form a continuum.

Table 2

Comparison of programs taped from CBC and programs taped from other channels

	CBC	All but CBC	ABC, CBS, NBC	CTV
Proportion of episodes containing no conflict	68.7%	69.4%	68.6%	66.7%
Proportion of aggressive episodes	18.4	22.8	21.5	27.98
Proportion of conflict episodes	9.2	6.5	8.1	3.8
Proportion of argument episodes	3.8	1.4	1.7	1.6
Proportion of episodes containing harm-to-self	0.5	2.25	3.4	2.4
Proportionate duration of aggression	4.7%	7.7%	7.0%	9.0%
Proportionate duration of build-up to aggression	.98	3.2	3.2	2.9
Proportionate total of aggression and build-up to aggression	5.7	10.9	10.2	11.9
Proportionate duration of arguments	2.5	1.4	1.6	1.4
Proportionate duration of aggression in program lead-in	3.6	8.1	6.4	7.2
Number of programs	26	83	37	19

Chapter Twelve

Summary of Selected Findings

The data obtained in this content analysis of 109 entertainment television programs are so extensive that analyses could continue for several months, if not years. The ten chapters of findings in this report notwithstanding, we have in some ways only scratched the surface of the data. For example, for this report we have not had time to examine our detailed data on the relationships among characters or to compare the portrayal of aggression (in terms of motivations, modes of aggression et cetera) in Canadian and U.S. programming. In this final chapter of our report, rather than attempting to provide an overview summary of the findings outlined in the preceding chapters, we have chosen to present in summary form selected findings that seemed particularly interesting or provocative. These selected findings are listed in point form.

Averaging across all program categories, 21.5 per cent of the episodes in the 109 programs contained aggression of a physical, verbal or psychological nature. As would be expected, crime shows contained a higher than average proportion of aggressive episodes (27%) and this aggression was usually physical in nature. Interestingly, situation comedies contained an even higher proportion of aggressive episodes (40%) but this was usually verbal aggression.

The proportionate frequency of aggressive episodes did not necessarily imply the amount of time spent in depicting aggression, and indeed, the duration of aggression was invariably lower than its proportionate frequency. For example, in crime shows only 11.5 per cent of the time was spent depicting aggression, and in situation comedies, 7.1 per cent.

The use of a technique we called build-up to aggression, or suspense, was not uncommon. This technique refers to the occasions on which the audience is waiting for an aggressive event which invariably occurs, for example when the audience is shown an assassin creeping up on an unsuspecting victim. This technique was used most in crime programs, accounting for 6.7 per cent of their duration. If proportionate duration of aggression and specific build-up to aggression are added for crime shows, the total is 18.2 per cent. This technique was used substantially more often in programs produced in the United States than in those produced in Canada.

Using a composite ranking based on proportionate frequency of aggressive episodes and of build-up to aggression, duration of aggression, and the coder's rating of aggression, crime shows ranked highest in aggression and were followed in order by documentary animated, situation comedy, adventure, children's, music/variety/talk, instruction/religion, drama/medical, and game shows.

Across program categories, aggression was more often incidental (69%) than central to the plot. This finding mirrors the complaint of parents and other critics that much of televised aggression is "gratuitous".

In coding for weapons it was found that "objects not intended for aggression" were used very frequently. Considering the research on imitative behaviour, especially by children, this frequent use of ordinary objects as "weapons" (including "household devices") may be cause for concern.

Whereas in other program categories aggression often occurred between strangers or "enemies", in drama/-medical shows people who knew each other were usually involved – friends, family members, colleagues, et cetera. This may be a more realistic portrayal, since victims of aggression are, more often than not, known to their aggressors.

Aggressive interactions most often took place between people of similar nationalities or racial or ethnic origins. Inter-group hostility was not emphasized. This seems to be an accurate representation of reality rather than the stereotyped expectation of inter-group aggression. However, it may be accurate by default, since 73.3 per cent of all characters coded were white North Americans and the next largest group portrayed, black North Americans, comprised only 6.9 per cent of the characters.

The physical consequences of aggression were seldom shown; there was very little pain or blood depicted. Thus, a very unrealistic picture of the effects of aggression was presented. This has led some critics to argue that the effects of physical aggression should be emphasized on television, so that people (and especially

children) will realize that in reality, there *are* severe consequences to the kinds of aggressive acts they see portrayed. They argue further that this more realistic portrayal of the consequences of such acts would cause considerable discomfort to the viewer and thus, aggression would be less likely to be considered exciting and desirable. However, it is also known that exposure to unpleasant events leads to desensitization. thus, while seeing blood and pain would probably initially cause discomfort to the audience, it is quite possible that viewers would become accustomed to it. There is, therefore, a real trade-off between discomfort and desensitization, and it is not clear that showing the physical consequences of aggression would be more desirable than current practices. Since most of the aggression is incidental to the plot, a better alternative would be to simply delete incidental aggression.

Witnesses to aggression were usually either passive or encouraged/assisted the aggression, rather than ending the aggression directly or indirectly, (for example by calling for help). The message seemed to be that witnesses should not get involved. Similarly, victims of aggression (whether it was physical aggression, threat of potential aggression, or psychological aggression) usually withdrew or submitted unconditionally rather than attempting to conciliate, arbitrate, get help, et cetera. The message here seemed to be that aggression is an efficient tool for dealing with opposition.

"Attacking" directly was practically the only means used to achieve a goal, whether that "attack" was physical or verbal. A clear message, then, was that an efficient way to obtain one's goals is to attack rather than to negotiate, circumvent, et cetera. This message was further supported by the fact that so many characters were "winners through their own aggression".

As noted above, 39.7 per cent of the episodes in situation comedies depicted psychological aggression, usually verbal abuse and sarcasm. This verbal aggression was almost always depicted as funny, either because the interaction occurred in a comic or sham context (43.8%) or because, if the interaction occurred in a context of a serious quarrel or argument (as was the case in 45.9% of the situation comedy episodes), a comic element was built in through the use of a "double context", most often in the form of audience or canned laughter.

The single most frequent motivation for aggression was to gain personal pleasure (26%), followed by avoiding the loss of one's life (16%), and the maintenance of legal social contracts (12%, and usually, police work).

Not many emotional attitudes were expressed during aggression; people tended to aggress in anger or in a cold, unfeeling way. The impression was that one, personally, suffers no ill-effects from aggressing, one does it methodically or in anger (but even then, without consequences). Although in reality aggressors often feel guilt, remorse or empathy for their victims, this apparent lack of emotion in television may not be too surprising given that victims seldom expressed pain.

Harm-to-self usually occurred in a comic vein, in animated and non-animated children's shows and in situation comedies (where the only instance of suicide occurred).

Resolving conflicts typically involved compliance or suspension of the conflict rather than such methods as conciliation, constructive resolution, arbitration, et cetera. This seems to suggest that conflicts are not problematic for people; they either go unresolved or result in success in terms of compliance.

The coding format contained a continuum of conflict which included no conflict, argument, conflict, and aggression (with the term violence restricted to physical aggression that could result in injury or death). Higher levels of conflict superseded lower levels, so that if aggression occurred in the context of an argument it was coded as aggression (that is, an argument was not coded separately). Situation comedies ranked highest in the amount of time spent in argument that was not superseded by a higher level of conflict, and crime shows ranked second. For the most part, the same program categories tended to be high in aggression and non-aggressive conflict; specifically, situation comedies, crime shows, and animated programs ranked highest on most measures related to conflict and aggression.

In arguments that were not superseded by a higher level of conflict, the usual modes of abuse were accusation and blame (86%). Very few methods of resolution were portrayed (only five in total), and the argument was most frequently suspended (36%) or ended in compliance to an authority (28%). The emotional attitude of the initiator of the argument was usually anger and hate (65.7%), and no explicit (54.3%) or implicit (34.3%) justifisctions were portrayed.

Animated programs ranked highest and crime shows were second in the portrayal of theft, but theft occurred rarely; only .8 per cent of all episodes coded involved theft. Only half of the thefts resulted in any consequences to the thief, and there were no consequences to the victim in three-quarters of the thefts.

Animated programs ranked highest and documentaries were second in the portrayal of destruction of property. Across all program categories, 2.4 per cent of the episodes coded involved destruction of property, and it was usually intentional.

Of the characters coded, 15 were shown to be punished by death, but not one received life imprisonment. In the cases where punishment would have been appropriate (because an illegal act was committed), it was usually unclear that any was given (65%). In reality, life imprisonment is a more common punishment than death. It is difficult to know whether most illegal acts are punished, but from the perspective of role modelling it seems unwise to imply that they are not.

Of all characters coded, 10 per cent were law officers.

It was common for law officers to commit violence (74.4% did so, whereas only 16.7% played an appropriate non-violent role). This violence was almost always portrayed as justified and as merely the level of violence necessary to accomplish the objective. In reality, most law officers probably commit violence at some point in their career, but this violence is more uncommon than one would assume from the behaviour of the law officers seen on television in the two weeks of programming for which videotapes were obtained. For example, there were only four shots fired during all of 1976 by the entire Vancouver police force. Three of these shots were fired by one person on the same occasion, so there were only two incidents in which police officers fired their guns.

Television critics often quote the number (many thousand) of murders seen on television by the average child by the time he or she reached adulthood. Because it is difficult to define murder or homicide (for the legal system as well as for our coders), it was not a specific item on our coding sheets. We did, however, carry out a check on a subsample of 76 of our programs. In the 14 crime shows in this subsample, there were 17 definite murders and 4 questionable killings. Of the 17 definite murders, 15 were committed by white males against 14 white males and one white female, and two were committed by white females against white males. The questionable cases included the killing by a black policeman of a white teenager in a fight (ultimately declared to be accidental), the case of a white male who raped and shot a white female leaving her to die (but she survived; the rapist was subsequently killed by a policeman), and the case of a white male who withheld necessary medication while the white male victim was having a heart attack (and died). In addition to the incidents just listed, there was a pretend murder in a skit in a music/variety/talk show that was committed by (unseen) police against a white male, in a comic vein. Finally, the documentary, *Time of the Jackals* included the depiction or re-enactment of eight murders, six committed by males and two by a female, all against male victims, and scenes of the aftermath of the killing by a group of Japanese men of 25 Israelis. In the latter, the murders were not shown but there were pictures of people mopping up the blood and body fragments from the airport floor. (This appears to be an exception to the rule that blood is not usually depicted as a consequence of aggression.)

The majority of characters (67.5%) were portrayed as social isolates, in the sense that they were not portrayed as having family or close friends and associates. This was even more true of men (72.1%) than of women (55.9%).

There were twice as many male as female leading and title characters. Even implicity sexed characters (.cartoon, animal) were most frequently male (the ratio was six to one).

Information about marital status was more likely to

be given for female (54%) than for male (28%) characters. There was considerable evidence of sex stereotyping. For example, more women than men were emotional, feminine, predictable, wholesome, clean, good, non-violent, sexually attractive, interesting, and warm. More men than women were unemotional, dishonest, masculine, immoral, bad, violent, and competent.

Very few programs were judged to be educational (14%) in tone. Most were entertaining (87%) and interesting (83%).

Comparisons were made between Canadian and U.S. programming by comparing the programs produced in each country, and by comparing the programs videotaped from CBC, with those taped from CTV and from ABC, CBS, and NBC. The production source comparisons were made by averaging across program categories, and also within each of the adventure, crime, and situation comedy categories. Whereas the average amount of conflict portrayed in programs produced in the two countries was equal, the degree of conflict varied, with U.S. produced programs containing consistently more aggression, build-up to aggression, and aggression in the lead-ins to the programs, and the Canadian-produced programs containing more argument and conflict (that is, milder forms of conflict). The same pattern held true when programs videotaped from CBC were compared with those videotaped from ABC, CBS, and NBC; CBC programs contained proportionately more conflict and argument than the programs taped from U.S. channels, and the latter contained proportionately more aggression than programs taped from CBC. Programs taped from CTV were more similar in portrayal of conflict to those taped from U.S. channels than to those taped from CBC. Historically, conflict has been a central theme in dramatic fiction (and in literature as well). It is therefore interesting to find that Canadian and U.S. programming contain roughly the same amount of conflict, but the severity of that conflict varies.

Considering the results of the content analyses as a whole, it appears that crime shows may be more complex than those in other program categories. For example, the characters in crime shows were fairly evenly spread across the character image success/failure dimensions, and more crime show characters were portrayed on more of the adjective checklist dimensions. The global messages and times of day when episodes occurred also varied most in crime shows. In general, situation comedies ranked second in variability/complexity. This hypothesis requires confirmation through more careful examination of the data and further research, but it appears that one reason for the audience appeal of crime shows may be that they are "better" dramatically. They are virtually all one hour in length (whereas, for example, situation comedies are all half an hour), but drama and medical programs are also hour-long, and characters in the latter tend much more than in crime shows to be portrayed in black and white

terms. Thus length does not seem to be sufficient to
account for the greater complexity of crime shows. If
this hypothesis that crime shows are more complex
holds true, their more frequent portrayal of aggression,
and aggression that is incidental to the plot is the more
disturbing; that is, the aggression may not be what
draws the audience. On the other hand, the production
of complex dramas containing little aggression might be
one step toward the solution of the current dilemma
about television; they would be high in audience appeal
but not offensive.

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Appendix 1
List of Programs Analyzed,
by Category

Production source is given in parentheses; all others are U.S.

AD: Adventure Programs.

Beachcombers (Canada)
Bionic Woman
Forest Rangers (two shows, Canada)
Lost Islands (Australia)
Six Million Dollar Man
World of Disney

AN: Animated Programs.

Adventures of Gilligan (two shows)
Bugs Bunny / Roadrunner
Fat Albert
Flintstones
Pebbles and Bam Bam
Spiderman
These Are the Days
Tom and Jerry

CH: Children's Non-Animated Programs.

Electric Company (two shows)
Land of the Lost
Lost Saucer
Mr. Dressup (two shows; Canada)
Mister Rogers (two shows)
Sesame Street
Shazam / Isis
Tiny Talent Time (Canada)

CR: Crime Programs

Adam 12 (two shows)
Barnaby Jones
Baretta
Blue Knight
Ellery Queen
Hawaii Five-O
Kojak
MacMillan and Wife
Mod Squad
Police Story
Police Woman (two Shows)
Rockford Files
The Rookies
Sidestreet (Canada)
Starsky and Hutch

Streets of San Francisco
S.W.A.T. (two shows)
Switch

DOC: Documentary Programs

Fabulous Funnies
Jacques Cousteau (Foreign)
Shark Kill
Time of the Jackals (Canada)
The War Years (Canada)

D/M: Drama and Medical Programs.

Edge of Night
Emergency
General Hospital
Little House on the Prairie
Marcus Welby, M.D.
Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman
Medical Center
Waltons (two shows)

GA: Game Programs.

Match Game 76
Price is Right
This is the Law (two shows; Canada)
Wintario (Canada)

I/R: Instruction and Religious Programs.

Celebrity Cooks (Canada)
Church Today (Canada)
Mr. Chips (Canada)
Ontario Schools (Canada)
Oral Roberts
People's Church (Canada)
Rex Humbard
Wild Kingdom
Window on the World

M/V/T: Music, Variety and Talk Programs.

Bobby Vinton
Carol Burnett
Dinah
Donny and Marie
Irish Rovers (Canada)
Lawrence Welk
Pig and Whistle (Canada)
Sonny and Cher
Tony Orlando

SIT: Situation Comedy Programs

All in the Family (two shows)
Brady Bunch

Chico and the Man
Excuse My French (two shows, Canada)
Fay
Good Times
Happy Days (two shows)
Hogan's Heroes
Laverne and Shirley
Lucy Show
M*A*S*H
Odd Couple
One Day at a Time
Partridge Family (two shows)
Phyllis
Sanford and Son
That Girl
Welcome Back, Kotter
King of Kensington (two shows; Canada)

Appendix 2.
Content Analysis Coding Format

Commercials

(Note: Check as many as are appropriate)

(1) Banks/insurance/loans

(2) Beer/wine

(3) Big corporation (not advertising particular product)

(4) Candies

(5) Cars and bikes

(6) Cereals

(7) Cleaning products

(8) Clothes and shoes

(9) Coffee/tea

(10) Cookies and cakes and cake mix

(11) Cosmetics – make-up/perfume

(12) Deodorants

(13) Department stores

(14) Dessert

(15) Fast food outlets: Kentucky Fried Chicken, MacDonald's, et cetera.

(16) Films cameras

(17) Food – basic/necessities, e.g. bread, milk, et cetera.

(18) Furniture

(19) Games

(20) Gas

(21) Gum

(22) Holidays and travel

(23) Household appliances

(24) Juice (orange, Kool-aid, et cetera)

(25) Junk food – potato chips, pretzels, cheese biscuits

(26) Kitchen gadgets

(27) Lottery/Olympic coins

(28) Music

(29) Pain killers/over-counter drugs

(30) Paper products

(31) Pet food

(32) Plastic bags/wrap/aluminum foil

(33) Prepared food e.g. television dinner, pizzas

(34) Preview for movies or other television shows: Indicate if violent

(35) Public service including health (e.g., cancer, TB, church)

(36) Shampoo – hair products

(37) Soft drinks (coke, 7-up et cetera.)

(38) Sports equipment

(39) Supermarkets

(40) Toothpaste/mouthwash

(41) Toys – not games

(42) Underclothes

(43) Vitamins

(44) Other – specify –

Cover Sheet

1. Project Indentification

2. Card #

3. Program Name

4. Program I.D.

5. Number of aggressive episodes

6. Number of conflict episodes (non-aggressive)

7. Number of argumentative episodes

8. Number of non-conflict episodes

9. Number of episodes containing "harm-to-self"

10. Duration of aggressive interactions

11. Duration of arguments

12. Total duration of show (excluding commercials)

13. Duration of lead-in

14. Duration of aggression in the lead-in only

15. Duration of audience build-up (suspense) to aggression

16. Coder I.D.

Note: a) #13 and #14 above concerned only with the set lead-ins for the show, or lead-ins which consist of flashes of scenes from the show.
b) #9 – count is independent of aggressive and non-conflict episodes.

Global Messages (after first run through)

1. Was the tone of this program:

		YES	NO
(1)	funny	1	2
(2)	exciting	1	2
(3)	interesting	1	2
(4)	educational	1	2
(5)	accurate	1	2
(6)	serious	1	2
(7)	plausible	1	2
(8)	predictable	1	2
(9)	violent	1	2
(10)	suspenseful	1	2
(11)	entertaining	1	2
(12)	sensual	1	2
(13)	tragic	1	2
(14)	other: specify_____		

Note: #5 for documentaries and factual programs.

2. Rate this show as to the violence involved:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all violent						Very violent

Note: For this item, violence is defined to include physical or psychological injury, hurt or death. Verbal and physical violence are explicit and overt; nonverbal violence is usually implicit, e.g. silent treatment and changing the subject.

3. Does the show provide evidence that:

		Evidence for	No evidence or evidence neutral	Evidence against
(1)	The world is a dangerous place to be:	1	3	5
(2)	A city's downtown is dangerous at night:	1	3	5
(3)	Crime does not pay:	1	3	5
(4)	School aged children are not safe outside their own neighbourhood without adults:	1	3	5
(5)	Violence and aggression are good ways to deal with conflict:	1	3	5
(6)	The nuclear family is important in our society:	1	3	5
(7)	It is often necessary for police to use excessive force:	1	3	5
(8)	People get support from their family and friends:	1	3	5
(9)	People like their jobs:	1	3	5
(10)	People are happy with their position in life:	1	3	5
(11)	If you believe you are morally right any action you take is justified:	1	3	5
(12)	Marriage problems associated with living together are easily handled:	1	3	5
(13)	Relations with others are simple, direct, conflict-free:	1	3	5
(14)	In this show the best way of interacting with people is shown to			
	(i) be kind	1	3	5

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			Evidence for	No evidence or neutral	Evidence against
	(ii)	be thoughtful	1	3	5
	(iii)	be pushy	1	3	5
	(iv)	be strict	1	3	5
	(v)	be aggressive	1	3	5
	(vi)	tell white lies	1	3	5
	(vii)	be straightforward	1	3	5
	(viii)	be sarcastic	1	3	5
	(ix)	be tactful	1	3	5
	(x)	be assertive	1	3	5
(15)	There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average person:		1	3	5
(16)	Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself:		1	3	5
(17)	In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average person is getting worse, not better:		1	3	5
(18)	It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future:		1	3	5
(19)	These days a person doesn't really know who to count on:		1	3	5
(20)	It is important to teach children absolute obedience to their parents:		1	3	5
(21)	Any good boss should be strict with people under him/her in order to gain their respect:		1	3	5
(22)	Best way to deal with the crime problem is to have an authoritarian police force (i.e. efficiency not the issue):		1	3	5
(23)	There are two kinds of people in the world; the weak and the strong:		1	3	5
(24)	A person who has bad manners, habits and breeding can hardly expect to be liked and accepted by decent people:		1	3	5
(25)	One main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little:		1	3	5
(26)	An insult to our honour should always be punished:		1	3	5
(27)	What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination and the will to work and fight for family and country:		1	3	5
(28)	Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret by politicians:		1	3	5
(29)	The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it:		1	3	5
(30)	The business man and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor:		1	3	5
(31)	Children should be seen and not heard:		1	3	5
(32)	Concerned citizens get into more trouble than it's worth (i.e. it doesn't pay to get involved)		1	3	5
(33)	Good things in life are hard to come by:		1	3	5
(34)	Other possible message: specify				

Note: Evidence against = actual statement made in the show is counter to message; otherwise, code as neutral.

4. Rate the following groups on the following scales:

Women:

(1) not portrayed

1	3	5
(2) powerless	neutral	powerful

1	3	5
(3) competent	neutral	incompetent

1	3	5
(4) interesting	neutral	boring

1	3	5
(5) unstable	neutral	stable (emotionally)

1	3	5
(6) dissatisfied with life	neutral	satisfied with life

1	3	5
(7) passive	neutral	active

1	3	5
(8) wise	neutral	foolish

Men:

(1) not portrayed

1	3	5
(2) powerless	neutral	powerful

1	3	5
(3) competent	neutral	incompetent

1	3	5
(4) interesting	neutral	boring

1	3	5
(5) unstable	neutral	stable (emotionally)

1	3	5
(6) dissatisfied with life	neutral	satisfied with life

1	3	5
(7) passive	neutral	active

1	3	5
(8) wise	neutral	foolish

Teenagers:

(1) not portrayed

1	3	5
(2) powerless	neutral	powerful

1	3	5
(3) competent	neutral	incompetent

1	3	5
(4) interesting	neutral	boring

1	3	5
(5) unstable	neutral	stable (emotionally)

1	3	5
(6) dissatified with life	neutral	satisfied with life

1	3	5
(7) passive	neutral	active

1	3	5
(8) wise	neutral	foolish

Old people:	(1) not portrayed		
	1	3	5
	(2) powerless	neutral	powerful
	1	3	5
	(3) competent	neutral	incompetent
	1	3	5
	(4) interesting	neutral	boring
	1	3	5
	(5) unstable	neutral	stable (emotionally)
	1	3	5
	(6) dissatisfied with life	neutral	satisfied with life
	1	3	5
	(7) passive	neutral	active
	1	3	5
	(8) wise	neutral	foolish

Minority groups:	(1) not portrayed		
	1	3	5
if the fact that the person(s) is/are from a minority group is stressed, code here.	(2) powerless	neutral	powerful
	1	3	5
	(3) competent	neutral	incompetent
Specify group:	1	3	5
	(4) interesting	neutral	boring
e.g. Non-white, North American; immigrant population; religious group.	1	3	5
	(5) unstable	neutral	stable (emotionally)
	1	3	5
	(6) dissatisfied with life	neutral	satisfied with life
	1	3	5
	(7) passive	neutral	active
	1	3	5
	(8) wise	neutral	foolish

Career people:	(1) not portrayed		
	1	3	5
Definition: people with careers, e.g. teachers, doctors, lawyers, et cetera.	(2) powerless	neutral	powerful
	1	3	5
	(3) competent	neutral	incompetent
	1	3	5
	(4) interesting	neutral	boring
	1	3	5
	(5) unstable	neutral	stable (emotionally)
	1	3	5
	(6) dissatisfied with life	neutral	satisfied with life
	1	3	5
	(7) passive	neutral	active
	1	3	5
	(8) wise	neutral	foolish

Spouses of career people: (1) not portrayed

	3	5
(2) powerless	neutral	powerful
	3	5
(3) competent	neutral	incompetent
	3	5
(4) interesting	neutral	boring
	3	5
(5) unstable	neutral	stable (emotionally)
	3	5
(6) dissatisfied with life	neutral	satisfied with life
	3	5
(7) passive	neutral	active
	3	5
(8) wise	neutral	foolish

Police: (1) not portrayed

	3	5
(2) powerless	neutral	powerful
	3	5
(3) competent	neutral	incompetent
	3	5
(4) interesting	neutral	boring
	3	5
(5) unstable	neutral	stable (emotionally)
	3	5
(6) dissatisfied with life	neutral	satisfied with life
	3	5
(7) passive	neutral	active
	3	5
(8) wise	neutral	foolish

Politicians: (1) not portrayed

	3	5
(2) powerless	neutral	powerful
	3	5
(3) competent	neutral	incompetent
	3	5
(4) interesting	neutral	boring
	3	5
(5) unstable	neutral	stable (emotionally)
	3	5
(6) dissatisfied with life	neutral	satisfied with life
	3	5
(7) passive	neutral	active
	3	5
(8) wise	neutral	foolish

Note: pages 126 to 130 *cannot* be altered after subsequent viewing of the program. Now code pages 131 to 139, rerunning the tape if ·necessary.

Context

1. *Date of major action:*

(1) before 1900

(2) turn of century to World War II

(3) World War II to 1965

(4) 1965 to present ("general present", contemporary with production)

(5) future

(6) other periods, or action shifts over several time periods; *specify*

Note: – a program is considered to be set in the present unless there are clear indications to the contrary, i.e., costumes, scenery, props, setting, et cetera.
– flashbacks don't count unless they constitute a majority of the program.

2. *Program reality:*

(1) fantastic, implausible

(2) plausible setting, fantastic characters

(3) plausible fiction – no claim to depict actuality (real events or people)

(4) specific claim to depict (or reenact) actuality (real event or people)

(5) mixed, more than one of the above: specify

Character profiles–one profile per character

Character Name:

Character I.D.

Character status:	(1)	Title (show is named after)
	(2)	Leading (if you were relating the story–would you include this character)
	(3)	Non-leading aggressor or victim
Sex:	(1)	Male
	(2)	Female
	(3)	Implicit male (cues–voice, name) i.e. implicit sex for animals, space beings, et cetera.
	(4)	Implicit female
	(5)	Uncodable–not designated
Humanity:	(1)	Human
	(2)	Human with extra (super) human powers
	(3)	Humanized animal (speaks, clothed, in human environment)
	(4)	Animal (non-humanized)
	(5)	Other (specify)
Age:	(1)	Child–to 11 years
	(2)	Adolescent–12 to 18 years (cues: in high school)
	(3)	Adult–19 to 40 (cues: drinking; University; appearances)
	(4)	Middle–41 to 64 years
	(5)	Old–65 and older (cue: retired)
	(6)	Ageless, unspecified, uncodable

Marital status:	(1)	Married
	(2)	was at one time married
	(3)	marries in story or expects to marry
	(4)	in process of breaking up
	(5)	single
	(6)	unspecified

Income level:	(1)	Upper, elite, executive (e.g. lawyer, doctor, judge, et cetera)
	(2)	White collar (teacher, office, nurses, police)
	(3)	blue collar–(factory, shop)
	(4)	lower, poor
	(5)	student
	(6)	uncertain or other (specify)

Note: If spouse is without a job, code same income level as spouse.

Social group:	(1)	White American
	(2)	White English Canadian
	(3)	White French Canadian
	(4)	White North American (U.S. indistinguishable from Canadian)
	(5)	White non-North American: British

French
Italian
Greek
Russian
Eastern European
Scandinavian
Australian
Irish
et cetera

	(6)	Black North American (Negro)
	(7)	Oriental–e.g. Chinese, Japanese
	(8)	Native; Indian; Inuit; Métis
	(9)	Spanish speaking–e.g. North, South & Central American
	(10)	Other non-white
	(11)	Other (specify)

Occupation:	(1)	Actual occupation or job_____
	(2)	Housewife
	(3)	Law enforcement–public (police, FBI, government, Sheriff, Marshal, et cetera)
	(4)	Law enforcement–private (private detective)
	(5)	Military
	(6)	Legal–boss
	(7)	Legal–other
	(8)	Extra–legal (spy, CIA)
	(9)	Illegal–boss
	(10)	Illegal–other
	(11)	Unemployed–specifically indicated
	(12)	Uncertain
	(13)	Other

Health:
Physical handicap	(1) No evidence of handicap
	(2) Some handicap–but not impaired
	(3) Handicap–impaired
Physical illness	(1) No evidence of illness
	(2) Some illness–but not impaired
	(3) Illness–impaired
Psychological disorder	(1) No evidence of disorder
	(2) Moderate
	(3) Severe, psychopath, but not hospitalized
	(4) Severe (institutionalized)
Tobacco use	(1) No evidence of use
	(2) Moderate use
	(3) Severe use
Prescription drugs, e.g. sleeping pills	(1) No evidence of use
	(2) Moderate use
	(3) Severe use
Illegal drug use (e.g. heroin, cocaine, et cetera)	(1) No evidence of use
	(2) Some evidence of use
	(3) Heavy user (addict)
Alcohol use	(1) No evidence of use
	(2) Uses in moderation
	(3) Heavy use
Role type:	(0) Cannot code
	(1) "Good guy" protagonist, positive or hero type
	(2) Mixed, neither, uncertain
	(3) "Bad guy" antagonist, villain type
Character image:	(0) Human success–does everything right all the time
	(1) unqualified but human success–screw up periodically within program but reputation untarnished or even increased
	(2) qualified success–but screw up and cause doubts about image
	(3) qualified failure in life–generally unsuccessful but has big moment(s) of success
	(4) unqualified failure–doesn't do anything right

Portrayal: Code each item

X	X	X
old	neutral or not portrayed	young
X	X	X
tall	neutral or not portrayed	short
X	X	X
unusual	neutral or not portrayed	usual
X	X	X
emotional	neutral or not portrayed	unemotional

	X	X
X	neutral or	
honest	not portrayed	dishonest
	X	X
X	neutral or	
feminine	not portrayed	masculine
	X	X
X	neutral or	
happy	not portrayed	sad
	X	X
X	neutral or	
repulsive character	not portrayed	attractive character
	X	X
X	neutral or	
tough	not portrayed	delicate
	X	X
X	neutral or	
moral	not portrayed	immoral
	X	X
X	neutral or	
predictable	not portrayed	unpredictable
	X	X
X	neutral or	
wholesome	not portrayed	unwholesome
	X	X
X	neutral or	
irrational	not portrayed	rational
	X	X
X	neutral or	
sensitive	not portrayed	insensitive
	X	X
X	neutral or	
flirtatious,	not portrayed	prim
seductive		
X	X	X
bungling	neutral or	efficient
	not portrayed	
	X	X
X	neutral or	
kind	not portrayed	cruel
	X	X
X	neutral or	
learned	not portrayed	ignorant
	X	X
X	neutral or	
dirty	not portrayed	clean
	X	X
X	neutral or	
intuitive	not portrayed	logical
	X	X
X	neutral or	
bold	not portrayed	timid
	X	X
X	neutral or	
sociable	not portrayed	unsociable

X	X	X
humble	neutral or not portrayed	proud
X	X	X
rich	neutral or not portrayed	poor
X	X	X
good	neutral or not portrayed	bad
X	X	X
violent	neutral or not portrayed	non-violent
X	X	X
sophisticated	neutral or not portrayed	unsophisticated
X	X	X
sexually unattractive	neutral or not portrayed	sexually attractive (physically)
X	X	X
unambitious	neutral or not portrayed	ambitious
X	X	X
sexually unsuccessful	neutral or not portrayed	sexually successful
X	X	X
materialistic	neutral or not portrayed	unmaterialistic
X	X	X
incompetent	neutral or not portrayed	competent
X	X	X
boring	neutral or not portrayed	interesting
X	X	X
dissatisfied	neutral or not portrayed	satisfied
X	X	X
wise	neutral or not portrayed	foolish
X	X	X
accommodating	neutral or not portrayed	bureaucratic, officious
X	X	X
conservative	neutral or not portrayed	radical
X	X	X
unfair	neutral or not portrayed	fair
X	X	X
cold	neutral or not portrayed	warm
X	X	X
weak	neutral or not portrayed	strong

X powerless	X neutral or not portrayed	X powerful
X passive	X neutral or not portrayed	X active
X stupid	X neutral or not portrayed	X smart
X unstable	X neutral or not portrayed	X stable (emotionally)
X sarcastic	X neutral or not portrayed	X not sarcastic

Outcome of this show for this character.

Punishment–direct as consequences
of aggression or illegal act as
shown in the program

(0) Not appropriate

(1) unclear punishment

(2) jail short term–less than two years, explicit

(3) jail long term–e.g. two years or more, less than life

(4) life imprisonment

(5) jail, no indication of term

(6) reprimand or scolding

(7) spanking or physical punishment

(8) withdrawal of privileges

(9) probation

(10) revenge (legal or institutional)

(11) loses job, explicitly tied to crime

(12) death

(13) punishment by super natural power e.g. God, devil, et cetera

Final outcome:

(0) Neither gain nor loss shown, or irrelevant. If a person or group does not appear in latest part of show, and is not by implication there, code 0 is appropriate

(1) Clear winner (e.g. gangster who gets away with the loot, the sheriff who killed the outlaw, et cetera)

(2) Winner–but (e.g. person who got away but lost a close friend; i.e. Pyrrhic victory)

(3) Loser–but (e.g. person who lands in jail but has a treasure hidden somewhere)

(4) Clear loser (e.g. killed, or imprisoned without compensation)

Any family or close friends and
associates of this character shown:

(1) Yes, explicit evidence shown

(2) Yes, implicit reference

(3) No

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Code if the character is a law officer only:

Law enforcement violent role
(Law enforcement agents)

(1) They play an appropriate non-violent role

(2) They refuse to carry out the law in order to aid and abet

(3) They commit violence in the course of official duties

(4) They commit violence in the course of official duties, but for private gain

(5) They commit violence, but not in the course of official duties.

(6) Permit others to commit violence out of cowardice

(7) Other, or they play no role

Note: Law enforcement agents include only police, sheriff, marshall, official deputies and detectives, not private detectives, agents, spies, armed forces, et cetera.

Law enforcement violence justified

(1) If violence is committed by law enforcement agents their actions are portrayed on the screen as justified.

(2) Their actions are portrayed on the screen as unjustified.

(3) Their actions are portrayed on the screen as both justified and unjustified (e.g. "mixed")

(9) Irrelevant (i.e. violence is not committed)

Law enforcement initiation/response

(1) If the agents of law enforcement play a role in violence, they commit only that level of violence which appears necessary to accomplish their objective(s).

(2) They commit violence which appears to go beyond what is necessary (i.e. brutality, and recognized as such on screen)

(3) Both, mixed

(9) Irrelevant (i.e., they do not play a role)

Note: Code all the necessary character profiles for this program before continuing to page 137.

Note: Use one chart for *all* the characters coded in this program.

Nature of Relationships for Each Character

Unclear   Nil
0   1

Family

Ex-partners   current   sibling

same sex   opposite sex   same sex   opposite sex
2   3   10   11

same sex   opposite sex
6   9

parent/child
8

in-laws
4

grandparent/grandchild
7

extended family (beyond nuclear) e.g. aunt, cousin
5

Intimate

Romantic

same sex   opposite sex
14   15

friend

same sex 12   opposite sex 13

Non-intimate   service 23

Professional   opponent 22

dominant
18

equal
21

submissive
19

competitor
20

public authorities
16

acquaintance
17

Note: Number describing each character's relationship (e.g. A with B) with each other character goes in matrix.

Note: Only if two people actually interact or if their relationship is specified–code here.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
A								
B								
C								
D								
E								
F								
G								
H								

Definition: **Professional and business:** career people e.g. doctors, lawyers, police, teachers, et cetera.
Service: people who serve others by virtue of their jobs e.g. waitress, repair people, shop-keepers, et cetera.

Note: Use one chart for all the characters coded.

```
7 | passionate/loving

6 | very positive

5 | like

4 | equal/indifferent
─────────────────────────────┼─────────────────────────────
1        2        3           |      5        6        7
dominant                      |           submissive
(character is to other)       |      (character is to other)
                            3 | rift

                            2 | dislike

                            1 |
```
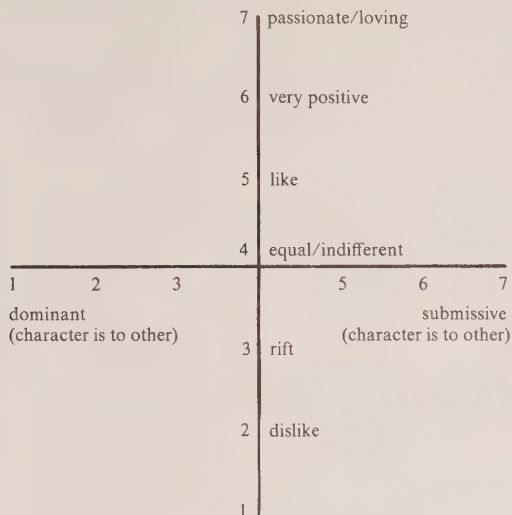
```
        A    B    C    D    E    F    G    H
   A  [  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ]
   B  [  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ]
   C  [  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ]
   D  [  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ]
   E  [  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ]
   F  [  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ]
   G  [  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ]
   H  [  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ][  ]
```

Note: First number in matrix box is dominant-submissive axis; second number is liking axis.

NOTE: If have a code of 1 on page 138; code here 0
e.g. on page 138, A – B 1   A – B on page 139
have 0

If have a code of 2 or above on page 138, can have a code of 0 on this page.
If the *quality* of their relationship is unknown.

139

Big Tree

Note: Use the following tree for *each* episode.

If in any episode harm-to-self; destruction of property or theft occur, code page 139 and "Episode" p. 142.

Episode # ———

Conflict

Yes — **Aggressive** / **Non-Aggressive**

No — **Irrational Aggression Related** / **But Aggression Related** / **Not Aggression Related**

Aggressive
code for setting and then code for aggressive episode page 143

Argument
code for setting and then code for argument episode page 142

related to aggression between characters in this episode (aggression before or after)

not aggression related for these characters

Non-Aggressive

Build up

I Explicit
a) talking about
b) showing weapon
c) stealthy assassin(s)
d) showing clues
e) questioning (e.g. police and alibis et cetera)

II Implicit
(production techniques)
a) music
b) setting
c) close up
d) unexplained shots
e) sound effects

conflict resolved in episode — **Then code for setting page 141**

not resolved in episode

code method portrayed for dealing with conflict — **Then code for setting page 141**

No build up

conflict resolved in episode

not resolved in present episode

code eventual method — **Then code for setting page 141**

topic of aggression involved

not aggression related for these characters

conflict resolved in episode

not resolved in present episode

Method
code method portrayed for dealing with conflict — **Then code for setting page 141**

code eventual method — **Then code for setting page 141**

Irrational Aggression
code for setting and then code for aggressive episode page 143

But Aggression Related

no suspense
suspense (build-up to aggression)

Not Aggression Related
if harm-to-self, destruction of property or theft do **Not** occur **Stop** here and continue to the next episode.
Do **Not** code for setting.

I Explicit
a) talking about
b) showing weapon
c) stealthy assassins
d) showing clues
e) questioning (e.g. police and alibis et cetera)

II Implicit
a) music
b) setting
c) close-up
d) unexplained shots
e) sound effects

Topic of aggression involved   **Now code for setting page 141**

I Explicit
a) talking about
b) showing weapon
c) stealthy assassins
d) showing clues
e) questioning (e.g. police and alibis et cetera)

II Implicit
a) music
b) setting
c) close-up
d) unexplained shot
e) sound effects

conflict resolved in episode — **method** — **Then code setting page 141**

conflict not resolved in episode — **eventual method** — **Then code setting page 141**

Method portrayed for dealing with conflict
1) arbitration
2) conciliation
3) defection
4) constructive resolution
5) compliance   a) to an authority
                b) to an equal
6) coercion
7) conflict suspended

Note: choose the most appropriate method.

Now code for setting page 141

140

Note: Code all episodes on page 141 except "no conflict, not aggression related" branch of big tree.

Episode

Setting:
(majority of content)
(1) Earth:
    (a)   urban
    (b)   suburban
    (c)   small town/village/farm/rural
    (d)   uninhabited (desert/ocean)
    (e)   mobile (plane/ship/train, et cetera)
    (f)   prehistoric
    (g)   mixed
    (h)   institution, army camp, refugee camp, prison, et cetera.
(2) Other planet:
    (a)   urban
    (b)   suburban
    (c)   small town/village/farm/rural
    (d)   uninhabited (desert/ocean)
    (e)   mobile
    (f)   mixed
(3) Space travel vehicle
(4) Others: (specify)

Physical setting:
(1) Indoors:
    (a)   house (private)
    (b)   apartment
    (c)   retirement centre
    (d)   hospital
    (e)   school
    (f)   institution of higher education
    (g)   police station
    (h)   office building
    (i)   small business e.g. shop/gas station/grocery store, et cetera
    (j)   factory
    (k)   military/intelligence control centre
    (l)   other: specify
(2) Outdoors
(3) Mixed

Time of day that action occurs

Note: Check all that occur.

Production techniques used in this episode:

(1) Camera angle
    (a)   high (i.e. "look down")
    (b)   eye-level
    (c)   low (i.e. "look up")
(2) Spatial aspect
    (a)   extreme long shot
    (b)   medium shot
    (c)   extreme close up
    (d)   multiple image
(3) Variation in spatial aspect
    (a)   constant
    (b)   varies

(4) Lighting key
    (a)   high   (i)   increase
    (b)   medium   (ii) decrease
    (c)   low   (iii) no change
Note: Deals with average level of light in the shot

(5) Action
    (a)   regular
    (b)   accelerated
    (c)   slow motion
    (d)   combination
Note: Rate of depiction of action as compared to its occurrence in "real life"

(6) Music
    (a)   pastoral   neutral   ominous
    (b)   soft   average   loud
    (c)   no music
    (d)   other: specify
(7) Sound effects
    (0)   None   (4)   office noises
    (1)   sirens   (5)   background talking
    (2)   silence   (6)   other–specify
    (3)   telephone

Geographical location:
(1)   United States
(2)   Canada
(3)   Other

Specific location:
(1)   City/town
(2)   State/Province
(3)   Not mentioned
Note: Be as specific as possible.

Criterion for making geographical location decision:
(1)   explicit cues (stated, visual)
(2)   implicit cues (accent, dress, props, conversation)
(3)   specify exactly

Episode #

Note: Check if any of the following occur in the episode.

(1) Harm-to-self (if yes, code for setting page 141, then go to page 143 "mode of aggression" and code up to page 146 "illustrated gore" then go to next episode)

(2) Destruction of property

Mode	(a)	body	
	(b)	object: specify	
Intentional	(a)	yes	
	(b)	no	

(If destruction of property occurs, code for setting page 141, then continue to next episode)

(3) Theft:

			Single	Group	ID
1.	(i)	Thief	1	2	———
	(ii)	Victim	1	2	———

2. Theft shown:
(i) on screen
(ii) off screen

3. Did show indicate consequences to:

Thief (a) yes: specify ———
       (b) no

Victim (a) yes: specify ———
       (b) no

Now do motivation package (blue, pages 148 to 150)

If setting page (141) has **not** already been coded, code for setting.

Note: Time (1), (2) and (3) and include in duration of aggression.
      (Only time (3) if occurs on screen.)

Note: If have agrument episode code pages 141 and 142. Then go to pages 148 to 150.

Argument Episode #

1. **Initiation**   ID
   1. Human (live)   ———
   2. Human (cartoon)   ———
   3. Human with extra
      (super) powers   ———
   4. Humanized animal ———

2. **Responder**
   1. Human (live)   ———
   2. Human (cartoon)   ———
   3. Human with extra
      (super) powers   ———
   4. Humanized animal ———

3. **Argument Interaction occurs between:**
  (1) Strangers
  (2) Spouses/mates
  (3) Direct family/parent/children/siblings
  (4) In-laws
  (5) Family, extended
  (6) Friends
  (7) Neighbours
  (8) Colleagues, co-workers
  (9) Public officials and other(s)
 (10) Competitors
 (11) Police and other(s)
 (12) Enemies
 (13) Others–acquaintances, uncodable

4. **Mode of verbal abuse**
  (1) sarcasm
  (2) ridicule
  (3) teasing
  (4) mimicking
  (5) accusation/blame

5. **Double context** (argument with humour)
  (0) no double context
  (1) if comic element involved (canned or real audience laughter)

6. **Argument**

resolved in   not resolved in
episode   episode

method   eventual method

  (1) Arbitration
  (2) Conciliation
  (3) Deflection
  (4) Constructive resolution (e.g. resolution of misunderstanding)
  (5) Compliance   (i) To an equal
                   (ii) To authority
  (6) Coercion
  (7) Argument
  (8) Conflict suspended

Note: Now go to page 148 and code for motivation et cetera.

Aggression Episodes

Episode #

1. **Aggressor(s)** in this episode

		Single	Group	ID
(1)	Human (live)	1	2	———
(2)	Human (cartoon)	1	2	———
(3)	Human with extra super powers	1	2	———
(4)	Humanized animal (i.e. speaking)	1	2	———
(5)	Animal (live or cartoon)	1	2	———
(6)	"Thing", creature	1	2	———
(7)	Act of nature (i.e. flood, storm, earthquake, et cetera)	1	2	———
(8)	Mechanized symbolic (e.g. runaway bulldozer, missiles)	1	2	———
(9)	Unclear (e.g. off screen)	1	2	———

2. **Victim(s)** in this episode

		Single	Group	ID
(1)	Human (live)	1	2	———
(2)	Human (cartoon)	1	2	———
(3)	Human with extra super powers	1	2	———
(4)	Humanized animal (i.e. speaking)	1	2	———
(5)	Animal (live or cartoon)	1	2	———
(6)	"Thing", creature	1	2	———
(7)	Symbolic representative (e.g. setting fire to bra, setting fire to effigy)	1	2	———

3. Accomplice(s) of aggressor   ID
    ———
    ———
    ———

4. Accomplice(s) of victim   ID
    ———
    ———
    ———

5. Witness(es)   ID
    ———
    ———
    ———

6. Indirect victim (i.e. bystander
    gets shot or injured)   ID
    ———
    ———
    ———

Aggressive Interaction occurs between:

(1) Strangers
(2) Spouses/mates
(3) Di ect family/parent/children/siblings
(4) In-laws
(5) Family, extended
(6) Friends
(7) Neighbours
(8) Colleagues, co-workers
(9) Public officials and other(s)
(10) Competitors
(11) Police and other(s)
(12) Enemies
(13) Others–acquaintances, uncodable

Continuous Shootout

A ——— B   # of shots
B ——— A   # of shots

Group relations of opponents:
- (1) Same nationality, ethnic, racial group
- (2) Other nationality, ethnic, racial group
- (3) Uncodable

Mode of Aggression (more than one can occur per episode)

I.   A.   Body
- (1) assault, lunge
- (2) battery
- (3) homicide e.g. strangling
- (4) falling
- (5) rape and other sexual offences
- (6) martial arts
- (7) other: specify_____

    B.   Weapon: complexity
- (1) gun, unclear what type
- (2) small firearms, e.g. handguns, pistols
- (3) hunting guns, e.g. rifle, shotgun
- (4) machine guns
- (5) small household devices, e.g. kitchen knife, rope
- (6) small non-household devices, e.g.: switchblade, stick, Kung-fu, club, spear, whip, sword
- (7) object not intended for aggression, e.g. car, furniture, slippery material
- (8) small explosive devices, e.g. grenade, mine, Molotov cocktail, letter bomb, dynamite
- (9) more sophisticated, specialized machinery, e.g. flame-thrower, tank, torpedo
- (10) elaborate organization or complex, specialized machinery, e.g. torture chamber, bomb, mass destruction devices, napalm
- (11) surgery and other medical
- (12) more than one type above, specify the numbers

    C.   Alcohol

    D.   Drugs   (1) legal
                     (2) illegal

    E.   Poison

    F.   Use of other agent to deliver aggression e.g. hit man, insects

    G.   Suicide

    H.   Fire (not forest)

    I.   Act of nature e.g. earthquake, lightning bolt, tidal wave, cold weather, forest fire

    J.   Water, e.g. drowning

    K.   Mode unclear, e.g. if occurs off-screen

    L.   Other, specify_____

II   A.   Explicit verbal threat
- (1) direct verbal threat, e.g. I'm going to kill you.
- (2) indirect verbal threat, e.g. We'll get it out of him.
- (3) threat of use of other source

    B.   Explicit nonverbal threat
- (1) gestures, e.g. shaking fist, slashing gesture across throat
- (2) chasing
- (3) brandishing a weapon

    C.   Implicit threat
- (1) person physically or otherwise restrained, knowing that his or her own action will cause physical harm to self
- (2) person says they are afraid but there was no explicit or nonverbal threat
- (3) drug pushing
- (4) kidnapping (no ransom demand)
- (5) skyjacking or highjacking (no ransom demand)
- (6) hostage taking (no ransom demand)

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III. **Potential or actual psychological harm**
    (1) direct verbal abuse (e.g. name calling)
    (2) sarcasm or mimicking a deficiency
    (3) passive aggression e.g. wife and husband
having fight and then one party refuses
to argue any longer and switches on tele-
vision **or** turning up volume of radio et
cetera to avoid argument et cetera
    (4) brainwashing, hypnosis
    (5) harrassment e.g. repeated obscene phone
calls or invasion of privacy
    (6) Indirect verbal abuse, e.g. slander, bigotry

IV. **Actual or potential socio-economic or**
    political harm
    (1) fraud
    (2) extortion
    (3) blackmail
    (4) strikes or lockouts
    (5) demonstrations or sit-ins
    (6) theft
    (7) blacklisting
    (8) environmental damage by humans
    (9) other (specify)

V. **Combination of potential psychological, socio-**
    economic or political harm
    (1) discrimination, denial of rights or opportuni-
ties, or threat of denial (based on race, sex,
social class, national origin)
    (2) discrimination, denial of rights or opportuni-
ties, or threat of denial (based on politics,
ideology, or religion)
    (3) impersonal process and systems (bureaucra-
cy) e.g. computer screw-up
    (4) ransom demand combined with
        (1) kidnapping
        (2) hijacking
        (3) hostage taking
    (5) other specify

VI. **Symbolic or joking mode**
    (1) the finger, black power salute, caricature,
sticking out tongue, wisecracks.

Context of aggression
    (0) unclear
    (1) Aggression occurs in a serious quarrel or disagreement–possibility of death or real injury unlikely
    (2) Aggression appears as scrimmage, friendly tussle
    (3) Aggression occurs within sport context
    (4) Aggression occurs in comic or sham context
    (5) Aggression occurs in sinister context, e.g. real fight, serious context which involves real threat of injury or death

Double context
    (1) If there is a comic element built into any of 1, 2, 3, or 5 above despite its serious surface appearance. For example, canned
(or real) audience laughter on soundtrack despite apparently real injury.
    (0) If no such double context is present or if irrelevant

Centrality of each aggressive episode to program
    (1) Aggression clearly incidental to plot, e.g. background, scene setting
    (2) Aggression clearly central to plot
    (3) Relation of aggression to plot unclear

Aggressive intentions:
    (1) Aggression accidental
    (2) Aggression intentional
    (3) Carelessness or negligence
    (4) Unclear

Distance between the aggressor(s) and victim(s)
    (0) Not appropriate
    (1) Direct, interpersonal, and of closest proximity, i.e. within a small room or small area
    (2) Chase
    (3) Mediated in face-to-face contact, i.e. involving distances beyond the limits of natural conversation (e.g. sniper, cannon).
    (4) Mediated without sight (e.g. poisoning without observing the effects, sending the receiver into a fatal situation, dynamiting
with a fuse)
    (5) Global and/or undirected (e.g. killing by push button, nuclear missiles, et cetera) directed indiscriminately against a large
population.

Cognitive preparation of victim
    (0) Unclear
    (1) The receiver is totally unaware, aggression is not perceived prior to occurrence (e.g. shooting from back)
    (2) Recognizes the aggression spontaneously, i.e. immediately before occurrence (e.g. stranger draws gun on sheriff)
    (3) Anticipates the aggression before encounter takes place, is warned
    (4) Anticipates the aggression in great detail (e.g. when elaborate plans of attack are known to receiver)

Physical consequences to the victim
- (1) No physical consequences shown
- (2) Definitely no physical consequences–victim remains unaffected in the long run
- (3) Victim somewhat impaired or restricted
- (4) Victim severely impaired
- (5) Victim dead or annihilated
- (6) Victim apprehended
- (7) Victim decapitated, skinned alive, et cetera
- (8) Consequences shown in subsequent episode

Recovery
- (0) not appropriate
- (1) Victim continues to function, recovers within scene
- (2) Victim incapacitated, restricted or dead in scene

Double context of consequences
- (1) Comedy is added to one of above
- (2) No such double context is present or is irrelevant

Witnesses:
- (1) The witnesses are passive; apethetic; do not act
- (2) Witnesses cannot act (e.g. tied up, in shock, et cetera)
- (3) Witnesses assist or encourage aggression, e.g. enter the fray
- (4) Witnesses use physical means to end aggression (restrain)
- (5) Witnesses seek direct alternatives to aggression, e.g. arbitration
- (6) Witnesses seek indirect alternative (e.g. phoning for help)
- (7) Other or no witnesses

Illustrated pain
- (1) No pain
- (2) Moderate pain
- (3) Extreme pain

Illustrated gore
- (1) No blood
- (2) Blood shown (small amount)
- (3) Blood and gore (lot of blood and/or other injury)

Immediate response of victim to aggression
- (1) Physically unable to respond (e.g. completely confined, unconscious, dead)
- (2) Not responding or the response is not clearly recognizable
- (3) Withdraws from encounter, disengages
- (4) Submits unconditionally
- (5) Submits conditionally (e.g., intends to escape, plans counter-aggression or other measures of retaliation).
- (6) Resists by other than physical aggression means (verbal)
- (7) Responds with violence (physical)
- (8) Responds with psychological aggression
- (9) Calls for help
- (10) Tries to conciliate
- (11) Tries to deflect
- (12) Introduces arbitrator
- (13) Unknown

Note: At the completion of the aggressive episode code pages 148 to 151.

Flow Chart Reminder for Coders

Victim responds with

Aggression ──────→ Yes ──────────────────────→ [Setting change] ────── Yes ──────→ Go to page 141

No ↘   No ↘

Go to page 143 ←── No ── [Setting change] ── Yes ── [New people] ── No ── [Aggressor continues aggressing] ── No → go to page 148 and continue coding ──→ [Consequences immediately apparent] ── Yes → go to page 143

Yes ↓ (under Setting change)   Yes ↓ (under Aggressor)   No ↓ (under Consequences)

go to page 141   [Setting change] ── No → go to page 143   go to page 148 and continue coding

                                              Yes ↓

                                              go to page 141

Note: Code pages 148 to 150 for each aggressor/initiator who appeared in the episode.

Character ID _____

Code aggressors/initiator for each conflict episode (including but not only aggressive ones) on: motivation, means, provocation, emotion, justification, and outcome as follows:

Motivation/stake in outcome

(Gain)
Hedonic:
   (1) Power or political status
   (2) Material gain
   (3) Prestige; self-esteem
   (4) Personal pleasure
   (5) Survival, security
   (6) Freedom
   (7) Love
   (8) Loved ones
   (9) Fame
  (10) Sexual favours and/or rewards

Note: Use separate sheets for each character coded pages 143 to 146.

Note: If episode involves "off-screen" aggression do **not** code pages 145 (from Context), 146 and 151.

  (Avoid losing)
Hedonic:
   (1) Power or political status
   (2) Material gain
   (3) Prestige; self-esteem
   (4) Personal pleasure
   (5) Survival, security
   (6) Freedom
   (7) Love
   (8) Loved ones
   (9) Fame
  (10) Sexual favours/rewards

Ethical:
   (1) Social contract (maintain society)
     (i) legal (police) (ii) illegal
   (2) Legal contract (signed contract)
   (3) Moral obligation to someone et cetera
   (4) Moral obligation to self (personal retribution or vengeance)
   (5) Religious contract

Means used to achieve goal:

Animate
human ← → not human
call in ally → do nothing

Inanimate
circumvent   go through   do nothing
go round

do it yourself ——————————— aggression   passive aggression

negotiate
win them
over

persuasion   seduction   intimidation
caution   flattery   threat
              and charm   blackmail

attack   attack indirectly
directly

physical   psychological
traps   traps

Provocation for engaging in conflict:

To self (directly)

physical   psychologica   Security
            insult   (i)   financial
            derogation   (ii) welfare
            honour   (iii) job related
            prestige

Others

friends   family   society

physical security   physical security   security

psychological   psychological   psychological

physical

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Emotional Attitude
- (1) Fear, anxiety
- (2) Anger, hate
- (3) Sadistic, masochistic
- (4) Irrational
- (5) Rational, cold
- (6) Other; specify——

Justification: Note: check as many as are appropriate

Explicit

1. Self defence
2. Moral
3. Legal (contractual obligation)
4. Following orders (contractual)
5. Contractual promise
   (e.g. promise to dying mother)
6. Avenge/revenge
7. Protection of innocent
8. Treated unfairly
9. Other: specify——

Implicit

1. Self defence
2. Moral
3. Legal
4. Following orders
5. Contractual promise
6. Avenge/revenge
7. Protection of innocent
8. Treated unfairly
9. Other: specify——

None offered

Outcome of the conflict for all characters in that conflict

stake in outcome: code according to the following
                           decision tree
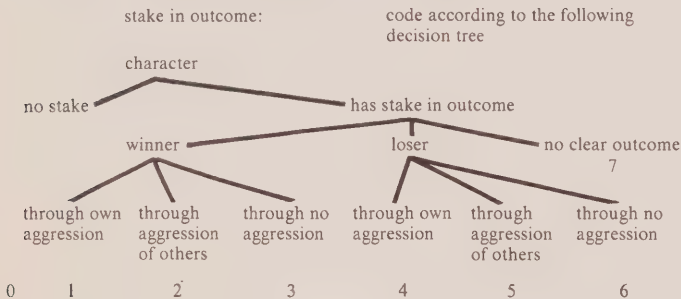
List each character's code for each category.

Note: End of coding for this episode–continue coding the next episode in the show. (i.e. go back to big tree, page 140)

Observed non-fatal casualties (by coder)

- (0) None
- (1) One
- (2) Two
- (3) Three
- (4) Four
- (5) Five
- (6) Six
- (7) Seven
- (8) Eight or more, but can be counted
- (9) Mass casualties; cannot be counted

Note: Count the number of persons or humanized animals hurt in the scene

Observed fatal casualties

- (0) None
- (1) One
- (2) Two
- (3) Three
- (4) Four
- (5) Five
- (6) Six
- (7) Seven
- (8) Eight or more, but can be counted
- (9) Mass casualties; cannot be counted

Unobserved non-fatal casualties (by coder)

- (0) None
- (1) One
- (2) Two
- (3) Three
- (4) Four
- (5) Five
- (6) Six
- (7) Seven
- (8) Eight or more, but can be counted
- (9) Mass casualties; cannot be counted

Unobserved fatal casualties

- (0) None
- (1) One
- (2) Two
- (3) Three
- (4) Four
- (5) Five
- (6) Six
- (7) Seven
- (8) Eight or more, but can be counted
- (9) Mass casualties; cannot be counted

Appendix 3
Long-Form Procedure for Coders.

1. Run through once completely, as if you were an ordinary viewer, noting commercials shown but nothing else. Also time duration of show except commercials.

2. Immediately following the completion of the show, note from memory all the characters involved.

3. Code the global messages (pages 126-130). Do not refer back to these again.

4. Continue to code as much of the character profiles (pages 131-137) as possible. You may go back to these profiles if necessary after the second run-through.

*Remember to do one profile for each title, leading and non-leading aggressive character.

5. Second run-through: Code each episode, stopping after each one and re-running if necessary.

Note: During the run-through of episodes, coders can make notes of who was involved, what happened et cetera.

6. Third run-through: While watching the program, time the duration of:

a) aggressive interactions (*not* episodes)

b) arguments

c) lead-in

d) aggression in lead-in

e) audience build-up to aggression (suspense)

Note: remember to use: (i) a Big Tree (page 140) for *each* episode.

(ii) An aggression episode package for *each* new aggressor within the episode (pages 143-146).

(iii) A motivation package (pages 148-150) for each aggressor in that episode or the initiator in an argument episode.

(iv) Do not fill out Data Sheet, but include one for every program on the top of the pile.

7. Enter duration and frequency date (i.e. number of aggressive episodes, conflict episodes et cetera) on cover sheet.

Appendix 4
Short-Form Procedure for Coders.

1. Watch the show as a normal viewer, timing the duration of the show (except commercials) and noting the commercials.

2. Code global messages (pages 126-130) and context (page 131) as per long form, and character profiles (page 131-137) with the following exceptions: Omit health (page 133); character image (page 133); adjectives describing characters (page 133-136). Also omit pages 138 and 139 of long form.

3. Second run-through: episode by episode. For each episode, do the episode tree (pg. 140), setting, theft/harm-to-self, argument, aggression and body – count pages where appropriate.

Note: Use the *short* form of the aggression episode package (see next page). Assign numbers to the sequence of events (draw a picture of those events) and put the numbers in the appropriate slots for mode of aggression consequences et cetera. Omit pages 148-150.

4. Third run-through – time durations of aggressive interactions, arguments et cetera, as per long form.

5. Enter duration and frequency data on cover sheet.

Note: Character portrayal – pg. 131 – *Humanity* . . . Add: 6) Human – cartoon.

Appendix 5.
Additional Definitions and Instructions

1. Conflict: When the nature of the interaction between people is in opposition (interaction may be verbal or physical).

2. Aggression: Any behaviour that inflicts harm on an individual or individuals, either physically or psychologically, including explicit or implicit threats and non-verbal behaviours.

3. Violence: Physically aggressive behaviours that do, or potentially could, cause injury or death to the individual or individuals.

4. Episode:
A. When settings change with the following exceptions.

i) continuous action e.g. two people fighting and then a chase occurs e.g. character walking from one place to another

ii) dependent, related setting, even though physically or geographically apart e.g. flashes between two people working together for the same purpose e.g. flashes between pursuer and pursued, but *note:* for a number of flashes between different sets of people, e.g. theft going on in an office and the thief is shown, flash to the guard in the same office building but on a different floor, flash to two policemen who are working on these thefts. These are three separate episodes. To help in your decision, use as one criterion, if the people in the flashes are unaware of each other, code as separate episodes.

iii) Telephone conversation – setting coded as first place that appears.

iv) commercials.

B. Time changes even though the setting might be the same.

5. Sarcasm: Bitter or wounding remark, taunt, especially one ironically worded.

6. Differentiate between witness and accomplice:

Witness: person who is not involved in the ongoing conflict (this person may or may not know the people involved in the conflict).

Accomplice.

(i) Accomplice to the Aggressor: If three or more people are involved in aggressive conflict, the accomplice to the aggressor is the person who is ordering the aggressor but is not the direct aggressor (e.g. aggressor is threatening to use a gun and the accomplice has a stake in the outcome, i.e. is involved, but does not have a gun drawn, or using direct aggression).

(ii) Accomplice to the Victim: if three or more people are involved in aggressive conflict, the accomplice to the victim is the person who is not a direct victim (e.g. victim A is being tied up and person B is present but not being tied up. Then A is the victim and B is the accomplice to the victim. If B is then tied up, B becomes a victim and A is then the accomplice to the victim). In both (i) and (ii) above, the accomplice may or may not know the aggressor or the victim; what is important is that in *both* cases, they are *involved* in the conflict.

7. Methods to resolve conflict:

a) Arbitration: both parties in conflict will abide by decision of another

b) Conciliation: agreement between conflicting parties

c) Deflection: conflict suspended due to introduction of outside agent, distraction, et cetera.

d) Constructive resolution (e.g. resolution of misunderstanding)

e) Compliance (i) to an equal (ii) to authority

f) Coercion: use of physical force to reach compliance

g) Conflict suspended

8. Irrational aggression – this includes both physical aggression (e.g. a sniper shoots an unknown person walking down the street) and verbal aggression (e.g. an out-of-the-blue sarcastic comment). If the latter occurred it would almost always be the first comment in an interchange, (but the first comment would not necessarily be irrational, e.g. it could be in response to an action).

A. Timing.

1. When timing, time the *actual length of argument, conflict,* and *aggression,* irrespective of how the episode was coded (e.g. in an episode in which there is argument, if aggression occurs, the episode is coded as aggressive, but when timing, time both the length of argument and the length of aggression).

2. Time *theft, harm-to-self* and *destruction of property as aggression* and include in the category "Duration of aggressive interactions" (#9 of cover page).

3. If there is a *film within a film* which is aggressive, it will probably be impossible to code this aggression on an aggression package, but it is possible to time any of this aggression when you are timing the aggressive interactions.

e.g. Person goes to the cinema, and is shown as watching a "cowboy and Indians" – film time the aggresion when it is being shown.

4. On the cover sheet (page 126) add a category: *Duration of audience build-up to aggression.* This requires that the time spent over the entire programme in preparing the audience for aggression be timed. The idea here is to get at the technique of having the audience on the edge of their seats waiting for aggression they *know* will occur (because they've seen an assassin with a gun, a shark swimming about, or whatever). This category relates to the following on the aggression tree:

Conflict ——— No ——— But Aggression Related.

I explicit

a) talking about

b) showing weapon

c) stealthy assassins

d) showing clues

e) questioning
(e.g. police and alibis et cetera

II implicit

a) music

b) setting

c) close-up

d) unexplained shots

e) sound effects

In addition to timing the duration of audience build-up for aggression, please note when you check, conflict – no – but aggression related, whether this is audience build-up for aggression or not. (Conflict – no – but aggression related also occurs with no build-up, e.g. when people talk about aggression after its occurrence). Whether audience build-up occurs or not, check the appropriate explicit and/or implicit category.

B. General

1. If episode involves a continuous shoot-out (i.e. more than two shots fired between people), code as one aggressive episode, recording the number of shots by each party involved (page 143). Code each person involved as both aggressor and victim.

i.e. A shoots at B – first time through: A is aggressor, B is the victim B responds with aggression – B is now aggressor and A is the victim.

Essentially, code as for one shot each.

2. Results or consequences of off-screen aggression can be coded.

3. When lead-in is part of the plot, code as an episode or episodes.

4. When coding motivation and aggression packages (pages 143-150, code with your knowledge of the entire show, e.g., you might not find out until the end who was the assassin in a murder which occurred at the very beginning of the show.

5. In game shows: end of episode occurs when new people are introduced, and/or when there is a break for commercials.

6. Destruction of property is coded when destruction actually occurs.

C. Specific (in order or page numbers).

1. When an animal (live) is portrayed on the screen, (page 131) code character profile package for that animal, but only code as much as is appropriate i.e. the adjective check list will probably be inappropriate, but "role" i.e. good, bad or mixed will be appropriate. If two animals are having a fight e.g lion and deer, use an aggression package.

2. Character profiles – page 132, "Occupation" if the person is shown as having a boss or who logically would have a boss (e.g. secretary, waitress et cetera) code as #7 legal – other. Code as #8 legal – boss, if the person is not shown as having a boss and/or who could be self employed.

3. In game shows: "Role Type" page 133 code the host of the show as having a role, but the contestants are being themselves, so they do not have a role therefore code as O – cannot code.

4. To distinguish between "Conflict – Argument" and "Conflict – non aggressive" choose the branch that gives the most information for that particular interaction. (page 140)

5. On the Big Tree (page 140):

(i) Put check marks at every branch of the tree where you have to make a decision.

(ii) for the "Explicit" and "Implicit" categories, (when aggression related), check off the categories (i.e. talking about; close up; music, et cetera.) which give the most information – e.g. if two policemen are talking about a murder and then they show a close-up of the policemen's face – *only* check off: Explicit (a) talking about, NOT Implicit (b) close-up. But if 2 criminals are talking about a murder and then a close-up of a gun is shown check off: Explicit (a) talking about, (b) showing weapon and implicit close up.

Note: The close up from the first example will be noted in production techniques on the "setting pages".

6. Ominous music: check if it occurs even though it does not carry through the entire episode. (Page 141, setting).

7. Argument (page 142): the initiator of an argument is the provocator.

8. The category "Mode of Aggression" – Brandishing a weapon: use whenever a person is carrying a weapon which is ready for use (page 144, IIB). e.g.

i) Policeman's gun still in his hoster is *not* aggressive, brandishing a weapon

ii) Criminal carrying a cocked rifle, but not actually pointing it, is still brandishing a weapon as it is ready for shooting.

9. If aggression occurs in "comic or sham context" # 4 of context of aggression (page 145) then there is no double context of code O for double context (page 145).

10 Category of "Centrality of Aggression to the plot" (page 145)

(i) Central to plot *only* applies to that aggression which is necessary for the plot to exist i.e. without this aggression would there be a plot?

(ii) Incidental to plot is aggression that is used for padding e.g. sarcasm et cetera in a lot of situation comedies will be incidental. A lot of the aggression in crime shows will be incidental once the first murder/crime has taken place.

11. In cartoons: code under "Physical consequences to victim" #7 (page 146) all the bizarre things that happen to the character – e.g. decapitated; skinned alive, caught fire, flattened et cetera.

12. Flow chart (page 147) – the branch

go to setting page ← YES ← setting change ← YES —— new people

Applies for the situation when there has been aggression and the victim does not respond with aggression, but without a time break (i.e. with continuous action) new people become involved in the aggression and at the same time the setting has developed. The important thing to remember is that there has been *no break* in the action.

13. If in an episode there is an "unobserved dead body" (i.e. with no character ID for this person, do not know the aggressor, the mode of aggression or anything about the death at all, except that there is a body) code on page 151 and to on the next episode.

14. "Commercial" (page 125) #34 preview for films and television shows et cetera if any of these previews are aggressive write on the page that it was aggressive.

e.g. preview of crime show which is aggressive: and shown twelfth.

12: 33,34,35 Preview of television et cetera – (write) 12th commercial – aggressive 35.

Television Crime Drama:

A Mythological Interpretation

James Taylor

Section de Communication
Département de Psychologie
Université de Montréal
Montréal, Québec

Contents

La série policière à la télévision:

vers une analyse mythologique

L'hypothese de base qui soustend la présente recherche est la suivante: toute société, primitive ou moderne, se base sur une conceptualisation de l'action humaine qui s'exprime en mythes. Dans notre société, la télévision sert de véhicule pour la transmission de nos patterns mythologiques. La série policière occupe un rôle particulier dans la transmission de nos valeurs sociales – c'est l'équivalent contemporain du mythe ancien.

La mythologie, ou la science des mythes, a reçu son impulsion contemporaine de la publication de deux documents, *Morphologie du Conte* de Vladimir Propp (originalement publié en russe en 1928, mais traduit en anglais seulement vers la fin des années '50, et en français en 1965), et "The Structural Study of Myths" de Claude Lévi-Strauss (publié d'abord en anglais en 1955, mais paru en français dans *Anthropologie Structurale I*, 1958). Le premier de ces travaux mettait l'accent surtout sur les propriétés formelles du récit; l'oeuvre de Lévi-Strauss, par contre, se concentre davantage sur la signification cachée de l'histoire.

Une contribution fondamentale de Propp c'est d'avoir identifié des unités de base narratives. Il a observé certaines constructions logiques qui apparaissaient régulièrement dans le corpus de cent contes de fées russes qu'il analysait. Les suivants peuvent servir d'exemples:

– Le roi donne à Ivan un cheval; le cheval l'emporte dans un pays étranger.

– Le magicien donne à l'héros un bateau; le bateau l'emporte dans un royaume lointain.

Il est évident qu'il existe une ressemblance fondamentale entre les deux évènements: quelqu'un (un donateur) fournit à quelqu'un (un agent) un cadeau magique (l'instrument de transport), et l'agent est emporté par le cadeau à une région physiquement éloignée. Cette partie constante est désignée par Propp comme étant une *fonction*. La partie variable de l'histoire est fournie par l'insertion des éléments choisis d'un répertoire approprié (un roi, un magicien, etc.).

Ayant fait cette distinction importante entre la partie constante et la partie variable d'une histoire, Propp est arrivé à une conclusion étonnante: les cent contes qu'il analysait, bien que marqués par une variété superficielle

très grande, manifestaient une grande régularité au niveau de leur structure profonde (conçue comme un ensemble ordonné de *fonctions*). Propp a réussi à identifier une trentaine de fonctions utilisées dans les contes, et a découvert que, dans son corpus, les fonctions apparaissaient toujours dans exactement le même ordre.

L'idée de base de Lévi-Strauss est un peu plus difficile à résumer succinctement. D'abord ce dernier est parti de l'hypothèse que nos concepts incarnent des oppositions bi-polaires. Par exemple, en général les gens conçoivent la mort comme opposée à la vie. (En effet, si l'homme n'était pas mortel, il ne serait pas nécessaire d'avoir un concept de vie.) De façon semblable, le concept de "dessus" suppose un concept complémentaire de "dessous"; l'idée de "est" implique une notion de "ouest"; on ne pourrait que difficilement conceptualiser la notion de "cru" si on n'avait pas un concept de "cuit", et ainsi de suite.

Malheureusement (ou peut-être heureusement) l'experience de l'homme n'est pas toujours si facilement réduite à des dichotomies. D'ailleurs, la présence de concepts irreconciliables dans la société (la mort s'opposant à la vie, l'angoisse à côté de la sérénité) semble troubler l'esprit humain, et les gens essaient toujours de trouver une manière de résoudre les oppositions, c'est-à-dire de trouver le pont entre la mort et la vie, de reconcilier la présence du bien et du mal au sein d'une seule personalité, et cetera. Selon Lévi-Strauss, les grands thèmes de tous les mythes concernent les oppositions qui s'avèrent importants pour une société donnée, et les efforts faits pour trouver une sorte de médiatisation des notions profondément opposées.

Le projet de recherche décrit dans ce rapport avait comme but d'analyser treize émissions de télévision (du genre policier), et de faire une première tentative d'appliquer les méthodes de Propp et de Lévi-Strauss.

Nos résultats étaient encourageants. D'une part la structure de l'émission policière de provenance américaine s'avérait extrêmement régulière. Toutes les émissions examinées avaient une forme commune: un premier crime de violation (souvent mais pas nécessairement marqué par des connotations sexuelles), suivi

d'une première réaction d'un gardien de l'ordre social, suivi par un meurtre. Le meurtrier se cache, se déguise, ou cache toute évidence du crime. L'agent de police (le héros de la série) entre et commence son enquête. Il accumule des faits, en déduit l'identité du criminel, souvent arrête le complice du meurtrier, et finalement réussit à vaincre le traître. Entretemps, il entre une troisième personne, destinée à jouer le rôle de médiateur entre le héros et le meurtrier. Cette personne peut être un témoin, un investigateur, un bouc émissaire, et cetera. Très souvent, ce troisième personnage se trouve menacé par le traître, et est sauvé à la dernière minute par le héros. Dans une étude exploratoire il ne s'est pas avéré possible de fournir un grammaire complet de récits télévisuels; cependant la présente investigation nous a convaincu de la valeur d'une telle entreprise.

Notre analyse nous a également donné l'espoir de pouvoir appliquer la méthode de Lévi-Strauss. Nous avons soumis à une analyse détaillée quatre émissions, tirées de quatre séries différentes, ce qui nous a permis de découvrir l'existence d'un pattern systématique dans les crimes de violation (qui servent à déclencher l'action). Il semble qu'un des thèmes principaux des séries policières, à en juger par notre échantillon limité, serait les relations entre les femmes et les hommes, et plus particulièrement le rôle de la femme dans la société actuelle. Cette confirmation de nos attentes souligne le rôle important des émissions de "divertissement" dans la transmission des valeurs culturelles.

Qu'est-ce que cette analyse peut nous dire par rapport à la question de la violence à l'écran et ses conséquences potentiellement néfastes?

D'abord une distinction entre la *violence* et la *violation* s'impose (les deux mots ont une origine commune – le verbe latin *violare*, "prendre par force"). Une violation constitue une infraction d'une régle fondamentale de la société, très souvent dans des circonstances ambigues. Par exemple, un étudiant qui veut réussir ses études avec grande distinction (un but présumément socialement approuvé) choisit comme moyen d'atteindre son objectif de torturer des rats (un "crime" qui se rapproche quand même d'une activité hautement valorisée dans notre société, la recherche scientifique); un employé sénior d'une compagnie internationale se trouve confronter par la tâche de rassembler une quantité de propriétés privées afin que son compagnie puisse construire un nouveau siège social (but socialement approuvé) mais parce qu'il rencontre de l'opposition de la part des propriétaires, il a recours à une campagne d'intimidation (un crime). Dans chacun des cas cités, le crime de violation qui sert de point de départ pour le récit, est aussi un mécanisme qui permet à l'auteur de soulever un problème à la fois moral et sémantique: comment se fait-il que notre progrès médical doit être obtenu au dépens d'un traitement si peu humain des animaux; comment se fait-il que notre progrès économique doit être obtenu au dépens des droits des gens ordinaires?

Si on enlevait la violation, on n'aurait plus la même histoire.

Par contre la violation est toujours accompagnée par la violence, qui est son expression superficielle. Il en découle que la série policière en tant que conte moral, dépend de la violence. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que les mythes de tous les pays sont marqués par la description des actes de violence, même dans les pays où l'observateur serait rarement conscient de la présence de violence ouverte ou même virtuelle.

Ceci ne vaut cependant pas un argument en faveur de la présentation visuelle des actes de violence dans les émissions de télévision, Il veut tout simplement dire que la notion de violence est implicite au genre. Comment la violence est présentée est une autre question. Il faut en même temps reconnaître d'autres facteurs. Par exemple, dans la plupart des sociétés, le contexte du mythe est clairement distingué de la réalité quotidienne de l'auditoire, l'action se passe dans un passé lointain et souvent fabuleux. Même dans les "Westerns", populaires avant la série policière, le contexte était loin d'être réaliste. Par contre, la série policière prétend représenter une réalité plus rapprochée. Les conséquences de cette différence restent à évaluer.

Chapter One

A Brief Introduction to Mythology

Objectives of This Report

No society can live without myths. Myths provide the substructure of our collective social experience. A basic postulate of the present research is that television crime dramas are a vehicle for the communication of the dominant mythic patterns of contemporary American society, and that within this genre, the portrayal of violence is a key element of mythic modes of expression.

In this introductory section, three questions are posed: 1)What is myth? 2)Why should the use of a mythic model be particularly informative about certain aspects of present-day television? 3)What will a mythic analysis tell us about the role of violence in television?

Following the discussion of these three questions, we turn briefly to consider one or two methodological issues that arise in connection with the present research.

What is Myth?

Some Traditional Conceptualizations

Mythology, or the study of myth, has until recently been something of a stepchild in the human sciences.

There has existed a persistent undercurrent of interest in the nature and function of myth ever since the advent of the social sciences as an organized form of scientific activity; one thinks of the nineteenth-century work of the Grimms, Tylor and Fraser, to mention only a few.

The great French sociologists Durkheim and Mauss were the first to conceptualize ritual and myth as *collective representations,* or ways of perceiving the world, exemplified in language. Freud borrowed from myth to explain psychic dynamics (the most famous example being the "Oedipus complex"). Jung saw myth exemplifying *archetypal* modes of thought, by means of which communities structure their perceptions of the world around them. Cassirer perceived myth as metaphor; Lasswell emphasized the role of "justifying symbols" in politics.

Yet, in spite of isolated exceptions, the study of myth has remained essentially at the periphery of the social scientist's field of preoccupations. Anthropologists (or more exactly ethnologists), whose domain proper myth is, have tended to preoccupy themselves with tangible phenomena such as the structure of economic and kinship systems. In communication studies, myth has over the years been increasingly relegated to the lowly status of "entertainment".[1] The very use of the term "entertainment" connotes a subtle but real denigration of the role of story-telling, compared with more socially "responsible" functions such as providing news, discussion of public issues, and educational broadcasting.

But for every hour spent watching "socially responsible" programming, the average viewer puts in at least two being entertained. (See Caron's report on television viewing habits in this volume.) One may be led to suspect a bias inherent in the narrowly utilitarian point of view which has so often prevailed in public discussions of the role of the media in our society.

One goal of this study is to redress to some extent that bias, and to bring the function of "entertainment" into a more realistic perspective.

A Metalanguage for Myth: Modern Approaches

One continuing problem has been the absence of a language for talking about myth. Given the immense superficial variety of myth (and of television production), a systematic procedure has to be developed by which the range of surface representations can be reduced to a manageable set of basic forms, where underlying patterns and regularities become more easily identifiable. In the language of the linguist, we need a grammar of myth.

Vladimir Propp

The contemporary study of myth may be said to have begun with the work of a group of Russian folklorists, of whom the best known in the West is Vladimir Propp. (And even the latter's work was not translated into English until 1958, or into French until 1965.)

Propp took as his basic material one hundred Russian folk tales, collected by the folklorists Aarne and Thompson. He observed that stories are constructed out of simpler constituent elements, which he termed *functions.* These simpler elements, or functions, could be quite easily arranged into classes, on the basis of

apparent structural similarities. The examples he gives illustrate the point:

1. The king gives the hero an eagle; the eagle carries the hero off to another kingdom.

2. Grandfather gives the hero a horse; the horse carries the hero away to another kingdom.

3. A magician gives the hero a boat; the hero is transported by the boat to another kingdom.

4. The queen gives the hero a ring; imps emerge from the ring and carry the hero off to another kingdom.

While each time the content is different – the hero changes, the gift is altered, the source of the gift varies, as well as the agent responsible for removing the hero to another place – still it appears that in some important sense the structure of events in the four examples is identical.

Stories can be generated by combining functions in appropriate sequence (providing that the characters are properly cross-indexed from one story element to another). This discovery by Propp provides the beginning of a language for talking about myths, and for comparing them.

Propp's analysis of his corpus of a hundred stories led him to some rather surprising conclusions:

1) What is permanent, or *constant*, in a set of folk tales is the *list of functions*, or basic story elements, while what changes is the identification of persons involved in the action, and the manner in which a given function (e.g., the form that transportation to a far-off land takes) is accomplished;

2) The repertoire of functions used in fairy tales is *finite*, and indeed quite restricted;

3) The functions always appear within stories in the *same order* (although not every function appears in every tale – there are omissions);

4) Every story in his sample was a simple *variant of one basic story*, with the same essential structure, built out of the same set of story elements.

This final conclusion, that, within a given genre, and in spite of surface dissimilarities, every story can be derived by appropriate transformations from *one basic story model*, was to prove a tremendous stimulus to the scientific study of myth since it turned attention away from simple recording of tales to the discovery of rules of transformation which explain the surface variety. A procedure based on a finite vocabulary of story elements, and a set of rules (or syntax) for their combination, is immensely powerful. It is already known from linguistic research that an infinite number of sentences can be produced by a finite generative-transformational grammar; it may be speculated similarly that a comparable grammar of myth is capable of generating an infinite number of stories.[2]

It is a working hypothesis or postulate of this study that there exists a finite set of basic story plots, and that actual television productions are obtained by transformations from more basic forms. It is commonly averred

that television is repetitive: I hope to show why and how.

Claude Levi-Strauss

A second event of major importance in the developing field of mythology occurred in 1955, when the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss published an article entitled "The Structural Study of Myth". Levi-Strauss begins from a rather different starting point than Propp (with whom he does not appear to have been directly familiar at the time). He observes that in the apparently arbitrary arrangement of elements of myth, every succession of events appears possible, and no logical order or continuity is evident. Nevertheless he points out that there are astonishing similarities of *character* and *relation* which recur from myth to myth throughout the world.

Like Propp, Levi-Strauss sees as a first necessary step the isolation of a basic unit of myth, which he terms a *mytheme*. A mytheme is defined as a *bundle of relationships*. What this means can best be explained through illustration; Levi-Strauss used as an example the Oedipus cycle, drawn from Greek mythology. He found four relational clusters:

1) Kinship relations which are over-valued:
– Cadmos goes in search of his sister Europa, raped by Zeus
– Oedipus marries his mother, Jocasta
– Antigone buries her brother, Polynice, in spite of an injunction

2) Kinship relations which are under-valued:
– the Spartoi mutually exterminate each other
– Oedipus kills his father Laios
– Eteocles kills his brother Polynice

3) The destruction of monsters:
– Cadmos kills the dragons
– Oedipus causes the death of the Sphinx

4) Difficulties in walking straight:
– the name of Oedipus' grandfather connotes lame or limping
– the name of Oedipus' father connotes awkward or left-footed
– Oedipus' own name connotes swollen-footed

An inspection of the examples above indicates that, operationally, Levi-Strauss' definition of *mytheme* includes the story components similar to Propp's *functions*, but at a higher level of abstraction. For example, the killing of his father by Oedipus would presumably have been singled out by Propp as a function; for Levi-Strauss, it contributes to the definition of a mytheme. Thus, there appears to be a certain parallelism between the two approaches.

The emphasis, however, is quite different: whereas Propp was interested in establishing a *syntax*, or grammar, of myth, Levi-Strauss is more concerned with

the *semantics*, or meaning. Propp compares the structures of different stories; Levi-Strauss elucidates parallels *within* a single story. The way he accomplishes this for the Oedipus myth illustrates both the power and the apparent artificiality of his method.

Drawing on his knowledge of Greek mythology, Levi-Strauss notes that monsters are born or spring from the earth. They are, in other words, autochthonous in origin. The killing of the monsters in the Oedipus story stands for the *negation* or denial of the autochthonous origin of man. On the other hand, he asserts that there is a direct association in Greek thought between the ideas of being born from the earth and of having difficulties in walking straight. Hence, the fourth cluster stands for the *assertion* of the autochthonous origin of man. In this sense, the story incorporates a logical contradiction: man cannot be both born directly from the earth and not so born.

Similarly, the first two bundles of relationships incorporate a contradiction: over-valuing of kinship relations is inconsistent with under-valuing of kinship relations.

Now, asserts Levi-Strauss, the meaning of the myth appears:

. . . We may now see what [the Oedipus myth] means. The myth has to do with the inability, for a culture which holds the belief that mankind is autochthonous . . . , to find a satisfactory transition between this theory and the knowledge that human beings are actually born from the union of man and woman. Although the problem obviously cannot be solved, the Oedipus myth provides a kind of logical tool which relates the original problem – born from one or born from two? – to the derivative problem: born from different or born from same? By a correlation of this type, the over-rating of blood relations is to the under-rating of blood relations as the attempt to escape autochthony is to the impossibility to succeed in it. Although experience contradicts theory, social life validates cosmology by its similarity of structure. Hence cosmology is true.³

It is possible to gain some insight into the nature of the logical dilemma involved by considering an example closer to home. It will be recalled how slow was the acceptance by our own society in the post-Darwinian era of the "scientific" theory of evolution, which met the resistance of fundamentalist Christian views on the origins of man. According to Christian cosmology, the first man, Adam, was formed in the image of God from the dust of the ground (exactly as the plants spring from the ground). The first woman was created from the bone and flesh of Adam (his rib). They then knew each other, Eve conceived and their first-born son Cain was the fruit of their union.

Note the inherent contradiction: if to be a man is to be born of the union of two persons, then by this definition Adam was not a man, yet we are told that Adam was the first man. Since he is the father of all mankind, he must be a man, but since he had only a father and no mother, he cannot be a man. He must accordingly either be a monster, or divine. Genesis makes it clear that Adam is at least semi-divine, in that he is in the likeness of God, and needed only to know

good and evil, and to live forever to become, in the Lord's words, "as one of us".

In the view of some psychologists, the holding of basically inconsistent beliefs leaves a residue of what is called technically *cognitive dissonance*, which, even where the inconsistency is suppressed, may result in discomfort. The myth of the origins of man, with its profound religious significance, cannot be questioned by the orthodox. But, according to Levi-Strauss, the logical problem can be attacked through myth. Oedipus flees the home of his foster-parents (whom he believes to be his parents) in order to escape from the prophecy that he will kill his father and marry his mother, and in fleeing he inadvertently fulfills the prophecy. The ambiguity in the identity of his parents mirrors the ambiguity of born from one versus born from two.

If the reader continues to experience some bewilderment after reading the above, it should be of some consolation to him or her to know that his or her inability to follow all of Levi-Strauss' deductive leaps is shared by many of the latter's own colleagues and most ardent admirers.⁴ Turner, for example, has offered a more exhaustive (and in my view more persuasive) analysis of the Oedipus myth, from which a different meaning is inferred.⁵ His interpretation turns on three dichotomies: kinship/non-kinship, male/female, immature/mature. With respect to each of these semantic distinctions, there exist social rules and taboos. Turner argues that the Oedipus myth was written down at a turbulent period of Greek history when the role of the powerful clans was in question, making salient questions of kinship relations and generational succession. Thus he sets aside the cosmological issue in favour of a more sociologically oriented explanation.

Like Turner, we may take issue with Levi-Strauss about the details of an interpretation without disagreeing on the validity of the method. At times, however, we are likely to be astonished by the complexity of meaning, based on symmetrical semantic contrasts of the type described above. Yet even the sceptical anthropologist Douglas, after a careful analysis of his method, as applied to an Indian myth from Canada's west coast, is led to concede:

Some may have doubted that myths can have an elaborate symmetrical structure. If so, they should be convinced of their error. . . . Although I have suggested that the symmetry has here and there been pushed too hard, the structure is indisputably there, in the material and not merely in the eye of the beholder.⁶

In the story in question, Levi-Strauss shows that the movement of the story centres on distinctions between east and west, earth and heaven, mountain-hunting and sea-hunting, endogamous and exogamous marriage patterns, feast and famine, et cetera. All three dimensions reflected elements in the reality of the Tsimshiam life experience. It is astonishing to discover to what an extent the regular pattern of the story's contrasts

reminds one of the orderly design of a musical composition (a comparison which is often employed by Levi-Strauss himself).

Levi-Strauss' seminal work has taken myth out of the nursery, *and* out of the Freudian bedroom and given it a place in the study. Story-telling can no longer be thought of as "mere" entertainment. What he asserts is that within the over-arching ideology of every society, contradictions exist: internal contradictions, and also contradictions in the sense that the ideology can only with difficulty be squared with ordinary experience. Story-telling becomes a logical tool, appealing to a pre-conscious set of reasoning processes, by which such contradictions can be explored, if not resolved, through the use of metaphor and metonymy. Hence the myth often serves to reaffirm basic beliefs within a society, but it can also be a means of dealing with the emerging themes of conflict within rapidly changing societies. We mean to argue that television plays may address intellectual issues, and may state them with just as much clarity as a public affairs discussion show.

As Turner asserts:

At the level of specific content, narratives such as myths and tales typically concern the most obsessive, complex and problematic situations and relationships of the social order: family relations and life crises, animal beings in hunting cultures, lineage relations and succession in societies with unilineal descent groups, etc. Symbolic narratives, in short, represent cultural models for coping with typical patterns of subjective stress involved in the orientation of individuals to problematic situations in their social and cultural orders. They are, in a sense, meta-categories, dealing with the reintegration of divergent and often traumatic individual experience with the normative order of categories.[7]

The Culinary Triangle

In fairness to Levi-Strauss, it should be recalled that the quotation from his 1955 article reflects an early attempt to apply a method which he had at the time not yet perfected. In the meantime, he has documented his method in the form of a massive work in four volumes, called *Mythologiques*, containing an almost overwhelming wealth of illustrative detail. In the process he has refined his ideas and his analytic techniques. One concept in particular, which he has developed, will be employed in this report: this is the concept of the *culinary triangle*. The idea is presented here in general outline.

To grasp the principle of the culinary triangle, it may help to say a word about its derivation[8]. In linguistics, it has been proposed that our perception of the basic sounds of language utilizes a limited number of binary distinctions. For example, the consonants f, th, h, p, t, k, b, d, and g form a system explained by the operation of two kinds of distinctive features, which are based on phonetic categories of voiced/unvoiced, and fricative/non-fricative.[9]

Levi-Strauss asserts that this principle of basic bipolar dimensions underlies not only our discrimi-

Figure 1:

An example of a consonant system defined by distinctive features
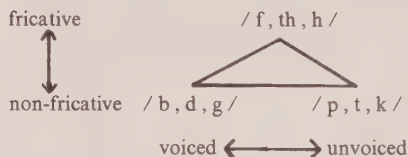
nation of the sounds of spoken language, but also our perception of meaning.

For example, let us consider the meaning of the concept "food".

First we note that food may either be eaten immediately in its raw state, or it may undergo some transformation before it is eaten, that usually includes a form of decomposition. Hence the first dimension along which food can be evaluated is the following:

Original state ⟷ Transformed state

If the transformation is allowed to take its natural course, the raw food *spoils* or becomes rotten. Often spoiled food is rejected as inedible.[10] It is then thought of as *carrion* and the animals who feed on such food are treated with disgust (e.g., the jackal, the buzzard, et cetera).

If the transformation involves *cooking*, then there is an intervention of a cultural process. The cooking process is a refining of the original, raw food (the term "refining" is used in the same sense as in the expression "oil refining"), and cooked food is universally thought to be fit for human consumption.

Hence the second dimension is:

Intervention of a cultural process ⟷ Intervention of a "natural" process

This leads to an identification of the "culinary triangle":

Figure 2:

The "Culinary Triangle"
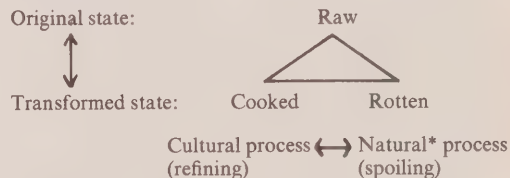
*"Natural" in the sense of spontaneous, or unchecked, or uncivilized

Two points should be emphasized: 1) the semantic classification of food with respect to two underlying dimensions corresponds to categories which are universally recognized as valid; and 2) the classification is more than purely semantic: it helps to explain why

certain foods are socially taboo, and why we experience such strong emotional reactions to certain types of food when we travel abroad. Even when we know, rationally, that a food is good to eat, and even delicious to taste, we may think of it with abhorrence. The taste, in our society, for raw oysters and rare roast beef, is far from universal; our eating preferences are related to our meaning systems.

Were the schema developed by Levi-Strauss only applicable to culinary phenomena we should not have spent so much time considering it. We shall see later that the *form* of conceptualization presented here enables us to interpret other phenomena, including such diverse matters as the administration of justice and sexual behaviour. We shall also observe that the subject matter of television programs is often, if not always, about logically irreconcilable contradictions, which the semantic triangle assists us in deciphering.

Myth Defined

Our notion of what a myth is has been revolutionized.

Pierre Maranda, the internationally renowned Canadian folklorist, has offered the following definition:

Myths display the structured, predominantly culture-specific, and shared, semantic systems which enable the members of a culture area to understand each other and to cope with the unknown. More strictly, *myths are stylistically definable discourses that express the strong components of semantic systems.*[11]

Maranda's definition has two desirable features: first, it topicalizes myth, making it a living form, and second, the definition emphasizes the intimate connection between myth and social experience. This is a point of such importance that it can bear further elucidation.

It has been postulated by Leach that the physical and social environment of a child is first perceived as a continuum.[12] Awareness of intrinsically separate things (trees versus bushes, for example, or mothers versus sisters or fathers) occurs as the child is taught to impose upon his environment "a kind of discriminating grid", which is language. Things are given labels, names. For such labelling to be successful, the basic discriminations should be clear-cut and unambiguous. Reality, however, presents inconvenient examples of phenomena which resist classification. What are we to do in such a case? Rather than altering linguistic categories to fit experience, Leach shows that in many (perhaps most) instances we instead suppress our awareness (or at least public recognition) of those parts of reality that do not fit the *a priori* categories.

The reason should be clear. Society invests heavily in its semantic categories. For example, rights to ownership and inheritance of property in our society until quite recently turned on definitions of sex. Traditionally, even in our grandparents' time, the distinction between male and female was made to seem quite clear, and was far-reaching in its implications: the continuum

had been dichotomized, whatever variety nature in fact provided. Those who failed to match the categories were identified as (and often felt themselves to be) deviants (homosexuals, transvestites or simply "effeminate" men and "masculine" women) or freaks (the bearded woman). Thus, Leach argues, the concept of taboo (things one must not do or even talk about) underlies our semantic categories, *which in turn underlie our social structures.* Since definitions of such ideas as "man", "woman", "son", "daughter", "father", and "mother" must specify not only what they are but also what they do, story-telling is the appropriate mode for exploring the logic of semantic category systems, of which the above examples are representative terms. We are all too prone, within the pragmatic philosophical tradition of North America, to ignore the logical implications that flow from changes in behaviour. We live in a society where behaviour untypical of men and women a generation or two ago is now generally accepted. We are in the process of redefining our semantic rules, and thus are in the grips of a logical problem which accompanies the behavioural shift.

Maranda's definition of myth has two parts. Because a myth is a story, it is a coherent set of sentences or, in other words, a *discourse*, whose formal properties Propp had already begun to study. But myth is also a representation of an action. The roles it portrays exemplify semantic categories (father, mother, son, husband, wife, gods, men, et cetera) that are important to society. Myth does indeed express the "strong components of semantic systems".

A word of caution is in order here: one should not be led by the above to expect a one-to-one relationship between characters in the story and semantic categories; Levi-Strauss has amply demonstrated the importance of characters who straddle semantic categories. An example is provided in his 1955 article. In the mythology of the Plains Indians of America, themes of life/death, and agriculture/hunting/warfare are of great importance. Obviously, life is to agriculture as death is to warfare, with hunting in an intermediary position. The Indians, following the same logical pattern, distinguish between herbivorous animals, who follow an "agricultural" mode of life, and beasts of prey, who hunt for their living. In this neatly symmetrical system, one category of animal cannot be easily categorized: the carrion-eating animals (raven, coyote, vulture) who are neither herbivorous, nor do they hunt, in the ordinary sense of stalking and killing prey. By no accident, these animals are the "tricksters" of Indian mythology. In another context, we have already seen that Oedipus exemplifies such ambiguities: for example, since he married his mother, he is, symbolically, his own father. The action of myth turns on such ambiguities. Given the preoccupations of our time, we might expect modern-day myth to portray criminals who are not criminal, women who behave like men, and all the other

combinations which express the anxieties that most plague us.

It is to this question that we now turn.

Why Study Television as Myth?

The Persistence of Myth

Maranda, in the article cited above, has this to say about the survival of mythic modes of thought in our society:

Myths, in our complex societies, are manifested in idioms different from those in which they were expressed in the past and in which they are still expressed in traditional societies – The triumph of the small but clever one over the clumsy giant may be narrated by an elder in a remote European hamlet in the form of a folktale or it can be found on television and cinema screens, not to mention comic strips. It is also repeated in wide-circulation magazines and newspapers in the North American advertisements of Volkswagen cars. . . . It makes little difference, still in technological societies, that the metamorphosis of a "beast" into a handsome male, who will conquer the glamorous princess in the Eden of ads, be the work of a tradition-consolidated magical agent or of mass-media established brands of deodorants or mouthwashes. . . . Technology convinces us that it can achieve what our forefathers thought magic would do. The syntagmatic chains that moulded, and lived through, our ancestors, still perpetuate among us. . . . And our paradigmatic sets are also consistently traditional: variations in contents erode semantic grooves very little, for the functions that direct the flow of imagery are as deeply seated as our conceptual habits. . . . Our myths . . . still thrive among us.[13]

If Maranda is correct in thinking that modern media of communication do no more than commute established mythic patterns, while providing abundant surface variety in conformity with the modes of the time, then we may ask "Why not study the media as transmitters of myth?" Surely it makes sense to ask how we, with our shared semantic systems, understand each other and cope with the unknown. If Levi-Strauss is correct in believing that analysis of the mythic message will make it yield up its meaning, and if the meaning is a clue to the profound contradictions within the society, then surely the analysis of myth should teach us something about the significance of violence in our common living space, where violence is a metaphor for irreconcilable oppositions within our semantic systems.

Sixguns and Society: Myth in the Western

There have been relatively few mythological analyses of mass media productions, particularly in North America. One exception will now be considered in some detail, since it serves to set the stage for some of our later analyses, and since it illustrates what we might learn by studying television as myth. The work in question is that of Will Wright, who has recently published a book entitled *Sixguns and Society: A Structural Study of the Western.*[14] While his book is about movies, much of what he says applies just as well to television. Wright has reviewed some 40 years of Western films.

He finds first that it is possible, as Propp asserted, to isolate functions which are constant across films within a genre. However, his work leads him to conclude that there has been an evolution in plot structure over the years. He identifies four major categories of film, classified by similarities in plot line: the classical plot, the vengeance plot (which may also be thought of as a variation of the classical), the transition plot, and the professional plot.

Wright argues that changes in the plot structure of Westerns are accompanied by changing subject-matter preoccupations or themes: the meaning of the Western, as a genre, has subtly begun to alter over the years. Finally, Wright links up such changes to transformations in American society, and ultimately to ideological changes within the society.

According to Wright, the typical plot of the classical Western can be summarized roughly as follows: A stranger rides into a small community. It turns out that the stranger is exceptionally skilled at gunfighting, and the community accords him the respect due a superior talent, but does not completely accept him as one of its own. At this time, there is a conflict of interests between a villain or villains and the community. The community is menaced because it is not strong enough to stand up to the villains. The stranger keeps his distance, until a friend of his is endangered, whereupon he enters the fray, defeats the villains, and is accepted by the community. The community is safe, and the stranger, now a member of the community, turns his back on his previous life.

This plot, in one form or another, turns up in *Wells Fargo, Union Pacific, Cimarron, Dodge City, The Plainsman, Destry Rides Again, Duel in the Sun, Whispering Smith, Shane, Bend of the River, Yellow Sky, The Far Country, Hombre*, et cetera.

The Meaning of the "Classical" Western

Underlying these story elements, Wright perceives certain recurring relationships. "Perhaps the most important opposition is that separating the hero form the society, the opposition between those who are outside society and those who are inside society."[15]

We might (following Greimas) represent this opposition as follows:

$$\frac{\text{hero}}{\text{society}} \quad \sim \quad \frac{\text{outside}}{\text{inside}}$$

which we read as follows: the hero (the stranger) stands in relation to the society in the same relationship as outside stands to inside (or excluded to included).

With respect to the outside/inside dimension, the position of the villains is anomalous: sometimes they are seen to be respectable members of society at the beginning of the story, sometimes not.

Other contrasts are the following:

$$\frac{\text{villains}}{\text{hero/society}} \quad \simeq \quad \frac{\text{bad}}{\text{good}}$$

$$\frac{\text{society}}{\text{villains/hero}} \quad \simeq \quad \frac{\text{weak}}{\text{strong}}$$

$$\frac{\text{hero}}{\text{society/villains}} \quad \simeq \quad \frac{\text{wilderness}}{\text{civilization}}$$

The meaning of the first two of these contrast patterns is self-evident; the third requires a word of explanation. The association of the hero-stranger with the wilderness is often established visually: for example he wears clothes appropriate to a trapper or Indian scout, in contrast to the more conventional dress of others around him, or he is often framed against a background of mountains, or other wilderness scenery, in contrast to other characters in the story. Civilization is equated with concern for money, for property, for tools and other products of American culture. In its extreme form, the wilderness/civilization distinction is transmuted into an East/West contrast, with the West being equated with pure noble wilderness, and the East with education, culture, with weakness, cowardice, selfishness and arrogance. The efforts of settlers to build a civilized community (with schools, churches, respect for law and order), unmarred by the corruption of the effete East, take on their meaning when viewed in the light of the wilderness/civilization distinction, as we now see.

Wright draws a parallel between this system of contrasts and certain themes of social and political significance to American society. According to Wright, the concept of a market economy to which most Americans subscribe is underlaid by a more basic idea of how the individual relates to his society, which Canadian political scientist C. B. MacPherson has termed the theory of "possessive individualism".[16] The assumption of this theory is that what makes man human is freedom from dependence on the wills of others, reliance on relationships based on enlightened self-interest, and a belief in the proprietorship of one's own person, for which one owes nothing to society.[17] "But," observes Wright, "a society that accepts this idea of the individual and the group is not one likely to create pleasant, satisfying social relationships."[18] The attitudes appropriate to possessive individualism are incompatible with the needs of human society: what makes man human is also what makes him inhuman. This is the basic paradox of modern Western liberalism.

Valuable human experience, it seems, depends on open, trusting communication based on shared social goals, and interests; it is in this context that the natural rewards of family, love, work, community are enjoyed. But the market demands that members of society identify themselves as individuals who are directed by self-interest and characterized by independence and self-sufficiency.[19]

The Western, interpreted as a mythic form of communication, asks the question "how can we maintain our independence, and still be part of society?"

It is in this context, Wright argues, that the inside/outside society found in the Western is to be understood.

The good/bad contrast discriminates between people who are concerned only with themselves and those who are concerned with others. The strong/weak contrast connotes independence of the will of others, proprietorship of one's own person (unlike the other members of the community who have family, business, professional ties that limit their action).

Thus the meaning of the Western becomes clear: society depends on strong individuals, but independence and strength can be disinterested as well as greedy and opportunistic, and indeed, disinterested strength is able to prevail over interested strength. The entry of the stranger into the community at the conclusion of the story says that individualism and a sense of community can be reconciled, but only at a price: the hero must sacrifice some of his independence. Finally, the strength of society comes in reconciling the values of the wilderness with those of civilization.

The Evolution of the Western

Over the years, both the society and the Western have changed. The typical contemporary Western employs a quite different plot, built around a theme related to professional concerns.

In such a story, there is a group of heroes who undertake a job for pay. The society around them is typically ineffective, venal, absurd, and incapable of defending itself. The job involves the heroes in a fight with a set of villains, who are very strong, and often quite admirable. The heroes are all specially endowed with particular individual talents. As a group they share respect, affection, and loyalty, and are independent of society in all ways. There is a fight, the villains are defeated, and at the conclusion the heroes either stay or die together.

The genre includes *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid, True Grit, The Wild Bunch, The Professionals, Rio Bravo*, et cetera.

What has changed here from the classical plot is the relation of the hero(es) to the society. The heroes are not attracted to society, do not depend on it, and indeed society, in the sense of community found in the earlier plots, hardly pays an important role at all in these films. Furthermore, members of society tend to be characterized as nasty, unkind, unpleasant, cruel, vicious, mean, stingy, conniving, petty, dull, intolerant and foolish. The heroes, and often the villains as well, are nice and kind. Thus one of the earlier equivalences has now been reversed:

$$\frac{\text{heroes}}{\text{society}} \quad \simeq \quad \frac{\text{good}}{\text{bad}}$$

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And a new relationship has appeared:

$$\frac{\text{small group}}{\text{large group}} \quad \simeq \quad \begin{array}{l}\text{companionship,}\\ \text{understanding,}\\ \text{loyalty, sacrifice}\\ \text{money, business, trade,}\\ \text{selfishness, conformity}\end{array}$$

Wright perceives in this change of pattern evidence of a "cultural change reflecting changes in the social institutions which shape attitudes and actions".[20] Underlying the transformation, according to Wright, is a transition from a market to a managed economy, and the increasing acceptance in America of the role of a professional elite. He sees a de-emphasis of the role of the individualistic, aggressive businessman in favour of the bureaucrat, the technocrat, the tightly knit political team of varied talents. Finally, the transformation supposes a turning away from loyalty to the macro-society, and an intensification of loyalty to the micro-society. The professional Western is, asserts Wright, the carrier of a new ideology, exemplified by the behaviour of people in large corporations, and by the Nixon team during the Watergate years.

The Transition to Television

If I have taken some time to present Wright's ideas, it is not because I am in agreement with them on all points, but because I believe his analysis illustrates well the potential of the mythologcal approach. In many respects, the crime drama, which is the main focus of this present study, is a continuation of the Western, and has indeed supplanted it, in the new forum of television. Several of the themes described by Wright reappear in the present analysis. More importantly, Wright's pioneering work should provide an impetus for a reconsideration of the role of television drama, and a fresh interest in the multiple levels of meaning which such forms of expression are capable of conveying. Not all of the meaning of a myth is transmitted by its surface structure; we must also take account of deep structures.[21]

What Does Mythic Analysis Tell Us about the Role of Violence?

Theories of Violence and the Mass Media

There are, I believe, three basic (but not necessarily mutually exclusive) ways we may approach the question of violence in the mass media, which correspond to three theories of how we as viewers understand the depiction or description of violent acts. Let us call these three theories modelling theory, catharsis theory, and structuralist theory.[22]

Modelling theory

Modelling theory says in effect that what one perceives, one will imitate. If one spends much time watching acts of aggression, one will engage in acts of aggression. (Or, as Gerbner has recently proposed, if one watches victim behaviour, one is prepared to respond as a victim.)[23]

Although it has inspired extensive experimentation, there has emerged less than unambiguous support for the theory. Thus, for example, it was shown in one set of experiments that displays of aggressive behaviour on film were correlated with the tendency of subjects to administer shocks to anonymous "victims". However, subsequent research showed that similar aggressive behaviour could be elicited by use of films which were arousing, but which did not portray aggressive acts.

It has also been shown that watching much television results in an increase of aggressive behaviour in the playground, but again it is not clear whether the increase is an effect of the violent content of television, or some more general overall effect produced by watching too much television, regardless of what appears on it.

Thus, while it is probable that there exist modelling effects related to the surface content of television, it now seems clear that the relationship is more complex than might have initially been supposed.

Catharsis theory

According to the catharsis theory of the function of portrayed violence, the individual is able to reduce impulses to aggressive behaviour by substituting a vicarious experience provided by theatre. In this view, the portrayal of violence may actually have a therapeutic effect, allowing the individual to express by substitution many of his anti-social emotions. His latent feelings of aggression and violence can be safely acted out in the context of the play, thus draining the viewer of dangerous anti-social tendencies. This view of the role of portrayed violence, while often said to date back to the dramatic theory of the Greeks, lacks at present, strong experimental support evidence and is even more tenuous than that supporting a modelling theory.

Structuralist theory

Structuralist theory is not necessarily inconsistent with either of the preceding views, but attacks the problem at a different level. Modelling theory asks how people behave and how they learn to behave by imitation; it does not by and large enquire much into how people interpret what they see or do, or how they fit social behaviour into any kind of meaning system. Structuralist theory does not deny that individuals can learn behaviour patterns by watching; it argues that many of the most important effects of television cannot be evaluated by a simple correlation between what happens on the screen and what viewers do immediately afterwards. Catharsis theory accords a larger place to the role of emotional arousal, and its regulation; it assumes that overt aggressive behaviour may mirror profound feelings of anxiety, anger, or hostility. Because of the phenomenon of viewer identification with the

protagonist of the story, the protrayal of violent action on the screen is likely to arouse latent feelings. This may, depending on one's theoretical orientation, either find expression in the action of the play (and thus the story may in fact obviate the need for overt acting-out), or it may actually stimulate anti-social behaviour.[24]

Structuralist theory of the role of violence attributes to myth both a surface structure and a deep structure. It sees the events of a television crime drama as forming an ostensibly realistic representation of ordinary life and also as a code for deeper meanings. It sees myth as having a logical function, in that it attempts to reconcile contradictory principles inherent in the semantic systems of a society. It follows that surface expressions of violence are a way of exploring deep structural irreconcilables. It is a cognitive-based theory.

The shift of relative emphasis from surface to deep structure leads to a rephrasing of the question of gratuitous violence. The issue may be simply stated: When is enough enough?

Television has frequently been criticized on the grounds that it takes an admitted element of real life, the presence of violence and crime, and blows it up out of its real proportions. The majority of folk probably go through life without ever having witnessed a murder or participated in a crime, except vicariously on television. There, on a good night, they can manage to witness about twenty murders (and assorted mayhem) by judicious fiddling with the dial. The net result of this horrendous over-portrayal of a sordid but statistically rare side of life, it has been asserted, is to heighten the anxiety of the whole viewing population.

I have no evidence on the point, although I am aware of the careful research undertaken by Gerbner and others at the Annenberg School of Communications in Philadelphia, and am certainly prepared to give a large measure of credence to their results. I want to take issue only with the assumption that the function of television crime drama is to portray *realistically* the events of everyday life. It is my belief, instead, that crime drama is primarily a means for the conveyance of ideological values. Within this framework, violence is an intrinsic dramatic element: in Turner's phrase:

Traditional narrative genres such as myth, tale, and legend typically begin with an action or event that violates or mediates the structure of the prevailing order, giving rise to a situation in which actors and elements stand in ambiguous or contradictory relationships to each other.

The "plot" or narrative sequence proceeds from this point through a series of permutations of the relations between these actors and elements toward a final state of equilibrium in which all elements again stand in unambiguous . . . relations to each other.[25]

The accuracy of this statement, with respect to crime drama, will become abundantly clear.

It is possible that the makers of crime drama could reduce the unfortunate side effects associated with the crime drama form, to the extent these are socially dysfunctional, by considerably de-emphasizing its documentary aspects. This would probably be more helpful than attempting to wish out of existence a form of story-telling whose lineaments are ancient and whose distribution across societies appears to be very nearly universal.

While I wish in no way to deny that surface-structure meanings are important in their own right, I believe the issue of logical levels has been too little emphasized. A structuralist theory explains at least one fact which is otherwise difficult to account for: this is the well-known finding that, at quite early ages, most children are perfectly able to discriminate between facts and fiction.

Without a theory which supposes a deep structural level of mythic communication, it seems to me that we would be at a loss to explain why some of the most effective theatre, such as Stratford, depends so little on surface realism. Often the mayhem on television is highly stylized, and quite remote from the brute reality of violent death. This does not necessarily make it dramatically less effective. Children at an early age learn that to say "bang, you're dead" is a symbolic, not a real, act of violence.

If we accept such a two-level theory of mythic communication, we should have a more differentiated theory, which would allow us to predict that every person is likely to respond to surface meanings (the personality of the actor, the excitement of the action, the filmic techniques) to some degree which will vary from program to program, and person to person. Most people will also respond to the deep meanings, even though it might not always be possible to verbalize the logical processes involved. After all, people speak and understand language, even when they are not consciously aware of all the mechanisms involved.

It is even possible that violent television crime drama has its quota of pro-social effects. As Turner states:

The point is that narratives constitute – a sort of psychological play, enabling a listener who understands the rules of the game to gain greater familiarity with, and control over, his subjective tensions through the vicarious manipulation of them that 'playing the game' (projection of them into the story) makes possible.[26]

This version of catharsis theory, which posits a relation between ideas and emotions, has never to my knowledge been explored empirically.

A Note on Methodology

The focus of this research report is on meanings in television crime drama. Yet I hope that the preceding discussion has made it clear that I make no pretension to reveal *the* meaning of a program.

For one thing, we postulate that meaning is conveyed at more than one level. Barbara Leonard, of the Commission's staff, has done an interesting study of an episode of *Kojak*, which also figures in the present study. Among other things, she finds that this episode conveys some very definite (and regressive) attitudes

about the role of women in society. This question is not so much ignored as treated differently in my own analysis. This is not because I think Miss Leonard wrong; in point of fact, I think the arguments she makes are cogent and well-documented. It is simply that she is attacking the meaning of the episode at a slightly different level from myself.

Secondly, it would be premature to claim too much for a method which has only come into general application within the very recent past, and which remains to be tested in the crucible of scientific criticism and use. In this report, I hope to illustrate the *potential* relevance of a methodology which I am convinced will revolutionize the field of mass media content analysis. For the moment however, I can only aspire to show that the meanings of television can be much more complex and multi-faceted than had been previously imagined.

In adopting this course, I may seem less than usually preoccupied with normal content analytic canons of objectivity and reliability. Krippendorff, in a very important article, has classed content analysis approaches as belonging to one of three models, an association model, a discourse model, and a communication model.[27] Canons of objectivity and reliability are most easily fulfilled for association models of analysis, but the problem with such models, which are illustrated by the vast majority of actual empirical work in the field, is that they often lead to trivial conclusions.

I would like to consider that the present study is an attempt to apply what Krippendorff calls a "discourse" model.[28] The advantage of such an approach is that the conclusions we may arrive at need not be trivial; the disadvantage is that such conclusions are inevitably more controversial.

In emphasizing the risks of an enterprise of this kind, I want only to make it clear that what follows is an exploration of some new avenues of research.

I am motivated by the sense that the eventual reward will more than justify the risks.

The Narrative Function of Violence: Variations on a Theme

Introduction

The primary objective of this section is, by comparative analysis of four crime drama episodes, to show how one basic plot situation can be translated into quite different productions, with radically altered meanings. A secondary objective is to illustrate the use of a research tool.

The procedure to be employed is to consider each of four different episodes separately, and then to bring out comparisons between the four. A plot summary of each episode is provided, and this is followed by an analytic section.

The four dramas are, respectively, *Hawaii Five-O* ("Honor is an Unmarked Grave"), *Kojak* ("Life, Liberation, and the Pursuit of Death"), *Police Story* ("The Wyatt Earp Syndrome"), and *Adam-12* (title not recorded).

Hawaii Five-O

"Honor is an Unmarked Grave"
Broadcast on CBS, May 20, 1976, at 9:00 p.m.

Resume of the Episode

1. The program begins with a standard teaser: a series of quick shots of the Honolulu city-scape, intercut with shots of police action and introduction of the main characters, all accompanied by exciting music.

2. The story proper opens with a scene showing several men digging, watched by someone whose legs we see pacing back and forth. Suddenly he calls out "Hold it, gentlemen," to the workers. We see his body in full for the first time as he advances to examine their treasure. Throughout this scene, music and a variety of shots are used to create an air of suspense. A minute later the watcher, Travis Marshall, is seen giving an interview to reporters. It is revealed that he has discovered a body that is related to an unsolved crime. "I knew it was here," he says. He also discloses that it is something of a vocation of his to solve crimes which have puzzled the police. He apparently has a national reputation based on books he has written about previous discoveries. The general impression of Marshall is negative. He has an

arrogant, boasting way of talking, and effete manners suggested by accent and non-verbal facial expressions. He also seems aggressive: "The police bungled the whole thing."

3. The action shifts to the home of an aristocratic lady. The impression of aristocracy is conveyed by the lady's dress and bearing, the presence of servants, and the large private garden where the action is set. It is revealed that the body that has been discovered is that of Agatha Henderson's grandson, Brian, who had disappeared years ago. Marshall describes the situation to Mrs. Henderson, notes that he is continuing his investigations, and once again alludes to his national reputation as an investigator. He suggests that she may have some interest in knowing the results of his investigation before they are revealed to the public. She agrees that that the Henderson estate will employ his services at the rate of $300 per day. This whole scene is observed secretly by one of Mrs. Henderson's servants, Kono.

4. The scene shifts to the police station, where McGarrett and his crew are looking at snapshots of Brian Henderson. It is revealed that he was a wild youth: the term "childish pranks" is used ironically. His family was one of the best in Hawaii: his grandfather, Thomas Henderson, was of "old missionary stock". Brian was a disappointment to them. When last seen he was attending a party at the home of Carol Chung, "the hottest thing in town". The question is asked: "How come Travis Marshall knew where the body was planted?" The police exit saying "Let's not wait to see it on TV."

5. The next scene occurs in Travis Marshall's apartment, which is modern and ostentatiously luxurious. This contrasts with the austerity of the police office, and the simple elegance of the aristocratic Henderson home. As McGarrett enters, Marshall drops a cat he has been fondling: "Cat hair gets over everything; I'll have to get rid of her." Marshall's attitude to the police is one of sardonic mock respect. When asked how he came to have information concerning the place the body is buried, he replies: "An anonymous phone caller. Would you believe it?" but his tone of voice suggests veiled

aggressiveness. A somewhat angry confrontation follows. McGarrett warns him not to push his luck by interfering with due process, or hiding information for the police: "So many good books have been written in prison!"

6. The next sequence takes place in police cars and offices. We are informed that the body has been positively identified as that of Brian Henderson. There was a "nice clean hole in the skull". The police surgeon adds details concerning the size of the hole, the probable angle from which it was shot, et cetera. Plans are made: McGarrett will interview Mrs. Henderson, while his assistants, Williams and Chin Ho, inspect the grave site. A permanent "tail" is to be put on Marshall.

7. The interview between Mrs. Henderson and McGarrett occurs on the patio of her beautiful home. She comments somewhat tartly on the failure of the police to locate her missing grandson. McGarrett, whose attitude throughout his exchange with Mrs. Henderson is one of great respect, admits: "I guess we fail sometimes." He then tells her that Brian had been murdered, to which she expresses surprise. He asks her if she can add anything, to which she demurs: "It's all on record. The subject is still very painful for me." She then dismisses McGarrett with a curt "Will that be all?" – a remark he accepts graciously.

8. Two brief scenes follow. In the first, Mrs. Henderson is seen talking to the servant, Kono, who had spied on her and Marshall. We cannot hear what they say and are left to suspect collusion of some kind.

9. In the second, another old servant of Mrs. Henderson, Koji, is observed at the graveyard by Williams and Chin Ho.

10. Mrs. Henderson is driven in her limousine by Kono, down the great tree-covered hill from her home to a small house where a child, Kimo, is observed playing with a toy helicopter. Mrs. Henderson greets him affectionately and demands to know if his mother, Maru, is at home. Before she can enter, a surly looking man appears, and watches with apparent hostility as Mrs. Henderson passes through. "Paul is an angry man," she comments. The child asks whether she has seen his father. Mrs. Henderson and Maru greet each other warmly. In the course of the conversation, Mrs. Henderson asks Maru whether Paul, her husband, knows who Kimo's father was. Maru believes not. Mrs. Henderson requests that Maru not lie to the police, but also that she not volunteer information. Maru says "I love you," and the two women express emotion that indicates great affection.

11. The police begin to wonder how much the old servant Koji knows, since he comes to pay his respects to an unmarked grave. Chin is assigned the task of talking to him "in the ancient manner".

12. Marshall, by a clever manoeuvre, succeeds in slipping his tail, and reaches a rendezvous with Paul who is obviously his "anonymous" information source. "Paul," he says, "You're gonna make yourself a bundle." Paul gives him two photographs. They discuss Maru's first marriage to George Fowler (the absent father mentioned by the boy), and the subsequent annulment. As he compares the two pictures, Marshall says excitedly: "It's all coming clear, there never was a 'George Fowler'. He was the father of him – and somewhere that was a reason for murder!"

13. Chin Ho arrives at Mrs. Henderson's home to discover that the old man Koji is dead, and that the funeral service is in progress. Questions are posed: Why was there such an "awful hurry to have the body cremated"? Why did his daughter Maru not attend "her daddy's funeral"?

14. Marshall returns to see Mrs. Henderson. He notes that Koji paid his respects to an unmarked grave; hence Koji knew where Brian was buried. Maru was four months pregnant when Brian disappeared. "What are you getting at?" asks Mrs. Henderson. The marriage of his sole heir, insinuates Marshall, to a 25-year-old servant girl could not have made her husband very happy. (This is said in a sneering tone of voice.) Maru had obviously been "paid off", and a "disappearance" had been arranged for Brian. He then suggests a financial arrangement between himself and the Henderson estate which would "buy some silence". He notes that the story would make a "racy book"; it's a "messy business", and the book would "bring a bundle". Mrs. Henderson, who seems to accede to the blackmail attempt, sits down to write out a cheque. "The date?" she asks. "The tenth of October", he replies. She then passes him a cheque, which brings a look of astonishment to his face. It is only for $96, which is the amount outstanding in their actual agreement. She says she intends to report the blackmail attempt to the proper authorities. "Your employment is terminated," she concludes coldly.

15. Marshall now announces he will hold a press conference the following morning. McGarrett goes to visit him in his apartment, and, in stinging terms, reminds him that he does not enjoy the privileges of an attorney-at-law in the state of Hawaii, and hence has no right to conceal information from the police. McGarrett terms Marshall's act a "cheap shyster trick". He warns him to be in his office before 9:00 a.m. the following morning, if he wants to avoid police action.

16. Williams has begun to realize that Paul is more deeply implicated than they had originally thought.

17. It is dark. Marshall skulks through the trees and goes into his office. He discovers his files strewn about, and suspects that the key file has been stolen. A gun pokes though a side door (we see only the hand) and

Marshall is shot (indicated by a brief look of terror on his face).

18. The police respond to the new crime. There is some technical talk about distance, angle, et cetera, and it seems clear that the caller was waiting for Marshall. The question is, what was Marshall doing with Maru's picture (which has been discovered in the room)?

19. There is an argument between Paul and Maru. When Paul sees the police arrive, he flees on his bike but is captured. He pretends to be shocked at the news that Marshall has been murdered. The police put the heat on. Paul admits to having seen him: "There he was on the floor." It finally comes out that he was Marshall's informant. "Paul," says Maru bitterly, "You sold me out." "I want a lawyer," says Paul. He is booked on suspicion of murder.

20. The final scene of the program takes place in Mrs. Henderson's study. McGarrett explains what the police now know, and Mrs. Henderson concedes that he is correct in his inferences about the circumstances of the disappearance of Brian. "After the loss of his parents," she begins (to the accompaniment of soft music), "Brian had problems. Psychiatrists were called in, but they had so many reasons, so few cures. Koji was like a father to Brian. Then Brian raped Maru, Koji's daughter. My husband Thomas, Brian's grandfather, sent for him." At this point, there is a flashback to the night of the event. Mrs. Henderson continues her narration: "My husband struck Brian in a restrained but violent rage. Brian pleaded that the girl chased him." There were "terrible accusations", an argument, bitterness. "I heard a shot." Brian was dead. Koji took the body to the cemetery. "Honour is an unmarked grave," says McGarrett. Then he says to Mrs. Henderson: "You didn't ask, you knew; Thomas Henderson pulled the trigger." He then turns to the killing of Travis Marshall. He makes clear that he knows that she is the guilty party. "Is that an accusation?" she asks. "Should I call my lawyer?" She puts in the call. The two make jokes together about ESP, in a friendly manner. When McGarrett leaves, he turns for a minute and says "Sorry."

An Interpretation of "Honor is an Unmarked Grave"

Let us first consider the event which motivates the whole plot development of the particular episode of *Hawaii Five-O* which we are analyzing. Recall the form of the "culinary triangle". In the present instance, the theme is sex. It is possible to think of sex as "raw": untransformed, neither ennobling nor degrading in and of itself, an epiphenomenon of the genetic constitution of man. Most societies, however, give a great deal of value to the form which sex takes when it is "consumed" within socially structured contexts. Within our society, at least until quite recently, and I think still, the socially approved context of sex is exogamous marriage. The "rotten" form of sex is incest (a taboo

which is shared by the great majority of human societies). Yet strictly speaking, incest is the most "natural" form of sexual intercourse since, in the absence of taboos, it is between members of the same family that the greatest opportunity for spontaneous coupling occurs. What is most natural on one level, that of the brute, becomes most unnatural on the level of the civilized human being.

The sexual triangle then becomes:

Figure 3

The Sexual Triangle

Original Phenomenon: (outside familial context)

Raw Sex

Transformation: (within familial context)

Marriage (Exogamous) (Cultural Process)

Incest (Natural Process)
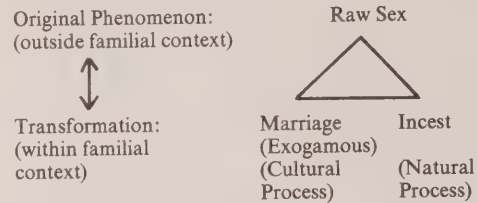
It is revealed in the story that young Brian had been sowing his wild oats through activities which did not please his grandparents, but which were not sufficient to justify a confrontation. In particular, by the reference to Carol Chung, "the hottest thing in town", it is made clear that he had been indulging in raw sex. The act which is unacceptable is his rape of Maru. This acts sets up an intolerable contradiction, because it is clear that (1) Grandfather Thomas stands for social refinement. He is an aristocrat "of old missionary stock", and everything points to an invincible moral rectitude and sense of social responsibility; (2) Brian's act stands for incest, the antithesis of refined or correct sexual behaviour.

The fact that it is incest can be inferred indirectly: so strong is the prohibition against incest in our society that it seldom appears directly as a dramatic theme, certainly in television, without being appropriately veiled. In the present case it can be inferred from the following facts:

a) Maru and Brian occupy the same dwelling, as do typically brother and sister.

b) Maru's father Koji is described by the grandmother (immediately before her revelation of the rape) as "being like a father to Brian". (His own parents died in an accident.)

c) Maru is treated by Grandmother Agatha in terms appropriate to a mother-daughter relationship.

d) Brian is mourned in the Japanese tradition by Koji, Maru's father, like a son.

e) On internal evidence, the rage of Grandfather Thomas is to be understood as a *moral* rage, unrelated to his concern for social prestige. (The shyster lawyer Marshall has missed this point because he cannot understand actions which are not motivated by considerations of personal gain.)

Brian's rotten act must be punished, because it threatens the basis of society. (Grandmother Agatha calls it rape rather than incest, even though she herself says that Maru seems to have been the instigator).

Punishment, or retribution, has two elaborated forms as well a raw aspect. One involves spontaneous, unchecked natural processes, while the other entails controlled, refined, socially approved legal processes, namely a trial. Grandfather Thomas cannot bring himself to the point of involving outside mediation and instead performs a raw act of retribution, killing his grandson. His crime of murder of a son (or grandson) must then be hidden. This again emphasizes the close relationship of the Henderson family, at least in their own minds, to the maintenance of social order, since to have a Henderson brought to trial for a crime as fundamental as incest or family murder would again threaten to undermine the social order.

Grandfather Thomas' act has eliminated one intolerable contradiction, but has replaced it by another. His act of raw retribution is itself an offence against the social code. Furthermore, it takes the form of a crime of murder against a member of his own family (to all intents and purposes against his own son, since Thomas stands in the stead of the absent real father). His act must also be punished, before order will be restored; otherwise the very quintessence of social order, which the Hendersons represent, will appear to be rotten at the core.

None of the acts of sacrifice which then follow are sufficient to remove the contradiction:

a) The grandfather dies from natural causes, without having atoned for his crime.

b) The grave of Brian is secretly tended by Koji, but Brian is denied rites.

c) The girl Maru is protected, and the issue of the illicit union is provided with a fictional father, and a real stepfather, as well as a comfortable home. But Paul's anger stands symbolically for the inadequacy of the vicarious home. In any case, Brian's son is now denied his heritage.

As the television story opens, the crime remains unpunished. The purpose of the story must be to correct this basic disequilibrium, and to show how such seeming basic contradictions may be mediated without destruction of the social fabric.

The story is concerned with two attempts at mediation: one involving a false mediator, one involving a true mediator. The false mediator, who significantly enough is a lawyer, and is called "Counsellor" (even if his true role turns out to be that of a journalist), is the first to discover the hidden crime. The mediation which he proposes is trial by publicity (books, press conferences, television interviews, et cetera). This is indeed retribution, but in punishing the crime, the social order will itself be destroyed. As Travis Marshall himself says to Mrs. Henderson, it will be a "messy business". It

does not make sense to punish a crime against the social order by destroying the social order itself, so the mediation offered by Marshall must be rejected. Mrs. Henderson does so, and kills him. It turns out that her act parallels that of her husband: she commits an act of private retribution against someone who has performed a rotten act. Unlike his case, however, the taboo on killing a member of one's own family is not involved, and the character of Marshall has been set up in such a way that Mrs. Henderson's act is made to appear almost an act of justifiable self-defence.

It may be asked why is Marshall's act rotten? In fact, I believe that the difference is in the concept of how public opinion is to be mobilized in order to judge a crime. Within the judicial process, a representative sample of citizens is selected, eliminating those with obvious biases. Evidence is brought forward to them in an even-handed way; strict rules are followed as to what kind of evidence may or may not be introduced. Trial by press leaves the judgment to everyone; there is no control over the kind of evidence to be presented, nor on the form in which the evidence is presented, and so on. One is a refined process; the other is an uncontrolled, spontaneous, unchecked process; a "messy business".

So we have a retribution triangle:

Figure 4:

The Retribution Triangle

Original Phenomenon:　　　　　Raw
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Private vengeance)

Transformation:　　　Refined　　　　Rotten
　　　　　　　　　　(Legal　　　　　(Trial by
　　　　　　　　　　Process)　　　　Publicity)

　　　　　Cultural ⟷ Natural
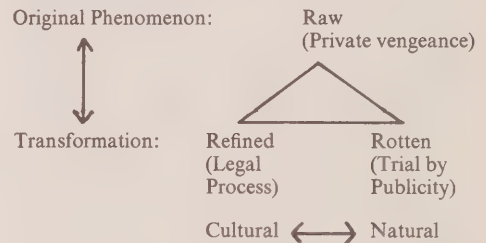
Furthermore, Marshall's constant preoccupation with money, which motivates his blackmail attempt, is a rotten motive (unchecked greed and self-aggrandizement) as opposed to refined, or socially responsible self-realizing processes which include consideration for others.[1]

At this point, the true mediator enters (McGarrett), and order is now easily re-established. Grandmother Agatha may be punished by due legal process (which is the significance of her phoning to her lawyer in the very last scene), and her punishment for the raw retributive act committed against Marshall may be substituted for the previous crime of her husband, which it echoes. The rule of society is not threatened: by his attitude, McGarrett indicates his respect for Mrs. Henderson, and hence assures the stability of the system. In fact, the

final scene conveys an extraordinary sense of serene acceptance of her fate by Mrs. Henderson: she almost seems to have been waiting for the moment.

It may be asked why there is a necessity for a false mediator in this story. A great deal of comment at the beginning of the show is made about the inability of the police to solve the original crime. Since their failure, which they freely, if ruefully, admit, cannot be due to their incompetence (which would contradict the whole premise of the police drama genre) it must spring from a more fundamental cause. The following explanation is offered as a hypothesis, for which I think there exists reasonable evidence.

I believe the thesis of the show mirrors the post-Watergate anxiety about the tri-partite division of powers in the American political system. As an exercise, let us establish a set of equivalences:

Table 1

The concept of separation of powers in the thematic structure of the Hawaii Five-O *episode*

Hawaii Five-O	Political System	Interpretation
The Henderson Family (In particular, Agatha)	The Office of the President	The conscience of society: the institution which most perfectly mirrors the constraints and exigencies of the underlying social order.
Travis Marshall	The Congress	The often grubby and essentially commercial interests of America pursuing goals of private gain, often at the expense of public considerations.
McGarrett and Hawaii Five-O	The Judiciary	The mediator of society, neither the prey of corrupt private interests nor the ultimate body responsible for the social order, but rather the arbiter, and often court of last resort.

In this conceptualization, the role of the President is primary: it is accorded the greatest veneration, as office, and represents the greatest investment in fundamental belief in the stability of the social system, including its continuity with the past.

It is, however, common experience that those who exemplify the highest office may not always live up to its demanding role. When their behaviour is inappropriate, the society is presented with a dilemma, and it is this dilemma which is the theme of this episode of *Hawaii Five-O*. Because it is the highest office, and incarnates society's highest values, it cannot be judged. This would imply the existence of a higher authority. And yet, the office cannot logically be the author of its own punishment because, as seen in the present episode, this would merely lead to the compounding of one crime by another: the punishment of incest is achieved at the cost of consanguinal murder.

The puzzle can be resolved by the setting up of a conflict between the forces of society and the forces of nature. The latter are seen to threaten the former's very existence. In this circumstance, the third party can enter as mediator, for, by preventing the destruction of society, the mediator can also act as retributor. Thus the episode shows that a logical solution exists to an apparently insoluble problem. A rationale is provided by a separation of powers.

I do not mean to suggest that the *Hawaii Five-O* episode has a conscious didactic role. Nor do I even mean to assert that the program is a metaphor of political equilibrium. Rather what I do mean to indicate is that, in every society, there are certain permanent logical conundrums. For every society, having adopted rules of behaviour which conform to the social values of that society (such rules always supposing a constraint on "natural" processes), the riddle is posed as to who will assure the interpretation for the society of what is, or is not, correct. There must, in other words, be a highest office, responsible for the setting of standards for the society.

But since the holders of such an office are human, and susceptible to error, there must also be a higher than the highest (otherwise breaches of the rules would go unpunished). Yet this latter case is by definition logically impossible, so each society develops its own answer to this conundrum. For example, the medieval myth of the divine right of kings and popes was a means of answering the riddle, although the assumption of divine origins for both monarchy and church resulted in more or less permanent conflict. Earlier European mythical systems permitted for veritable *dei ex machinae*, although the issue always remained: if gods could judge men, who was to judge gods? The division-of-powers myth is an answer appropriate to a society whose rationale does not include the possibility of inter-vention by suprahuman powers. What I mean to assert is the existence of a deep mythic structure, which generates the television program and the political system. Thus, one does not explain the other; both are explained by a logical system common to the American experience which underlies both these and other events.

Kojak

"Life, Liberation and the Pursuit of Death"
Broadcast on CTV and CBS, April 4, 1976, 9:00 p.m.

The regular introduction sets the tone of the show with its quick series of geometric "wipes" which cover different shots of Kojak's face or uncover city-scapes of New York. Included in quick cuts are a long shot of Kojak running and aiming a gun toward the camera, and another of him watching a second man whose fingers tap impatiently in the foreground. Not only the short duration of the shots, but also the movement of the wipes and animation of the title provide a sense of action and excitement.

1. Scene 1 helps build suspense with shots of a dark city skyline, a van pulling up on a dark street and a tilt up to what seems to be the only lighted window in an old apartment building. The opening credits roll over the first few city shots, with eerie, quavering music and a cat mewing in the background.

2. Scene 2 sets up the conflict. We see Villiano and Nystrom in the latter's apartment, with sirens wailing and rats squeaking in the background. Nystrom nibbles on some food as he checks the window, and then calmly announces, "He's here." As he moves toward the door, Villiano, who is teasing a rat in its cage, remarks that they certainly "pushed the right button". The man outside the door shouts, "It's Professor Draper. Open up!" in a way that suggests anger or irritation. He is surprised to find Villiano there, and is even more agitated when Villiano complains that he and Nystrom have been graded unfairly by Draper in their graduate psychology course. Villiano then introduces the name Mark Greene, and shows Draper a snapshot of himself and Greene leaving a gay bar. He also announces that he and Nystrom intend to graduate with the best record of any Ph.Ds in experimental psychology.

Draper is incensed, and accuses them of turning it all into a "vicious game". He angrily denounces the work the two students do with laboratory rats, describing it as "torture" that tests endurance and "limits of the organism". He declares vehemently that giving higher grades would be tantamount to giving a seal of approval for "work I hate". He assures the students that they have the information about him and Greene entirely wrong, and that they are going to pay for it. Villiano then suggests that they will approach Greene's employers at the boys' school where he teaches.

During this exchange, Villiano (in long shot) has cut himself a piece of cheese with a large butcher's knife, and we are suddenly given a close-up of the knife in his hand as he faces Draper again. At the same instant, ominous music begins.

When the threat to Greene is made, Draper lunges at Villiano (medium shot). Although his knife is not shown, we can assume from Draper's pained expression, cry of agony and gradual collapse that he has been stabbed. Draper's cry is mingled with frantic squeakings from the rats.

Nystrom, with surprise, declares him to be dead. Villiano still holds the knife, which does not appear to be bloody. He nervously insists that Draper attacked him, and that it was a matter of self-defence. He outlines a plan to dispose of the body.

This is one of the longest scenes in the show. It establishes the victim, Draper, as an intelligent and emotional man. He admits a possible lack of objectivity in assigning grades, but defends that on the basis of a hatred for unnecessary cruelty. He also leaps to the defence of his friend. He is shown to wince as he recognizes the picture, but otherwise his attitude is one of anger and contempt. Villiano and Nystrom, on the other hand, adopt a cool and sullen stance in making their threat.

3. Scene 3 shifts the action to the dimly lit docks where an attractive young blonde, Lorelei Mason, is staring out across the river. She turns and sees something which makes her move into the shadow of a high pile of crates and tarpaulins. It is an approaching van which has caught her attention, the white van of Scene 1.

She moves to a better hiding spot behind the jumbled stack of boxes. When the van stops, Villiano gets out, opens the back doors and pulls a large, heavy box out onto the ground. He takes the metal rod, smashes the bulb of an overhead light, flings the rod into the river, and dumps the body over the edge. This action is intercut with close-ups of Lorelei who has been watching with horrified fascination. She gasps inaudibly as she sees the body fall, and slumps against the boxes, listening anxiously as the van pulls away.

In this scene, the pier is made to appear inhospitable – deserted, cold, windy and dark. Tension mounts as Lorelei's fear of being discovered changes from a simple precaution to a terrified realization that she has witnessed the disposal of a murder victim.

4. Scene 4 begins with the stark contrast of a bright sunny day on the same pier. A long shot of Lorelei shows her sitting on a wooden dock wagon, smoking nervously. She pleads with Kojak to tell her she may leave. She is under pressure because she is late for work, where she is scheduled to complete the production of her first television commercial. Kojak tells her that she is to be commended for reporting what she saw, and adds that it is worth a lot to him. Then he apologizes and explains that she will have to go to the police station to help compose a drawing of the driver of the van. She "can't stand it!" and gets into a car to wait while Kojak discusses the situation with two other men. Finally she screams, "Lieutenant, please!" in agonized frustration.

By contrast, Kojak and his men are cool and methodical, although he takes them to task for not having discovered a piece of bloody cardboard. (A close-up of the cardboard is the first and only shot of blood to be seen.) The busy atmosphere is added to by the flashing red lights atop the ambulance which is pulling away,

and on the police cars. When Kojak finally leaves to drive Lorelei to the police station, he pulls away with screeching tires, and the camera provides a long shot of the waterfront, with the clutter of police vehicles.

The daylight and the activity on the pier are a release from the fear and anxiety of the previous scene. However, there is a new kind of tension in Lorelei's impatience and her worrying about the job ahead of her. This scene also serves to introduce us to Kojak, with his commanding and somewhat condescending manner of speaking. He is portrayed as unflappable, efficient and totally in control. His men defer to his keener eye for clues, and to his assessment of Lorelei as not an "itchy witness", but as a "lady paying the price for liberation".

5. Scene 5 moves to the police station where Lorelei is trying very hard to help a police artist compose a face that resembles the driver's. The office appears cramped and congested, and the noise of telephones and typewriters is continuous in the background. Kojak tries to soothe Lorelei when she laments that the composite face isn't perfect. She smiles, but remains nervous and swallows some pills. Kojak intercepts her cup of coffee, explaining that it's bad for her. She is observed from a distance by Captain McNeil who admires her looks, but who is surprised and concerned by her agitated state of mind. Kojak describes her as "an excellent witness", and explains her exhaustion and her job to Captain McNeil. He then remarks that he has read that advertising and police work are close competitors in the "nervous breakdown sweepstakes". Lorelei approaches Kojak, complaining again about being kept so late. She also comments on the fact that she would find it impossible to work within such an inefficient organization. Kojak tells her that they "get by on sweat" like most other people, although they would prefer to work like a "well-oiled machine". She asks to be driven to work, claiming that if she has to wait on the street for a taxi, "I will absolutely collapse!" Kojak finds a driver, thanks her for her help and gallantly kisses her hand.

Stavros reports a lab confirmation of the blood on the cardboard and Kojak tells him to find out where the cardboard came from. Another man announces the name of the victim and the college where he taught. Kojak summons Crocker to come with him to the college with a sarcastic "C'mon, let's get educated."

6. Scenes 6 and 7 move the action to the college campus. There is an establishing shot of Kojak parking his car on the street outside, and a close-up of the campus map which he and Crocker consult before entering the building.

7. Quickly cutting to the interior of the psychology lab, the camera shows a close-up of a rat in a maze which is portrayed with the same design and colours of the campus map – a rather obvious comment on the educational institution.

The camera cuts to a medium shot of Villiano and

Nystrom watching the rat trying to find its way through the maze. The boys refuse it a clear passage by giving it an electric shock. A fellow student protests their cruelty, and she declares that Professor Draper would not tolerate such experiments, which intentionally drive rats mad. Villiano calmly explains that he is interested in pushing an animal to the limits of its sanity. He also remarks that Draper will get fired if he does not start showing up on time.

At this point, Kojak enters with the school administrator who is describing Draper as one of his brightest instructors, hard-working and serious. He is surprised when Villiano turns to face him and Kojak, and says that Draper is not in class. Music begins as the camera cuts between close-ups of Villiano and Kojak who unfolds the artist's drawing (medium shot). He compares the drawing to Villiano. The camera tilts and dollies in to a close-up of Kojak's face as the fact of recognition registers.

8. The music continues as Scene 8 opens. The camera gives a long shot of a busy city street during the day and then tilts up to show a modern black office building. Inside, Lorelei is seen arriving at her brightly lit, elegantly furnished office. She gives instructions to her secretary to cancel a dinner engagement, and, among other things, to refill her prescriptions. She collapses into her high-backed executive chair and droops her arms helplessly over its sides. She then pours herself a glass of water from a decanter which is sitting beside a bottle of liquor, and gulps down the last of her pills "so I can get through the day." Her secretary remarks that the second prescription is to help her get through the night. Just as she begins to make a phone call, Crocker arrives to take her back to the police station to see if she can identify the suspect. She protests that she has too much to do, but finally agrees to go.

9. Scene 9 opens on Villiano's distressed father talking impatiently with his lawyer and Nystrom in a corridor in the police station. He repeats to the lawyer what he has said to the police, denying that his son could have done anything wrong. He insists that young Bob did not leave the apartment after he and his wife went to bed, because he has exams and is exhausted. He proudly explains that Bob is at the top of his class because he has "pushed him all his life". Once again, there is reference to people under pressure, and to the need to achieve success. He threatens to make the police pay for what he regards as a ridiculous mistake, and adds that his wife has had to go under sedation because of the situation. Kojak appears with a warrant to search Villiano's room, and his father is escorted away while Kojak leads the lawyer off for a conversation. Nystrom has dropped into the background so that he will not be noticed by the police.

In the next sequence, Lorelei and her secretary arrive. Lorelei gulps more pills, and is ushered in to view the line-up. Nystrom strikes up a casual conversation with

her secretary and learns who the witness is. This exchange contains several references to advertising as "a rat race" and to the scene Lorelei had witnessed as (jokingly) "a typical night on the town". Her secretary wistfully admits that a woman can make it "really big" in advertising if it does not kill her first, and remarks that Lorelei has it all on the line right now. Nystrom gives her a false name and arranges for a dinner engagement. (It has to be dinner because she never gets "a decent lunch hour".)

Inside, Lorelei smokes nervously and quietly picks Villiano out of the line-up which can be seen through a small window. Music begins as the camera zooms in on Villiano's face framed in a small dark rectangle.

10. Scene 10 lays out the problems the police face. There isn't enough evidence, Villiano won't talk, and Lorelei may crack under the cross-examination of the tough defence attorney. The district attorney and Captain McNeil complain that they still have no motive, no weapon and no location for the crime. Finally, as Kojak sits discussing the situation with Captain McNeil, the camera dollies in to underscore the intensity of Kojak's feelings. He describes himself as being conditioned to hate creeps "who zap little dumb animals with electricity and stick knives in their instructors". Music begins with the two final close-ups of Kojak and McNeil and continues, to bridge the change of scenes.

11. Scene 11 opens with an overhead shot showing the turn-of-the-century architecture of the front of the police station as Villiano comes out and gets into a limousine with Nystrom and his father. He has been released on $25,000 bail. He declares loudly that the witness who identified him must be crazy, to which Nystrom calmly replies, "If she's not, she is pretty close." Villiano looks at Nystrom and says with interest, "Is she?"

12. Scene 12 shows Nystrom and Villiano back at Nystrom's apartment discussing how victims of the rat race, like Lorelei, are clinging to sanity by a mere thread. Rats, of course, are squeaking in the background. They plan to increase the aggravations and pressures Lorelei has to deal with to the point where she will eventually commit suicide. They think she is already a wreck, and they will ensure a suicide story because it is safest for them.

13. Scene 13 returns to the police station. Kojak is seen throwing darts in the police office with typewriter noises in the background. Captain McNeil enters and remarks sarcastically that Kojak sets a fine example. Kojak responds that it's only for rest and relaxation, but interestingly enough the dart board is a wanted poster. Captain McNeil gets the information he came for, and Kojak then offers him an opportunity to throw darts himself. He refuses but then grabs the darts from Kojak's hands, accuses him of having stood too close to

the dart board, and proceeds to hit the bull's eye. Light-hearted music accompanies this sequence, which is one of the few examples of comic relief in the whole program.

14. With the music continuing, Scene 14 shows Kojak driving to the college, and then conferring in the psychology lab with another psychology professor about the low marks which Villiano received from Professor Draper. During this conversation, as might be expected, there is the sound of rats squeaking in the background. Professor Hooper admits that the mark which Draper gave Villiano may have been unusually low. Then he argues that such a brilliant, ambitious student would not be mixed up with a murder. Kojak knowingly and cynically disagrees.

15. Scene 15 opens in Lorelei's apartment which is flooded with daylight. The camera pans (in close-up) across two electric alarm clocks, a pill bottle and the telephone on a night table beside the bed where she is sleeping. The presence of two clocks underlines her concern with the pressure of time. She wakes up, grabs one clock and then the other. Both read 6:30, but when she reaches for her wrist watch, she realizes that in fact the time is 9:30. She scrambles to make a phone call, but finds that the line is dead. She then dashes around to get ready to leave, and outside on the street she waves frantically and shouts to flag down a taxi. Music continues throughout this scene with high-pitched strings playing an almost discordant melody.

All of this frenzy is counterpointed by the final shot of the scene. The camera zooms in, past the spot where Lorelei has just hailed a cab, to a service entrance. The door stands ajar, revealing Villiano as he coolly watches Lorelei leave, and checks his watch.

16. Scene 16 begins with the establishing shot of a busy street. Inside, in a studio control room, Lorelei's secretary is trying to apologize to Mr. Foreman, her superior, for the fact that Lorelei is not there on time. At this moment, she suddenly rushes in. Mr. Foreman expresses his irritation at such a display of tardiness and irresponsibility, further undermining Lorelei's confidence. The tension mounts as the success of her first television commercial begins to look dubious.

17. Scene 17, back at the police station, brings us up to date on the hunt for more evidence, first from some Chinese characters that were found on the bloody piece of cardboard, and secondly from splinters that were found in the victim's neck. Captain McNeil brings the latter to Kojak's attention as something that was previously ignored. This indicates that Kojak, who is constantly criticizing and even yelling at his subordinates, can also be guilty of oversights.

18. Scene 18 begins with Villiano in Lorelei's apartment, working with a cable behind her television set. He lets Nystrom in and they discuss the pills on her night table.

Villiano recognizes them as the same type of sleeping pills that his mother uses. They plan to weaken the pills' strength with baking powder, and later to plant stronger ones which would then effectively act as an overdose.

19. In Scene 19, Kojak visits Lorelei in an editing room to try to get her to remember more details about the box which held the body. She admits that she was worried about being there all alone, and didn't even think about the box. She gets moral support from her secretary, and the editor suggests that she run down the scene detail by detail, as she does so well with film. This sequence is one of the most reinforcing of the entire program for Lorelei's morale. Even Kojak has to look up to speak to her because he is seated, whereas in other conversations he towers over her.

She describes the scene again and remembers that Villiano pulled a metal rod out of the box to smash the light bulb. They are interrupted by a call from Mr. Foreman, and Lorelei in a shaky voice makes an impossible promise to be finished in 20 minutes. Kojak remarks sarcastically on her well-oiled machine, and urges her to be gentle on herself. He also assures her that she is important.

20. Scene 20 opens with eerie music on a dark street as Lorelei arrives home in a taxi. She enters her dimly lit apartment whose green walls somewhat resemble the institutional green of the police station and the green walls of the editing room. She immediately turns on the television set which provides nothing but static and snow. She fiddles impatiently with the knobs and then turns it off. She tries to light a cigarette with her table lighter, but it won't work. Nor are there any matches on her shelf, and she throws the empty box impatiently to the floor. She takes a glass from the shelf and moves into the dark kitchen. She opens the refrigerator door and is startled when something falls out and hits the floor. The sudden bright light from inside the refrigerator is also startling in the dark room. She cries "Stop it!" in exasperation, and slams the door shut. The music stops just as the phone rings in the other room. She answers in an irritated voice, showing her edginess. In fact, the caller is Nystrom posing as a man from Montreal who is looking for new talent. The camera cuts to Nystrom on the telephone and shows Villiano in the foreground, blowing smoke at a rat in the cage. Lorelei is flattered by the offer of an employment interview and agrees to meet "Mr. Wesson" later in the week. She hangs up the phone, takes three pills which we have seen in close-up in her hand, and music begins again.

The tension and anxiety of this scene is communicated by the music, the dark atmosphere and by the understandable frustrations of a noisy, malfunctioning television set, a lighter that doesn't work, and empty matchboxes. Because of this tension, the shock of the object tumbling out of the refrigerator and the bright light flooding into the kitchen is that much greater.

Furthermore, the audience knows, as Lorelei does not, that Villiano has been in her apartment and may still be about.

21. Scene 21 opens with the camera tilting up on the front of the police station as the music continues. Inside the building, there is an informal conference about the possible nature of the metal rod that Lorelei saw Villiano take from the box. The suggestion finally emerges that it might have come from an ice-box with an ice-maker, and the pursuit is on to track down ice-box distributors. One detective jokingly refers to the wonderful brain trust that they comprise, but Kojak very sarcastically promises to get them a yo-yo for Christmas, with instructions on how to make it go "up and down and up and down".

22. Scene 22 shows Lorelei nervously waiting for Mr. Foreman to view the finished commercial on a movieola. He tells her that he doesn't like it much, and asks that someone else come in to fix up the "choppy places". She defends the editing, but he observes that she's been under a strain, and that it shows in her work. He suggests that she work on some print copy for next week, but she protests the demotion. He then cites her unprofessional conduct in showing up late for a recording session, but she explains that someone left the wrong information on her answering machine, and the audience is left to suspect yet another instance of foul play engineered by Villiano. He coolly observes that she is not in good shape, and that, in fact, she needs more sleep right now, not more responsibility.

After he leaves, she breaks down and sobs to her secretary and the editor that she divorced a quiet husband in Chicago because he wanted children and she wanted a career. Now she is not sure why she did it: she can't see the point in trying to sell a plastic hairbrush. At the editor's suggestion, her secretary takes her away to make her lie down in her office.

23. Scene 23, at the police station again, is filled with increasing tensions, supported by typewriter noise, telephones, sirens and raised voices. No splinters were found in the floors of Villiano's home, but there was an ice-box delivered to an apartment building whose address matches that of one of Draper's students, Carey Nystrom. Music builds as the camera zooms in to Nystrom's name on the list of addresses. Kojak quickly dispatches his men on pertinent errands.

24. Scene 24 is another brief scene at the advertising office in which the subdued Lorelei is called to the phone to speak to Mr. Wesson (Nystrom). He arranges to meet her at her apartment that evening. She is considerably cheered by the prospect, but the audience knows it to be a false hope and the feeling of apprehension is aroused. The cuts to Nystrom on the telephone in his apartment show Villiano standing in the background listening, while the rats squeak.

25. Scene 25 continues in Nystrom's apartment after the telephone conversation. He and Villiano are speaking in significant tones about how a rat can be excited at the prospect of a carrot. Then when the carrot is yanked away, the rat "falls apart". All the while Villiano baits a rat in its cage with a carrot, and presumably thinks how Lorelei will fall apart when the phoney job offer is cancelled. Villiano shows Nystrom the heavy duty pills which he will plant in her apartment. He overrides his friend's fears and objections, and leaves as eerie music begins.

26. The music continues as Scene 26 opens on Lorelei who is studying some papers and smoking nervously. The music stops as the telephone rings and she rushes to answer it. A quick shot shows Villiano listening outside her door. The caller is Wesson (Nystrom) who cancels the appointment because he doesn't want anyone who isn't ready for the work. She hangs up dismayed, and the music begins again. We are shown Villiano outside her door, looking somewhat perplexed at the silence inside the apartment.

Once again Lorelei's apartment is softly lit, but not as dark as in Scene 20. The atmosphere this time is one of expectancy rather than fear. Interestingly enough, she has put up her hair and donned an alluring gown for the occasion. When she quietly hangs up the phone, we see her in long shot: a smaller, more vulnerable person in the corner of the room.

27. Scene 27 follows the police at night to Nystrom's apartment building. Outside, beside the steps to the entrance, Crocker discovers a discarded refrigerator box. He identifies it as one which matches the scrap of cardboard that was found on the pier. There is a sense of impending victory, and security in numbers as the five policemen forge ahead into the building. The music ends with this shot.

Inside the apartment, Nystrom is teasing the rat with a carrot and speaking to Villiano who is calling from a phone booth. Villiano says he is sure that Lorelei has "done it", that is, committed suicide, because there was no crying, no hysterics and no noise coming from the apartment. He announces that he is going to find out.

Kojak demands that Nystrom "Open up!" much as Draper did in Scene 2. His subordinates present a search warrant, and then scurry at his direction to check the bleached spot on the wood flooring. Kojak sits down and picks up the carrot to tease the rat. He informs Nystrom that they know it all now, having talked to Professor Hooper. Crocker confirms that there was blood on the floor, and Kojak orders his men to arrest Nystrom and tell him his rights. Before they have a chance, however, Nystrom weakly objects, and then confesses everything as they handcuff him. He even explains that Villiano changed the dosage of the pills in Lorelei's apartment, and was there at that very moment. Kojak impatiently hurls the carrot on the floor and rushes out as music begins again.

28. Scene 28 begins with the sombre music continuing as Lorelei looks distractedly at herself in front of the bathroom mirror. She is holding a pair of scissors, as if she was trimming her hair, and slowly puts them down. There is a close-up of the door lock as Villiano opens it. Lorelei starts when she hears a click, as Villiano quietly closes the door behind him. He moves stealthily across the room and checks the pill bottle on the night table. Finding that it is still full, he moves toward the bathroom and hears a stifled cry from behind the shower curtain. He slowly and deliberately pulls back the curtain. He whimpers and tells him to go away. Then in an overhead shot, she is seen trying to stab him with a pair of scissors. He catches her hand and points the scissors (still in her hand) toward her, and tells her to kill herself instead.

Suddenly the police break down the door, rush in with guns drawn, grab Villiano, and push him up against a wall with a gun at his throat. Kojak sees Lorelei almost transfixed, with the scissors still poised to stab herself. She doesn't respond when he calls her name, and for a tense few seconds she seems intent on carrying out Villiano's suggestion of suicide. Kojak urgently whispers her name again, seizes her hand and tells her to drop the scissors. She obeys this time and the scissors clatter into the bathtub where she is standing. She collapses, crying, into Kojak's arms.

29. Scene 29 forms an epilogue for the story. The street is filled with police cars whose radios chatter, and there are traffic noises and horns honking in the background. The flashing red lights of the ambulance and police cars form a visual staccato passing across the faces of Kojak and Villiano.

Kojak denounces Villiano who replies, "All I did was push the buttons." Kojak promises him life imprisonment in the maze of Attica, with an occasional visit and a piece of cheese if he is good. He then pushes Villiano into the police car. In some ways, Kojak is portrayed as almost as hard as the criminal, with his anger, hatred and bitter sarcasm. However, he displays more compassion in the earlier scenes with Lorelei, and for Crocker in this one. Crocker is about to dash back into the building to begin the report, when Kojak yells at him to come back. He tells Crocker to slow down and take it easy. Pleasant music begins at this point, as he hands Crocker a lollipop. The frame freezes on Kojak smiling and reaching out with a second lollipop, as if offering a toast. Soft piano music accompanies the freeze frame and credits appear just before the commercial break. The final credits flash on a dark screen which shows stills from the program in the upper left-hand corner, to the accompaniment of the exciting theme music.

An Interpretation of "Life, Liberation, and the Pursuit of Death"

Our analysis begins with a comparison of story elements

of *Kojak* and *Hawaii Five-O*. Table 2 illustrates the parallelism of the two plots, and shows that most of the plot elements are more or less identical in substance, though differing in surface detail. In some cases, one story element is the inverse of the other; thus, while in *Hawaii Five-O*, the perpetrator of the original crime (Brian) is killed by an authority figure (his grandfather), in *Kojak* it is the authority figure (Draper) who is killed by the perpetrator of the initial crime (Villiano). Related to this inversion, and following from it, is a second: in *Hawaii Five-O*, the discoverer of the crime is a "baddie", in *Kojak* the discoverer of the crime is a "goodie". Other inversions will appear in the analysis. These are important because, while I think that both episodes are derived from one underlying story frame, the presence of inversions at critical points in the story line has the effect of giving the two stories very different meanings.

Table 2

A comparison of the story elements of the Hawaii Five-O *and* Kojak *episodes*

Hawaii Five-O	Kojak
0. Equilibrium disturbed by accidental death of parents	0. Equilibrium disturbed by "pushing" ambition of father
1. Initial crime: rape/incest (violation of social order)	1. Initial crime: animal torture (violation of social order)
2. Intervention of authority figure (punishment)	2. Intervention of authority figure (punishment)
3. Death of disturber of social order (after violent quarrel)	3. Death of authority figure (after escalating sequence: blackmail attempt, threats, second blackmail attempt, assault)
4. Concealment of body and other evidence of crime	4. Concealment of body and other evidence of crime
5. Discovery of crime and location of body by third party (investigator)	5. Discovery of crime and location of body by third party (witness)
6. Intervention of police; beginning of search	6. Intervention of police; beginning of search
7. Police to begin to suspect identity of murderer	7. Police discover identity of murderer
8. Investigator's knowledge is made known to accomplice of murderer	8. Witness's knowledge is discovered through a trick by accomplice of murderer
9. The police are impotent to act without evidence (which has been hidden first by murderer and then by investigator)	9. The police are impotent to act without evidence (which has been hidden by murderer)
10. Murderer's accomplice decides to silence investigator	10. Murderer and accomplice decide to silence witness
11. Investigator is murdered	11. Witness is tortured
12. Police find conclusive evidence	12. Police find conclusive evidence
	13. Witness, driven to the edge of suicide by murderer's actions, is rescued at last moment by police
14. Police capture murderer	14. Police capture murderer
15. There is a sense that a crime has been expiated, and that social equilibrium is restored	15. There is a sense that retribution has been done, but the criminal seems unaware of the enormity of his crime, and the sense of resulting equilibrium is fragile

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Let us examine several of the differences between the two programs in more detail.

First, in both cases, a "pre-story" state of disequilibrium is alluded to: in *Hawaii Five-O*, for example, the accidental death of Brian's two parents is seen to have triggered off a sequence of events, leading up to the initial crime. Thus the initial disturbance is an extrinsic, random event, not connected to an intrinsic defect in the social system as such. Consequently, when the events have run their full course, the return to serenity is made quite evident to the viewer. The final feeling is one of sadness, or expiation accompanied by a return to security.

In *Kojak*, the pre-story disequilibrium is established by Villiano's father, who states that his son was at the top of his class because he had "pushed him all his life". The sole reason for the presence of this character in the story seems to be to pronounce this one line. Bob Villiano becomes a victim of overweening ambition. Here the initial disequilibrium is portrayed not as an accident but rather as an intrinsic inconsistency within the social system itself. Hence, even when the course of events triggered by Villiano's and Nystrom's "zapping little dumb animals" has run its full course, there is no sense of release from a burden such as we find in *Hawaii Five-O*. Indeed, Villiano's only comment is "All I did was push the buttons," indicating his failure to under-

stand the nature of his own crime. He has followed the logic of the system, exemplified by the "maze" of the university and the ruthless rat race of the ad agency. Thus, while the final interview between McGarrett and Mrs. Henderson is good-humoured and marked by mutual respect, Kojak's attitude to Villiano is summed up by his sarcastic remarks about lifetime imprisonment in the "maze" of Attica: he might give him a "piece of cheese" if he's "good". The sarcasm is accompanied by physical manifestations of distaste as he pushes Villiano into the car. Thus, the final equilibrium of the *Kojak* episode is fragile, and is presumably intended to convey a sense of unease on the part of the viewer.

I have also suggested that there is an equivalence between the initial crime of Brian in *Hawaii Five-O* (incest and/or rape) and the crime of Villiano in *Kojak* (torture of dumb animals). I do not mean to go into detail here on the subject except to assert that powerful taboos apply not only to the behaviour of siblings and quasi-siblings occupying contiguous living quarters; similar taboos also apply to the behaviour of men towards animals which they contact daily in the course of their work.[3] These latter taboos, Leach has clearly shown, also have a sexual basis. Thus, not only was Villiano contravening scientific standards of acceptable ethical limits to experimentation, he was also overstepping the bounds of a much more universal taboo in that the kind of sadism he displays in his treatment of the rats is commonly understood to be a variant of sexual relationship. Thus, the disgust of his instructor, Draper, is to be understood on more than one level. It reflects a quite profound sense of violation of the essential social order, which is correlated in this story with distortion of professional standards (those of the scientist) and excessive ambition or competitiveness. Kojak's outburst about "creeps" who "zap little dumb animals" and stick knives in their professors is clearly meant to express a legitimate sense of outrage at the violation of a basic social tenet. If we do not understand this, then the violence of Kojak's reaction to the crime, expressed both verbally and non-verbally (for example, in his dart-throwing), must appear unmotivated.

In both programs, the initial crime motivates the intervention of an authority figure. Again, there are a further parallels: in both cases we are to understand that the authority figure appears in an extended sense as a father to the person to be punished. In *Hawaii Five-O*, the authority figure is the grandfather who "stands in" for an absent father. In *Kojak*, the authority figure is a "corporate" father; a blood relationship has been replaced by a professional relationship. (This change of status occurs for young men in primitive as well as in modern societies.) Thus, in both cases the relationship is by no means between strangers. Rather, the person to be punished is one who would normally take over the functions of the authority figure at some future date. His failure to live up to appropriate social standards threatens the continued existence of the social order

which the authority figure represents. The conflict, then, is far from incidental; it touches the essential interests of the micro-society represented by the particular lineage pattern in question (the family in *Hawaii Five-O*, the scientific corporation in *Kojak*). It can also be understood allegorically as a commentary on the whole society's need to maintain continuity and social order.

The image of society projected in the two programs is, however, quite different. In *Hawaii Five-O*, society as represented by the Henderson family is rich, powerful and honourable. The comments and deportment of the police towards the family are respectful, even deferential. Physically, the family is portrayed as being above the hustle and bustle of life. Nature is present, in the form of trees and plants, but it is beautifully ordered and controlled. When danger threatens, the family is easily able to surmount it. Grandfather Thomas first humiliates and then kills the errant grandson, Brian; Grandmother Agatha openly makes a joke out of the blackmail attempt by Marshall, and then efficiently kills him. When she is finally captured by the police, she accepts the situation with equanimity (she promptly calls her lawyer) and without loss of face or dignity.

The family cannot of course resolve the dilemma of how to punish transgression without itself committing transgressions. But this failure implies no commentary on the strength of the society. It is a manifestation of an inherent logical contradiction, to which every human is subject.

In *Kojak*, the image of society is more uncertain. While Draper, as an instructor, is "bright", "hard-working", "serious", he proves unable to cope with the threat presented by the behaviour of Villiano and Nystrom. First, he gives the unjustifiably low marks, but this quickly backfires because he allows himself to be caught in a compromising situation (exiting from a gay bar). He vigorously rejects the first blackmail attempt, although his threat that they will "pay for it" is not completely convincing. But he then shows himself vulnerable to influence through his friendship with a homosexual. His attempt at physical force is easily repelled by Villiano, and he is killed in the counter-attack.

Similarly, the policemen's attitudes (which function as a barometer of the dramatist's intention) toward the society within which Draper lives range from ambivalence to open scepticism. "Let's get educated," says Kojak sarcastically. The campus is visually compared to a maze, thus suggesting an artifically constricted environment and regimented society. The school administrator proves to be an easy dupe for Villiano, in spite of the latter's obviously corrupt behaviour (visible in the preceding scene even to his female fellow student). Kojak patronizes him openly.

A second social reality portrayed in the episode is that of the advertising agency. Lorelei is honest, conscientious ("an excellent witness"), and hard-working. She is also nervous and reliant on drugs. Moreover, in spite

of her own and her co-workers' great efforts, she is unsucessful. Society, as portrayed in Lorelei's world, is a "rat race". To succeed, one must constantly push (the parallel with Villiano's father is clear); one's superiors are cold, ruthless and endlessly demanding. Like Villiano, Lorelei is a victim of overweening ambition (having divorced her husband); unlike him, she is a dupe and is easily deceived by Villiano. Her weakness leads to her downfall.

The society of policemen is sketched in much greater detail in *Kojak* than it is in *Hawaii Five-O*. Authority is properly executed: Kojak chastizes his underlings for their oversight, but the arrogant Kojak in turn is taken to task by his superior for having overlooked evidence. (The Captain also bests him at darts.) In other words, ambition is socially channelled. The society is strong, unified, and efficient; there is mutual respect between colleagues. It is a society that appears capable of dealing with every anti-social menace, and indeed it would be even more powerful were it not for the shackles imposed on it by outside constraints, namely, the legal system.

The additional attention given to delineating the society of policemen serves to point up by contrast the weakness of other societies and their inability to protect themselves or to deal with their own internal inconsistencies. The parallel between police society and the advertising society is explicitly drawn on several occasions. Lorelei criticizes the inefficiency of police routine, but in reality the reverse is shown to be true. This prompts Kojak to comment sarcastically on Lorelei's "well-oiled machine". In Lorelei's world, superiors make great demands and behave without compassion or humour. Although the pressures are just as great in police work (the two kinds of jobs are close competitors in the "nervous breakdown sweepstakes"), subordinates are treated with consideration ("Take it easy, Crocker.") and humour. While there are not so many explicit comparisons between police society and university society, visual imagery is used to point up the contrast.

The function of "killing" has a quite different meaning in the two stories. In *Hawaii Five-O*, the sinner is killed; in *Kojak*, the sinner kills. In the first case, society is shown to be capable of punishing its own transgressions, but it then confronts an impossible contradiction. The situation can be resolved only through outside mediation. In the second case, society is unable to punish its own transgressions. It must be rescued by the intervention of an outside agency, one which exemplifies true virtues.

This first inversion leads to a second. In both programs, much of the story is taken up with a struggle between the investigator/witness who "unearths" (or "unwaters", in the case of *Kojak*) the body of the victim, and the murderer and/or his accomplice. In *Hawaii Five-O*, the lines of the conflict are clearly drawn: it is a struggle between greed and honour, which is easily won

by honour. In *Kojak*, the contrast is more complicated. First, both Villiano/Nystrom (taking them as a single personage on this dimension) and Lorelei are driven by a need to excel. Both are victims of overweening ambition (an ambition which has led Lorelei to abandon her husband and a good social relationship). Both of them are also engaged in highly competitive fields, for ends that have dubious social value (zapping dumb animals in one instance, producing ads for plastic hairbrushes in the other). Furthermore, while Villiano is guilty of sadism, Lorelei is guilty of masochism. For example, in imposing impossible constraints on herself, she deliberately subjects herself to situations in which she is tortured. (It will be recalled that her subjection to drugs, which is the result of her constant anxiety, precedes the opening of the story). Thus, the relationship between Villiano/Nystrom and Lorelei is, in a sense, symbiotic. Lorelei shares a measure of guilt in this relationship, and she is punished for it when she "blows" her golden opportunity.

Again, the inversion of a story element, as one passes from one program to the other, is used to convey a very different meaning. *Hawaii Five-O* seems "old-fashioned" in style and theme; by contrast, the violence of *Kojak* is more frightening.

Police Story

"The Wyatt Earp Syndrome"
Broadcast on CBC (July 2, 1976, at 10:00 p.m.) and NBC

Resume of the Episode
1. The opening teaser of this episode of *Police Story* was made up of excerpts from the story itself. These proved to be the most violent, exciting moments within the story, presented in the montage of quick cuts, accompanied by music, sound effects and introductions of the principal characters. In fact, it was one of the most violent teasers I watched in the sample.

2. The program's first scene takes place in a police locker room, where the principal personage of this episode, Nations, is hanging up things in his locker. A young black policeman, Hawkins, approaches him and introduces himself as Nations' new partner. Nations greets him cordially but with reserve if not hauteur. It is ascertained that Hawkins is fresh out of police academy. Nations comments tersely: "You're working with a real cop now."

3. The next scene occurs in the briefing room of the police station. Police officers, standing at attention in two neat rows, are being addressed by their captain. He discusses certain assignments, including the case of an "evangelist" who kills and prays. He ends with a strict statement about police attitude, stressing, among other things, the importance of saying "Please", "Sir", and "Ma'am". The atmosphere connotes a military academy much more than a police station.

4. In the patrol car, Nations asks Hawkins if Coleman

Hawkins, the jazz musician, is a relation. Hawkins, who has never heard of the musician, comments, "We're not all related, you know!" In the next scene, they stop a car for speeding. The culprit is a professor who is late for a lecture; he has already received one speeding ticket the day before. He reaches toward the glove compartment of the car for his driver's licence, and his gesture provokes an immediate response: Nations instantly whips his service revolver from his holster and covers the driver. This gesture is very shocking, and is accentuated by the camera work. At the same time, Nations is very polite, and he remains soft-spoken throughout. This, combined with his clean-cut physical appearance, contrasts with the violence of his act. The contrast is made more stark by the earlier low-key conversation, which emphasized the human side of a cop's life. As the scene ends, a call for assistance comes in on the car radio. "That's us," says Nations.

5. The police car pulls up near the entrance to a superhighway. A small girl is standing beside the highway. When the police car stops, she runs away. The two policemen follow. She scampers under a fence and towards an underpass, pursued by the policemen. Someone is lying crumpled in the underpassage. "Your mommy?" She nods. Although the child is not communicative, we learn that it happened last night, that the woman has been shot with a gun, and that the child is Melanie Peters from nearby Bakersfield. In the ambulance, Nations continues to question the child. It was at a shopping centre: the man told them to get in the car, a two-door blue sedan; he had a moustache, reddish hair; size and age are indeterminate, although he was fairly young; the mother's name was Shirley Peters.

6. The action shifts to Nations' own home. As he enters, his wife is involved in a discussion with a group of earnest young men. Nations' own daughter, who is almost exactly the same age as Melanie, is standing in a corner as punishment for some minor peccadillo. Nations greets her with affection. We now hear part of the conversation; they are debating the issue of whether a sound that is not heard can be said to exist. An attempt is made to bring Nations into the discussion. His wife tries to explain the issue to her husband, but her efforts are sharply rejected as patronizing. Sombre music is employed throughout the scene to emphasize the tension. Pinned down, Nations answers directly that a sound is a sound whether anyone hears it or not. He then goes on to describe the situation of the little girl who witnessed the rape and murder of her mother. "How's that for an abstract question?" he says to the group. He then turns to his wife, noting that he has smelt the pizza on his daughter's breath. "I don't feel like pizza again tonight," he says, and leaves.

7. Nations is discovered in a bar, in civvies, drinking with a girl and another couple, one of whom is also a policeman. The girl comments on his gun which sticks

in her ribs as she gets close to him. Nations is maudlin. He is talking about civilization, and the distinction between people and animals. He says that the only thing that keeps people civilized is the law, the courts. "You're drunk," says the girl affectionately. "No one understands a policeman, Marge," he laments. Attention is called to the presence of his gun once more. The scene ends with Nations arriving home and going to bed. For a moment he tenderly strokes the form of his sleeping wife.

8. In the office, Nations discusses the case with his superior. The detailed information in the files is examined.

9. Nations and Hawkins are cruising in the patrol car when Nations spots a very pretty girl walking along the street. He executes a quick U-turn and pulls up beside her. On the false pretext that there has been a report of a man molesting women in the area, he strikes up a conversation with her. He elicits the information that she is married, but not too happily. He then makes a date to visit her in her apartment at a certain hour.

10. In Melanie's hospital room, Nations meets the little girl's father. He then speaks to Melanie with tenderness, promising to take her on a picnic if her father doesn't object. "Tell him your boyfriend's a policeman," he says. As he leaves, the father follows, requesting information about the killer. He pleads: "When you catch him, give me just five minutes alone with him." Nations refuses, saying that it's not his job: "If it was up to me, I'd loan you my gun," he says.

11. At home, Nations and his wife are discussing the possible breakup of their marriage. The wife doesn't want Debbie to hear, but Nations says, "Let her hear." She is sent away. The wife admits that she is afraid of splitting up. Nations says he wants "a real woman, not a part-time college girl." "We're not going to split up." he asserts. After some prodding, he finally agrees to an interview with the police psychiatrist, the "company shrink". "You make the appointment," he says.

12. In the patrol car, Nations decides to investigate the possibility that the kidnapper/rapist/killer is holed up in a motel. For his efforts he is bawled out by the detective assigned to the case, who complains that every time he arrives at a motel Nations has been there first. "It's my job," he snarls at Nations. "Play detective on your own time."

13. Nations fails to appear at the psychiatrist's office, but his wife goes ahead with the interview. She explains that the marriage is not working; her husband is "distant, cold, and angry". The psychiatrist describes the symptoms: typically, he prefers to be with his police buddies. The wife nods in agreement. The doctor tells her that it is the "Wyatt Earp syndrome", which usually occurs about three years after the person joins the force.

He begins playing cop twenty-four hours a day. After more about the psychology of the policeman, the psychiatrist counsels patience. He assures her that it is a phase which does go away.

14. Nations and Hawkins are eating in a delicatessen, when Nations notices a car whose driver matches the general description of the suspected killer. A quick, violent pursuit follows. The driver is pulled roughly from his car and made to take the classic position (hands on the roof, feet straddled away from the car), while Hawkins holds a gun on him. Under the front seat, Nations finds a packet of hash.

15. Nations is reprimanded by his superior for over-stretching his authority. Nations first uses the excuse of a traffic violation, but it is difficult to justify his having searched the car (and hence having found the drugs) without some reasonable presumption of guilt. Nations finally admits that the car and person fit the description of the wanted kidnapper. "Are you turning this into a personal manhunt?" asks his superior.

16. In a bar, Nations again encounters the detective, Keitlinger. The latter sarcastically comments on the gung-ho tendencies of Nations. Vinnie, the barkeep, ex-cop and wise voice of experience, gives Nations a kindly chewing-out, emphasizing the need to keep the role of the policeman in perspective. Although the criticism of Nations for his excesses is harsh, an overall atmosphere of affection is conveyed. It is made very clear, however, that Nations' single-minded pursuit of the killer is not judged to be correct behaviour by his peers.

17. At home, Nations looks in on his sleeping child. His wife is in bed watching television. She remarks on his missing the interview, and then says, "I'm leaving you." "You're not leaving," he says, but it is clear that they are at an impasse.

18. At a garage, Nations obtains information from the gas attendant under duress. The kidnapper is the attendant's cousin, Edward Doyle; he is holed up in another motel. Nations decides to corner the suspect himself without waiting for support. Suspense begins to build, reinforced as usual by the use of background music. The suspect is "armed and dangerous": Hawkins is instructed to stay out of the way while Nations single-handedly makes the arrest. Nations approaches the room of the suspect, carrying a rifle. He bangs on the door and throws it open. The man inside starts to reach for his gun. Both he and Nations shoot. The kidnapper's bullet kills Hawkins, who has not obeyed the instruction to stay out of sight.

19. Nations is interviewed by his superior. "I just followed procedure," he pleads. "What made you decide to go in by yourself?" he is asked. There is no answer.

20. At home, Nations finds the house empty; his wife and daughter have departed. She has left a letter. Nations breaks into tears. "I'm sorry," he says. The program ends with burst of police radio chatter, leaving Nations desolate in his own home.

An Interpretation of "The Wyatt Earp Syndrome"

The *Police Story* episode was probably the most violent of all the shows I watched in this sample, both in quantity and in apparent realism. It was also one of the most complex in plot structure, one where I felt that violence was being used to effective dramatic purposes, rather than serving as a dollop of excitement to enliven a pedestrian story. But basically, although one important element has been dropped, and the ordering of the other elements is altered, I believe the story of "The Wyatt Earp Syndrome" is a variant of the same plot we saw portrayed in *Hawaii Five-O* and *Kojak*. Because of the alterations, the message it conveys is quite different from the two preceding shows.

The story begins with an initial crime: the kidnap-rape-murder of a young woman. The crime is thus sexual, as it was explicitly in *Hawaii Five-O* and implicitly in *Kojak*. Furthermore, the sexual act involved is "natural" in the restricted use of that term we have developed here (in contra-distinction to culturally refined, or socially controlled and approved). This point is made very strongly in Nations' long bar soliloquy: he explicitly contrasts "civilized" to "animal" behaviour, and argues that the only thing which keeps human bestiality within bounds is the presence of social sanctions, as exemplified by the police. Nobody understands the police, he argues. It is clear from his previous conversation at home that he thinks of society as blind to the destructive natural (uncivilized) forces which menace it. Throughout this long sequence, the brutal (i.e. sub-human) nature of the crime is stressed, along with the blindness of society to its own danger.

So, the initial crimes of the three shows may be compared in the following way:

Table 3

A Comparison of the Initial Acts of Three Shows: Hawaii Five-O, Kojak, *and* Police Story

Hawaii Five-O	Kojak	Police Story
Sexual assault (with sibling = incest	Sexual assault (with animals = bestiality)	Sexual assault (with stranger = kidnap-rape)

Note, however, a fundamental difference: in the first two instances, the sexual act is associated with the dangers of intimacy; in the latter case, the sexual act is associated with the dangers of anonymity. Levi-Strauss

has argued that the incest taboo is necessary for the maintenance of normal human patterns of reciprocity; it is equally true that what one might call an "excest taboo" is also necessary, since the coupling of complete strangers, on some random principle, is equally an offence against the basic principles of civilized patterns of mutual obligation and exchange.[4] It is clear that such sexual acts inspire horror equivalent to that associated with incest.

Now let us consider the second story element: the intervention of the appropriate authority figure to punish the perpetrator of the initial crime. At first glance, it may seem that this element is absent, but this is incorrect. The intervention occurs, however, during the scene when Nations encounters the father of Melanie. "Leave me alone with him for five minutes," says the father, and both Nations and the audience understand that what is involved is private retribution. Thus, the punishment by the appropriate authority figure, in this instance the husband, occurs, but in symbolic form only, and comparatively late in the story. The very anonymity of the attacker has made the appropriate authority figure impotent to deal with the offence pragmatically, but the function is maintained within the story.

It is around this central impotence of the appropriate authority figure within a well-regulated society that the central inversion of the story turns: the man who should be mediator, Nations, becomes in fact a substitute avenger. To the father he says, "It's my job," but his own colleagues and his wife understand that his zeal goes far beyond what is expected of him within his job description. He becomes in fact a proxy father, on whom falls the primary responsibility of performing an act of raw retribution. "What made you decide to go in by yourself?" asks his chief; the answer is hinted at in the title: Wyatt Earp was a nineteenth-century "lawman", who carried the honorific title of "marshal". He patrolled the streets of the wildest of all the cowtowns, Dodge City, Kansas, and one of the most wide-open of all mining towns, Tombstone, Arizona. As tough as the wildest of outlaws, his function was to inspire fear in the hearts of the uncivilized, and so to provide breathing room for the small but growing local society. In other words, society can only be maintained by the law of the gun: retribution is primary. "No one understands a policeman, Marge," says Nations.

It can be no accident that Nations, like the husband of the murdered woman, is the father of a young girl. Melanie and his own daughter are almost identical in age. In fact, his relations with his own daughter are less than completely at ease. Either his daughter is under her mother's discipline and hence cannot talk to him, or is to be sent out of the room while he and his wife quarrel, or she is asleep. The tension in the house prevents them from being close. The reverse is true with Melanie. By far the tenderest scene in the episode occurs between her and Nations. In this scene, the feelings of the father

are expressed. In other words, the rape-murder of Melanie's mother becomes, on a symbolic level, the rape-murder of his own child's mother. We shall return to this point in a moment.

Similarly, Nations is estranged from his own wife. In order to think through his problem he is compelled to turn to Marge in the bar.

From this flows the consequence that the killing of the rapist in the motel by Nations is equivalent to the third function of *Hawaii Five-O* (the death of the disturber of the social order), and to the inverse function of *Kojak* (the murder carried out by the disturber of the social order). On this essential point, the subsequent interview with the chief of police leaves no doubt that Nations has not acted as a policeman, but as someone engaged in a personal vendetta.

Unlike the other stories, however, and because of the substitution transformation (policeman father for injured-party father) which has occurred, the sequel is not the same. In *Police Story*, Nations, by his own assumption of a vicarious function of revenge, has alienated his colleagues, and his own wife and child as well. There can be no sequel. He is left to weep alone, to say "I'm sorry," and to be taunted by the very call to duty which has somehow let him down.

What is identical is the police chase sequence. As before, the body is discovered by a witness (the child). As before, the child is able to furnish the bare information on which the eventual identification will be based. As before, the police review the available evidence making reference to scientific procedures. As before, a patient search begins. As before, there is a point at which the identification of the criminal occurs. From this point on, however, the story diverges. The police do not yet really possess sufficient evidence of guilt. It is here in fact that a displacement occurs: instead of the apprehension of the guilty party by officers of justice, a shoot-out between aggressor and retributor occurs, producing a distortion of the "logical" sequence of events, a distortion which is already prefigured in the earlier distortion implied by the anonymous sex killing.

In spite of this warping of the story line, I believe it is clear that the plot of *Police Story* is a transformation of that which generated *Hawaii Five-O* and *Kojak*. The syntactic and semantic transformations are so great, however, that it is clear that a completely different meaning is conveyed by the story. If we are to characterize the *Hawaii Five-O* story as basically optimistic in tone, and that of *Kojak* as tending towards cynicism, then the *Police Story* episode would have to be classed as essentially pessimistic. Unlike *Kojak*, at no point does it decend into cynicism; instead, it presents a logical (i.e., *myth*ological) dilemma with undiluted directness.

The sexual theme pervades the episode. For example, when Nations seduces the pretty stranger on the street, the parallel between his action and the initial crime of the show is clear. When he first speaks to the girl, he

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uses as a pretext reports about a fictitious molester of women in the vicinity. The audience is aware, however, that it is Nations who is the actual molester. Yet, his reference to the molester inevitably recalls the earlier crime. The murderer kidnaps and sexually assaults his victim; Nations picks up and symbolically has sexual relations with his "victim". In both cases, the relationship occurs between complete strangers.

This same incident re-introduces a second theme: the girl who responds to Nations' advances and invites him to her apartment is married, but not happily. Nations' wife is also unhappily married.

Furthermore, we learn early in the program that the professor (or rather *a* professor), who elicits Nations' first display of raw (if unconsummated) violence, has been filling his wife's head full of ideas. In other words, his wife has been intellectually seduced. The absurdity of her seducer's charm is made evident in the scene involving her fellow students, when the latter (callow youths to a man) indulge in sophormoric discussion of one of the oldest of philosophical chestnuts. The triviality of their preoccupations is emphasized when Nations relates with brutal simplicity the horror of the events he has witnessed that day. This is a very strongly played scene: a confrontation between the cop's commitment and the students' superficial verbal cleverness, which Nations finds both baffling and despicable. He is unable to play the game but he is able to reject it. His anger towards his wife, and his certitude that she, unlike himself, is being taken in, shines through in this scene. Several times she tries to make him understand what they are talking about. Each time, he insists that he understands the question but thinks it irrelevant.

Desperate to talk, he pours out his ideas to Marge, the girl in the bar. His wife perceives a man who is "distant, cold and angry", yet he touches her with tenderness while she sleeps. Following her interview with the psychiatrist (which Nations again implicitly rejects as irrelevant), she finds she can no longer wait for him to change, and she leaves.

These scenes taken together suggest the intensity of the conflict within Nations: he is both wife-stealer and wife-loser, both aggressor against women in anonymous contexts, and punisher of such aggressors. By performing an act of raw retribution against a wife-aggressor, hence "protecting" the institution of the family, he alienates his own wife and hence loses a family. In punishing another, he punishes himself. In one sense, at least, the man he kills is himself.

It is evident in this program that the superficial displays of violence, which are very striking, mirror the violence of the conflict raging within the man. I think it is also true that the violence of the conflict occurring within the man reflects deep conflict within society, conflicts about professional responsibilities, about male-female relationships, and about the role of women within the family context.

Following the principle enunciated by Levi-Strauss

that the meaning of one myth often is best seen in its context of other myths, let us examine certain parallelisms between *Kojak* and *Police Story*.

First, let us compare Lorelei of *Kojak* and Nations' wife, Barbara, of *Police Story*.

Lorelei	Barbara
1. Has divorced her husband	1. Walks out on her husband
2. Aspires to a career	2. Aspires to an education
3. Is exploited by males	3. Is "exploited" by males (in having her head filled with ideas)
4. Is rescued by police (and collapses gratefully into Kojak's arms)	4. Rejects police rationale (as explained by psychiatrist) and turns her back on her policeman husband

We have only to suppose that Lorelei is an older version of Barbara, or at least at a different stage of her life, to read the message: both Lorelei and Barbara have been seduced by false goals, and have made themselves vulnerable to exploitation by unscrupulous male operators.

On one level, it may be argued that this is a message about women's liberation, and while this is a defensible thesis, I think it is, at best, a partial explanation. The conflict over values is more than a question of male-female relations, although the latter is very much involved and makes a dramatically effective means of conveying the mythological dilemma. Before considering what I believe to be the more fundamental issues involved, we shall look at a number of other programs.

We end this section with a very brief consideration of one episode of *Adam-12*, which gives a very different vision of the role of a policeman's wife and the family life of a policeman.

Adam-12
Broadcast on Global, May 20, 1976, at 6:30 p.m.

Resume of the Episode
The program begins with two intertwined themes: first, a patrol car pulls up; Frankie, the drunk (a long-time loser), is taken from the car and greeted sarcastically by the sergeant. Shortly afterwards, he is released. At the same time, we listen, via police radio, to the chase of a hit-and-run driver. The end of the pursuit occurs when the police car crashes. The two policemen involved are hospitalized. In the locker room, the heroes of *Adam-12*, two young clean-cut patrolmen, comment on the two scenes: the suspect gets off easily; the cop gets hurt.

The scene shifts to the home of one of the officers. His wife Jeannie has invited a girlfriend to meet Pete, a bachelor police officer, in the hopes of "trapping" him.

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There is talk about the accident: one of the policemen involved is on the critical list. The men exit, and the two women discuss them: "He's nice" says the invited girl-friend. "That's all, just nice?" says the wife teasingly. The single girl asks what it's like to be married to a policeman. The wife talks about the routine, and financial difficulties "But," she says, "I'm happy!"

In the garage, the two men talk about fixing up a truck. "What do you think about Ruthie?" Pete is asked. "She's looking for a husband," he says. "Ninety-nine per cent are," says his partner. They are interrupted by the woman next door. She is looking for her son, Tim, who is, she adds, a "great mechanic".

Back in the living room, Pete holds the family's baby, whose godfather he is. There is good-natured teasing and more discussion of the wounded policeman, Chavez, who is in the hospital. Pete and the girl are left alone to talk. They should not talk too much about Chavez. "Jean worries enough." "Jean is settled and happy," says Ruthie. "Because she married a policeman," says Pete. After a phone call to the hospital: "No change."

Tim (about 16 or 17) enters, apparently drunk, shouting "He's going to get me!" but Pete quickly diagnoses his problem as drugs: "He's not drunk. It's pills." Tim worries about his mother climbing the walls. "Don't tell her," he says. Pete looks at Tim's arms, and searches his pockets. Tim's father is called, and the situation is explained. There was a party; Tim was given a barbiturate, probably Seconal – "red devils". The location of the party is ascertained.

There is a noise in the garage. An intruder, Skad, throws a wrench at the two policemen but is quickly overpowered. He is put under arrest. Tim confirms that he was at the party. Pills are removed from his pocket. "I was looking for Junior," he says. "He was going to kill me," says Tim. The police are called. "What are you going to tell your mother?" Tim is asked.

After the excitement, the two couples talk about the events: there is a general discussion of what is happening in the streets. The phone rings: Chavez is dead; a local jazz festival is getting out of hand; the patrolmen have to get back to work. On the way, they will drop Jeannie at the hospital so that she can be of some comfort to Chavez's wife; Ruthie is left to babysit.

An Interpretation of the Adam-12 Episode

I do not intend to analyze the plot of this episode of *Adam-12*, which, in any case, is fragmentary. I wish only to point out certain parallels. Like Nations and Hawkins, Pete and his partner are young and clean-cut in appearance, and are completely devoted to their jobs. In their world, also, crime is largely anonymous: a hit-and-run driver, a nameless illegal drug-pedlar at a party, a jazz festival "getting out of hand".

A good third of the show is taken up with the role of the policeman's wife. Jeannie, unlike Barbara, is happy.

Her life is simple and to all appearances bounded completely by the preoccupations of her family. Her husband is devoted to her. She accepts the responsibility of her position, comforting Chavez's wife when the latter is killed. In her world, women are protected: Tim is not sent home to his mother until his problem has been resolved.

One is made happy, it seems, by the acceptance of limitations. What the limitations are is the subject of the next chapter.

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Chapter Three

Of Violation, Mediation and Bureaucratization

Introduction

In this section we consider the question of mediation. Following the same procedure as before, we describe the plot outlines of two shows, *Starsky and Hutch* and *Baretta*, and analyze them in detail while developing the key concepts of this section. We then analyze five other shows: two episodes of *Police Woman*, and one each of *Streets of San Francisco, Mannix* and *Barnaby Jones*. The section concludes with some general remarks about the messages conveyed by the programs.

Starsky and Hutch
Broadcast on ABC (June 23, 1976 at 10:00 pm) and CHCH - Ind. (June 19, 1976 at 9:00 p.m.)

Resume of the Episode

1. The show opens with an exterior shot of a fairly new office building. We cut to an interior office with many desks. The setting is quite bare. Starsky and Hutch enter with someone, who turns out to be a mute, Larry. Hutch is looking embarrassed, trying to conduct an interview: "Please don't cry," he says. The captain enters and pours scorn on Hutch "Busted for stealing candy," he snorts. The mute has been arrested three times. Father Ignatius enters, and claims Larry as his parolee. He chastizes the policemen, who withdraw the charges, and appear embarrassed. We are introduced to Larry's friend, and Father Ignatius' charge, R.C., who has lost his speech and hearing because of a beating suffered at the hands of a policeman's billy club. He has "not been too thrilled with cops ever since," says Father Ignatius. Hutch is given an amused look by his partner.

2. The camera pans to an exterior shot of a large building. Inside, a masked man, smoking a cigar, is working to open a safe. Cut to watchman entering elevator. The safe blows, and the masked man enters the vault. He is seen through the window by the guard, who sounds the alarm. We cut to Starsky and Hutch ordering food. Learning that there is a robbery in progress, they exit without eating. (This is part of a standard joke routine in Starsky and Hutch: the former is always hungry and never has time to finish the huge meal he has ordered.)

The guard, holding a gun, orders the thief to come out, and then enters the room, where he is shot. The robber exits hastily, as Starsky and Hutch race up in their patrol car, sirens screaming. A bullet from the fleeing robber narrowly misses them. "That makes me mad," says Hutch. "He missed, didn't he?" retorts Starsky. There is then a very active chase through the streets, with music and sound effects. The police enter a dark building and climb the stairs. "Hold it!" they shout, and the lights come on to reveal Larry cuddling some cats. The robber has escaped.

3. The scene opens in the chapel of Halfway House. Starsky and Hutch interview Father Ignatius and a housemaid, revealing that they suspect the robbery has been committed by someone there. Father Ignatius is indignant. He comments on "tinhorn cops" rousting around. The housemaid explains that he has been working night and day, and that he is tired and irritable; she promises to check on Larry. She tells them, "For fuzz, you're all right," and makes a crack about Hutch's "Paul Muni look".

4. In the office of Father Ignatius, the police having left, the "Father" is revealed as a villain. "Magnificent performance," he boasts to his accomplice, Kim, as he lights up a cigar. Now, he says, if the police are looking for a safecracker, "we will have to give them one."

5. In the police station, Starsky begins to eat but is interrupted by the captain who suspects Larry and orders Starsky and Hutch to interview Larry's old cellmate, Hermann Bettlinger. The captain then eats Starsky's sandwich.

6. In the cocktail bar, the barman, Bettlinger, receives a phone call from Father Ignatius. He leaves hastily. Starsky and Hutch follow (leaving a meal uneaten). At Halfway House, the barman enters, watched by the cops. "Paydirt," they gloat. There is a shot; the barman has been killed. A car disappears, presumably carrying a culprit. A chocolate bar wrapper is discovered beside the body. (Remember that Larry is a thrice-convicted chocolate thief.)

7. Starsky and Hutch talk to Father Ignatius, explain that Bettlinger seems to have been mixed up in the crime. Larry's ex-partner had run into the mission. Father Ignatius tells them that Larry has left. The cops leave; the "Father" smiles with self-satisfaction. It turns out that Larry has been in the mission all the time. The "Father" explains to him, "just like I told you", that it is not safe to hide here anymore. He must leave. He goes on to say that the police don't like R.C., and they mean to use him. The "Father" tells Larry he must trust him. "Do you have your gun?" he asks. Kim will drive him to town; everything will work out for the best.

8. In the print shop, Starsky and Hutch talk to R.C. and learn that Larry is not there. He seems to have run away.

9. The police captain has decided that Larry is guilty. Starsky and Hutch plead for him. The captain points out that his disappearance is "almost a confession". He means to send out an APB (all points bulletin) on Larry, who is "armed and dangerous". Intercut with this scene are shots of poor lovable Larry, upset, and hurrying through the streets.

10. Back at the printer's shop, R.C., although initially hostile, begins to understand the situation. Starsky and Hutch say someone frightened Larry to make him run. He is not guilty. R.C. calls Larry his only friend. They must work together to save his life, Starsky and Hutch reason. R.C. knows all his hangouts. They must find him before other policemen catch him.

11. The threesome are shown going from one possible location to another, always frustrated. They have failed; they are discouraged. Then Starsky has an idea.

12. Kim returns to report to the "Father" that Larry is watching a cowboy movie. The "Father" decides it is now time to "finish him off".

13. We find the group at a restaurant, with Starsky ordering. Why did Larry run? Who convinced him? Someone who had access to prison records. A thought crosses R.C.'s face. They leave.

14. An inquiry reveals that the real Father Ignatius is 71 years old, certainly not the youngish man at Halfway House. The "Father's" assistant, Kim, is subdued in a violent scene.

15. Larry is watching the movie in great contentment. The false priest enters. Cut to a racing police car carrying Starsky and Hutch to the rescue. The "priest" stalks Larry, and sits down beside him. He asks Larry to come outside, but Larry refuses because he does not want to miss the action on the screen. After several such attempts, the "Father" pulls a gun on Larry who looks shocked. At this moment the police enter, and the "Father" tries to exit by the back. The movie house empties, and the police and the villain stalk each other through the empty ranks of movie seats. Suddenly, at

the end of a row of seats, both policemen suddenly appear in the two adjoining ranks and the "Father" is captured. "Will Pat O'Brien every forgive us?" the heroes are heard to ask.

Baretta
"Set-up City"
Broadcast on ABC, May 19, 1976, at 9:00 p.m.

Resume of the Episode

1. The show opens with an exterior shot of what appears to be an old warehouse. Darkness and suspenseful music. Inside, a group of men are opening a safe. "How're we doin'?" growls one. "Five minutes." "Take your time." There is a noise of an approaching watchman. "Let's split," says the man opening the safe, sounding panicky. "Jes' keep workin'," snarls his companion. There is an exchange of shots with the watchman, and then an explosion. One of the men roars in anger. The man opening the safe says, "My leg . . . I can't move." "We gotta get outta here."

2. In the poolroom, Baretta is playing pool with an elderly man, Jake Hatch. A punk kid is excitedly talking about knocking over the vault, blowing up the safe, et cetera. Jake "wouldn't know anything about it?" asks Baretta. Jake proves to be an ex-con sent up for ten years by Baretta for safecracking. "Don't do me no favours, Baretta," says Jake. The punk is full of admiration for Jake, and obviously aspires to follow his example. Baretta needles Jake about the "big house".

3. At police headquarters, the lieutenant is angry. He needs answers: there have been three jewellery heists, a hundred thousand in stolen gems . . . not a lead. He chews out his men with some vigour. Baretta accompanies him into his private office, where they argue about Jake. The lieutenant wants to move on Jake. Baretta argues that pros killed the night watchman. Baretta and the lieutenant shout at each other.

4. Back in the poolroom, Baretta and Jake continue their never-ending game, with Baretta always ahead. They continue to talk in a half-argumentative, half-friendly fashion about the crime and about how Jake was sent to prison.

5. In a boarding house room, the wounded thief is in intense pain. One of the other thieves wants to send for a doctor, and the leader promises to get him one. The other crook, Angio, whose father was a druggist, is detailed to "take the hurt away". The leader, Joe, has no intention of calling a doctor; he takes a drink and looks at gems in a case. "Joe," says the other, "he's real bad. He needs surgery." Joe snarls, "You can nursemaid him if you want to. If he hadn't panicked, it wouldn't have blown up."

6. Baretta is passing the word around. He has his shoes shined by a black man. After exchanging banter about

ozone and other weighty matters, Baretta warns him against fencing: "Nobody." "Dry up or. . . ." Other similar scenes follow, as Baretta walks through the neighbourhood, spreading the word: "Don't buy!"

7. Baretta is back in the poolroom with Jake, playing and talking.

8. Joe, the brutal thief, is seen in a used-car lot where he at first pretends interest in buying a car. He then offers jewels for sale, but the fat car salesman (whom we have seen Baretta visiting earlier) says he is not interested. Joe shoves him up against a wall, and hits him in the stomach. "Wazza matter?" he snarls, "Izza town drying up?" "The word is out," says the salesman. "Tell me about it!" "A cop named Baretta." As the beating continues, the salesman informs Joe that Jake Hatch is looking for him.

9. In the poolhall, Baretta and Jake are playing pool.

10. Back in the crooks' hideout, Joe is cursing the "Girl Scouts" he has met. "Watta we stink, or something? Until we lose Baretta, we're dead." The incompetent safecracker in the next room is now dead. "Get rid of him," says Joe. "We gotta leave this city."

11. In the poolhall, Hatch is told by the punk that there is a phone call for him from Joe Denny. We hear Joe ask if he is busy. "Depends," says Jake. There is a proposition; a rendezvous is fixed.

12. In the car, Jake meets the thieves. There is a tough-sounding exchange, and then Joe asserts that he is onto "a big job . . . no nickels and dimes." "You're either with us or against us," Jake is told. "I'm your ticket out of town," Jake replies, because "I can take care of Baretta". He demands the dead safecracker's share, plus a half of the upcoming take.

13. Jake is seen in a drugstore buying chemicals. In an exchange with a woman customer, Jake displays an extraordinary knowledge of chemistry.

14. Joe Denny is shown driving up to a bungalow. He carries a body into the bungalow and leaves. A minute later, the bungalow explodes.

15. There is another fierce argument between Baretta and the lieutenant. The policeman tailing Jake lost him, after the latter bought iron oxide, aluminum powder, et cetera. Baretta leaves the lieutenant's room in a fury.

16. Back in the poolhall, Baretta is leaning on Jake. "Watta ya say, Jake? What does a guy do with a couple of pounds of iron oxide, some aluminum powder, et cetera?" "He might make a bomb," says Jake. "You're skating close to the edge," Baretta warns. They talk about Phillips, the dead safecracker, and the building that blew up. "The law of averages caught up," says Jake. "Well," says Baretta, "that means there's an empty chair at the table. Maybe it's not such a good

idea to be so close to the action." "It's the only way to win," says Jake. "Put me next to the man," says Baretta. "He snuffed a couple of people. I can work for you or against you," he says, "it's my game." "Smart kid," Jake says of Baretta, à propos the pool game, "you think he's gonna let you win until all the marbles are on the line, and then . . . ."

17. Baretta at home is talking to his lieutenant: "Hi, boss," he says. He advises him to sit tight. (During this interview, Jake's supposed tail is actually sitting in the room.) "The wizard is at work," says Baretta. Baretta then counsels the young cop on how to play "with the big boys". "Don't worry how tough they are. Just don't let them know how scared you are."

18. Jake and Joe plan a demonstration of the former's prowess. Jake calls Baretta, asks him if he wants the goods, gives him an address, and then rejoins Joe in the car watching the house, which is a set-up wired with explosives.

19. Baretta pulls up in a car, watched by the crooks. Joe comments that he "*looks* ordinary". He doesn't look like a superman. Baretta climbs the stairs, gun in hand, enters, looks and sees a giveaway clue that explosives are present. As he dives, Hatch detonates the remote-controlled bomb. The kitchen window explodes outwards, and the crooks drive away.

20. Back in the poolroom, Jake enters to find Baretta in disguise. "Heard ya got blown up," says Jake chattily. "The cops are looking for you," says Baretta. "You almost blew me up, you chump," says Baretta. "Where'd you hide?" asks Hatch, having established that he deliberately left a giveaway clue. "Under the table. You sure blew that place up," says Baretta in admiration. "Yeah, I'm the best there is," says Hatch. "Ever wonder why we do this?" asks Baretta. "How do we get into it? Guess folks like you and me, we paid the money and drew our card a long time ago. Ain't got no more choice."
   "You're skating a thin line, you know," says Baretta. Jake exits as a policeman enters.

21. Jake buys more explosives in the same drugstore.

22. The lieutenant is shouting: "The game is over. No game. No set-up." "I don't think you see, sir," says Baretta, patiently. "I'm protecting the integrity of the department," says the lieutenant. They shout at each other. "Jake has a ten-year-old daughter. You're trying to nail him for something he didn't do," argues Baretta. It will be Baretta's funeral. "I'm doing my job," says Baretta. "Stop thinking only of yourself," he says to the lieutenant.

23. The three thieves are in a room where Jake has prepared the nitro, which he holds in a small vial. Baretta is climbing outside, and leaps in the window. Guns are pulled. Joe says, "Gimme the suitcase." Jake

theatens to drop the nitro. After a good deal of harsh talk, the villains are subdued. Jake will get the insurance money. The bottle actually holds colored water. Jake will have enough for a one-way ticket to Venezuela, with his little girl.

24. In the poolhall, the punk kid announces he has ambitions. "Tell him what a big man is," says Baretta. "See you, Baretta," says Jake. "Hope not," says Baretta. "Me too," says Jake. "O.K.," says Baretta to the kid, "we're gonna play five games and every time you lose I'm gonna hit you."

Starsky and Hutch and *Baretta*: An interpretation

Certain similarities in the plot line of the two shows may be observed:

Table 4

A Comparison of the Plot Lines of Starsky and Hutch *and* Baretta

Starsky and Hutch	*Baretta*
1. Robbery occurs (with explosion)	1. Robbery occurs (with explosion)
2. Guard enters (with drawn gun)	2. Guard enters (with drawn gun)
3. Robber shoots guard	3. Robber shoots guard
4. Robbers flee (with loot)	4. Robbers flee (with loot)
5. Police begin search	5. Police begin search
6. Robbers vanish (are hidden)	6. Robbers vanish (are hidden)
7. Ex-con falsely implicated	7. Ex-con falsely implicated
8. Heroes and ex-con have special friendly relationship	8. Hero and ex-con have special friendly relationship
9. Ex-con is accused by police chief (heroes' superior)	9. Ex-con is accused by police chief (hero's superior)
10. There is a quarrel between heroes and police chief	10. There is a quarrel between hero and police chief
11. The ex-con is vindicated	11. The ex-con is vindicated
12. Search is ended: Robbers are caught	12. Search is ended: Robbers are caught

It will be observed that in each of the two programs considered here, the initial crime (safecracking) takes the form of a violation of property rights. Comparing these episodes with three of the programs previously analyzed, we arrive at a preliminary classification of crimes, as follows:

Figure 5:

A Classification of Crimes of Violation
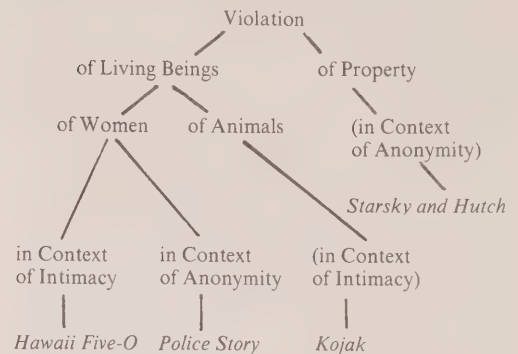
At first glance, the theme of sexuality found in the programs considered earlier does not seem to appear here. However, "breaking and entering" is considered by some psychoanalysts to have strong sexual connotations; this assumption can be supported by superficial stylistic elements in the two episodes: in each case, the act of entering the vault occurs in intimate darkness and the actual breakthrough into the vault is accompanied by an explosion (orgasm?).[1] It may be protested that such an interpretation is artificial, if not fanciful. However, the notion of an association between robbery and sexual violation is by no means original with me, as the following extract from a psychoanalytical interview attests (the analyst is identified as "L"):

L: *Let's return to the question of your stealing activities, Harold. Why did you take articles that didn't belong to you?*

Perhaps because I wanted to possess it?

L: *And why did you want to possess it?*

Well . . . I . . . I . . . ever since I can remember . . . because . . . these things . . . my mother . . . Well, because, every since I can remember, I wanted to possess . . . my . . . mother . . . more than anyone else . . .

L: *Way back in your childhood you became definitely convinced that you could never surpass your father and possess your mother. Now, then, did you possess things after that? By stealing, by taking, as substitutes, things forbidden to you. Does this explain to you why you went alone when you broke into a house? Can you understand the symbolism?*

It symbolizes . . . walking through a door . . . having an intercourse. Now I see . . . I . . . I couldn't have anyone else go with me. That was one way to . . . possess . . . my mother. . . . Now I see. I can see . . . all those things . . . what they mean. And it is right.

L: *Obviously you couldn't get things merely by asking for them. There was only one way for you to possess your mother, which is in many respects a perfectly normal childhood desire. In that stage of a child's life, the child is jealous of the father, so jealous that he actually wants to get him out of the way, even to kill him. . . . I wonder if this explains to you why you had intercourse with your sister?*

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My sister . . . is close to my mother. I always had a sort of feeling that she . . . that she . . . was my mother. . . . [2]

This quotation introduces not only a correlation between stealing and sexual behaviour, but more specifically between stealing and *incestuous* sexual behaviour. The analogy could be further supported by the fact that in both episodes (*Starsky and Hutch*, *Baretta*) a guard (authority figure or "father") is seen approaching carrying a gun, and is then killed by the thieves. The symbolism of the gun is one of the best known in depth psychology, and need not be repeated here.

In spite of this suggestive evidence, I do not wish to argue that the acts of violation of property rights portrayed in these two episodes are intended to stand for incest in the context of the show. To suppose so would contradict a fundamental premise of the methodology we have adopted: the meaning of a function is not fixed across stories, but is revealed by its place within the bundles of relationship which the stories convey. In neither *Starsky and Hutch* nor *Baretta* (unlike *Hawaii Five-O*, *Police Story* or *Kojak*) does the sexual theme predominate explicitly; to imply meanings not supported by context would be equivalent to supposing that symbolisms are constant, which, it seems to me, is most unlikely. What I do think, however, is that sexual connotations are exploited by the producers of the two programs. This is what I think gives the robberies their sensational qualities. That is to say, the viewer is meant to feel the force of the initial violation of the social order, even though the story line does not justify the incident. (In addition, of course, a rationale for murder is created.)

Thus, themes of violation are the starting point for all five programs considered to this point (excluding *Adam-12*). As Figure 5 indicates, crimes of violation can be classified not only by the object of the crime (human, animal, inanimate), but also by the context in which it occurs (intimate, anonymous, belligerent). Some logical possibilities are not included in Figure 5, e.g., the violation of an animal in a context of intimacy constitutes bestiality; in a context of anonymity, it may be viewed as slaughter; in a context of belligerency,[3] it is thought of as hunting. Similarly, violation of property in wartime is socially responsible, but is inadmissible in peacetime.

By this classification, *Starsky and Hutch* and *Baretta* would be grouped together with *Police Story* (because crimes occur in anonymous contexts) rather than with *Hawaii Five-O* and *Kojak*, where crimes occur in intimate contexts. This distinction leads to an interesting conclusion: in both *Hawaii Five-O* and *Kojak*, the police are not primary agents of authority, but secondary, in as much as they enter the story only after a social system has failed to regain a state of equilibrium through autonomous action: in *Police Story*, *Starsky and Hutch*, and *Baretta*, the images of the society within which the crime occurs are extremely

vague (a bit less so in *Police Story*, where the father is encountered, although very briefly). In *Starsky and Hutch* and *Baretta*, the actual victims of the initial crime are never seen: the background of "Father Ignatius" and Joe Denny are unknown; and, in fact, the initial crime is hardly more than a pretext to motivate the entry of the police heroes.

I suspect that the distinction is related to the classification by Wright of movies into "classical" and "professional" plots. We shall return to consider this distinction shortly.

In Table 4, it was observed that *Starsky and Hutch* and *Baretta* resemble each other in the form of the initial crime (functions one to six) and in the bundle of relationships involving one or more ex-cons (functions seven to eleven). Let us consider this matter of ex-cons in somewhat greater detail.

There are, broadly speaking, three forces in a crime story:

1) the forces of right (usually represented by the police);

2) the forces of wrong (robbers, murderers, et cetera), and

3) the "mediators".

In both *Starsky and Hutch* and *Baretta*, ex-cons are employed in this "third force" role of mediators (an aptitude shared by ex-cons, members of minority groups, and women, as we shall see in the succeeding analysis). Let us examine what type of relationship holds between the three corners of this relational triangle.

In *Starsky and Hutch*, the relationship between the police and Larry, one of the ex-cons, is established in the opening scene. Hutch is supposed to be "booking" Larry for a crime of stealing chocolates. Larry is presented as a big lumbering, harmless, lovable mute of very low intelligence, easily influenced, perfectly innocent and trusting. Hutch is shown as embarrassed because he is obliged to treat Larry's "crime" as a serious offence. This point is underlined heavily by the behaviour of the captain and the remarks of Father Ignatius. In the next scene involving Larry, he is shown awkwardly but good-naturedly fondling kittens, again emphasizing his purity, his "oddness" and his naïveté.

The second ex-con in the story (the third appears only long enough to be shot), R.C., is Larry's close friend. He is also presented as having a physical deficiency (he is a deaf-mute), but, unlike Larry, he is intelligent, and begins the story as an avowed enemy of the police (having suffered the impairment of his faculties at their hand), although he is not any longer a criminal: the second time he appears, it is in his "printing shop", which is the symbol of his return to honest employment.

If both ex-cons have disabilities, so, in a sense, do Starsky and Hutch. The program generally stays one step short of becoming an open burlesque of crime drama: Starsky and Hutch are portrayed as semi-comic

characters, the butt of tricks played by their captain, individually characterized by their own foibles, wisecracking their way through improbable situations.

In a sense, the special relationship between Starsky and Hutch and the ex-cons is reinforced by the fact that all of them are misfits (or, "stumble-bums" in the case of the cops, but stumble-bums who always come out on top). Second, their friendship is built on mutual appreciation of honesty (especially in the case of R.C. and the two cops).

The relationship of the cops to the robbers is an adversarial one.

The relationship of the robber to the mediator in *Starsky and Hutch* is one of apparent common interest (both have criminal backgrounds, and at the beginning of the program, both are at Halfway House) but, in fact, it is one of victimization. The theme of victimization has already occurred in *Kojak*, and it is interesting to observe certain similarities in the plot lines of this latter show and *Starsky and Hutch*:

Table 5

A Comparison of the Plot Lines of Kojak *and* Starsky and Hutch

Kojak	*Starsky and Hutch*
1. There is a witness whose death would remove vital evidence against a murderer.	1. There is a scapegoat whose death would provide vital evidence in favour of robber-murderer (he would go scot-free).
2. Witness possesses a fatal weakness (stress)	2. Witness possesses a fatal weakness (naïveté)
3. Murderer hides from witness (by skulking in doorways and by assuming false identity)	3. Robber-murderer "hides" from scapegoat (by assuming false identity)
4. Murderer plays a trick on witness, which is intended to make the victim bring about her own downfall and eventual death	4. Robber-murderer plays a trick on scapegoat which is intended to make the victim bring about his own downfall and eventual death
5. Police, after long search, find positive evidence of motive and scene of crime	5. Police, after long search, find positive evidence of false identity of robber/murderer
6. Murderer decides to kill witness	6. Robber-murderer decides to kill scapegoat
7. Police subdue and capture murderer's accomplice	7. Police subdue and capture murderer's accomplice
8. Accomplice reveals intentions of murderer and danger to witness	8. Accomplice reveals intentions of murderer and danger to scapegoat
9. The witness is rescued	9. The scapegoat is rescued
10. The murderer is caught	10. The robber-murderer is caught

I do not want to exaggerate the similarities because, apart from these elements, *Kojak* and *Starsky and Hutch* develop in quite different ways. Nevertheless, it is striking to observe that a victimization theme in two different story contexts tends to produce a similar set of story functions.

Now let us see how the mediation of *Starsky and Hutch* takes place. When the program opens, it appears that Larry and R.C. are clearly in the adversary's camp: Larry is a willing dupe of the "Father" and R.C. is intensely hostile to the police. The police are impotent to act, and the "Father" berates them for their interference in his centre. Furthermore, the police lieutenant decides that Larry is guilty and sends out an APB. Against this background, two events occur: 1) the "Father" elects to victimize Larry by making a scapegoat of him, and 2) the police, because of their affection for and special relationship with Larry, make friends with R.C. In this way, the police are pulled toward the centre (because of Starsky and Hutch's special bond with Larry, which contrasts with the lieutenant's attitude); the crooks are pulled toward the centre (by Larry's victimization and R.C.'s realization of the honesty and "goodness" of Starsky and Hutch). In this way, a synthesis of initially antagonistic elements is provided for: the true villains are put down – but so is the lieutenant (in the sense that he is shown to have been wrong).

From this analysis, it might be inferred that the third-party mediator of a crime drama must have certain special characteristics; I am not yet sure I yet understand what these are, but it seems obvious that the male-female, sado-masochistic relationship of Kojak is no more accidental than the crook-ex-con schemer-naïve relationship of Starsky and Hutch.

Before turning to *Baretta*, let us summarize briefly, in the form of a diagram, what seems to me to be the underlying pattern of *Starsky and Hutch*:

Figure 6:
The Base Structure of Starsky and Hutch
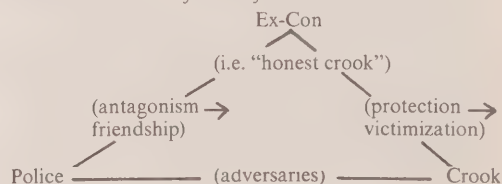
The relationship of the ex-cons, in this story, to the two adversaries is ambiguous: both Larry and R.C. are former criminals and in the story Larry steals (thus linking him with "Father Ignatius") but is intrinsically honest, as is R.C. (thus linking him with Starsky and Hutch). Dynamically, the attitudes pass from initial antagonism towards the police and trust in the crook, to final friendliness towards the police and disillusionment with the crooks; similarly, Larry is initially a victim of Hutch (who books him for his crime) and is protected by the crook, while later he becomes the victim of "Father Ignatius" and is protected by Starsky and Hutch.

In Baretta, the ex-con also plays the role of mediator, but here a fundamental inversion occurs.

First, we note that the police-crook relationship remains one of simple adversaries (and is even less developed than in *Starsky and Hutch*). Second, it may be asserted that the relationship between Baretta and the ex-con Jake Hatch passes from initial hostility (Baretta "sent him up" at an earlier period, and as in the case of R.C., there is an earlier "wound" committed by the police against the ex-con) to grudging admiration and mutual respect to genuine affection at the end of the story.

However, while the bond between Starsky and Hutch and Larry Horvath is that of stumble-bums to a misfit, the bond that units Baretta to Jake Hatch is more like that of Superman to Spiderman. It is made abundantly clear that Baretta is not like ordinary mortals; for example, his escape from the bomb trap, without visible sign of even minor injury, deserves mention in the *Guinness Book of Records*. Joe Denny watches him mount the stairs and makes an indirect tribute to his reputation as a superman by commenting drily: "He *looks* ordinary." Numerous shots are included to make clear that, in the underworld of pimps, informers, prostitutes, minor con men, et cetera, Baretta is accorded a respect verging on awe. Single-handed, he closes the town to the thief, leaving him no alternative except to take on Baretta directly (when he would have preferred to unload his booty and skip town).

If Baretta is a man with an exceptional talent, so is Jake. One scene is included (the drugstore scene) to show Jake's marvellous talent and knowledge of explosives (used for safecracking). "I'm the best there is," he says matter-of-factly, and Baretta does not disagree. He is absolutely cool in every dangerous situation shown in the program; as he says, staying close to the action is the only way to win. Like Baretta, he has learned that when you play with the big boys, you never let them see how scared you are. Baretta verbalizes the bond between Jake and himself in the scene where he talks of how "folks like you and me . . . paid our money and drew our card a long time ago." The difference between them is that Baretta is on the side of the law while Jake wavers (mainly motivated by concern for his daughter); as good as Jake is, he has to recognize in Baretta a

superior talent (symbolized by the ongoing pool game).

Similarly, the relationship between Jake and the robber-murderer is different from that of Starsky and Hutch. There is no question of Jake's being victimized (thus differentiating him from his incompetent predecessor who is callously allowed to die by Joe); his talents are needed ("there's a place at the table," comments Baretta). Furthermore, he is the only one who can take care of Baretta for Joe. Here the switch occurs: in the guise of setting an ambush for Baretta, Jake sets up Joe, leading to his capture, and Jake's winning the reward money. The victim is not Jake, but Joe.

We will reserve discussion of the plot line of Baretta until we have looked at a somewhat similar plot in *Police Woman*. We conclude this part of the discussion with some general remarks.

Baretta is by far the most "macho" of the current crime drama series. This is due, in part, to the personality of the actor who portrays him, but, as we might infer from the preceding analysis, by no means unique. It is suggested by many devices that Baretta is very close to the world of crime he polices. In no other program that I watched does the hero spend as much time walking the streets, interacting with the world of petty criminals. Visually, his connection to the urban street scene is well conveyed. It may be noted that the lieutenant in *Baretta* plays a similar role to the one in *Starsky and Hutch* (both falsely accuse the ex-con, for example), but in *Baretta* the conflict between the lieutenant and the hero is more intense. This makes Baretta more accessible to the person who plays the role of mediator (in the sense of lessening psychological distance between police and crook), and opens up possibilities for a more interesting range of plots.

One last comment. This episode of *Baretta* is the only one in my sample which comes close to what Wright calls the "professional plot". While Baretta does not clearly accept tasks for pay, in the sense of acting as a mercenary, his behaviour is atypical of the television lawman, in that he turns a solution of a crime into a test of strength and wit. In Baretta's case, it is made to appear that he deliberately decides to put himself on the same level as those whom he polices (playing in their poolrooms, walking their streets), in order to make the chase a matter of pure cool nerve and skill. This is the motivation of the professional.

Thus, while in Wright's analysis the professional plot supposes a *team* of professionals, each with his individual specialty, and Baretta is a *loner*, the difference is perhaps less pronounced that one would imagine: the somewhat reluctant but affectionate relationship between Baretta and Jake Hatch is, perhaps, the professional association in embryo.

Police Woman (I)

"The Purge"

Broadcast on NBC (May 8, 1976, at 9:00 p.m.) and CHCH

- Ind. (May 17, 1976, at 7:30 p.m.)

Resume of the Episode

1. The scene opens in a yard outside a large building. Billy is briefing a group of police about a raid on a receiver of stolen goods. He outlines details of the ambush, which is to follow the arrival of a tractor-trailer as it enters the warehouse. "Hit 'em hard", he says, "They're all armed. Let's go."

2. The big truck enters the warehouse watched by the police force from their hiding places. "Everybody set? Let's go." Cut to the interior: the truck is parking, surrounded by a group of men. "Police!" calls Billy, his gun pointing, "Hold it. Don't move." The men offer no resistance, raise their hands. Police examine the contents of the truck, which is empty. "Dry run?" "Yep." The leader of the group, Bastry, asks to see a warrant. Royster, a police officer, waves it in front of him: "Read but don't touch." Suddenly a door opens at the rear and a man flees. Billy follows, hears the noise of a toilet flushing and approaches. Figure flees through door into dark room, which Billy enters. Billy is suddenly hit violently and knocked down; after a second or so, he springs back, apparently managing to hit his assailant. The lights go on; other police appear; the "attacker" turns out to be "only a kid", and is dead.

3. We find Billy (played by Earl Holliman) talking about the incident: "Fifteen years old!" he says (the boy killed by Billy lived with Bastry, his uncle,) "I didn't have a fight with a boy!" A friend of his calls Pepper, the policewoman of the title, to ask how Billy is doing. Billy is all broken up. "Don't lose your cool; they can be pretty rough," the friend warns.

4. An interview follows with officers from homicide. There is a question of whether Billy will be charged with manslaughter. An argument follows. "I'm the heavy," Billy complains. "We only investigate," reply the others.

5. Styles, one of the police on Billy's team, comes to talk to him.

6. Pepper and Billy are in a bar. Billy is given a cheerful greeting by some policemen. Billy wonders: "We don't get along and they're wishing me luck." "They're cops," says Pepper, "They know it can happen to anyone." The department is pressuring Billy; he has to "find that guy". Pepper argues that there are lots of people to do it for Billy, but Billy feels he must show them. Pepper consoles him by saying that tragedy was an accident. "I have to get that guy," repeats Billy, "I have to move in on Bastry."

7. Pepper conducts an interview with Eddie, an imprisoned convict. She offers a deal: they will help him get out if he helps catch Bastry. The con says he has information from a "friend", whom he can't involve. Pepper says: "We've got to talk to your friend." Finally the con agrees: "Okay, but I sure hope your word is better than mine."

8. Eddie's friend, Melvin, is interviewed on a wharf. He admits: "We were partners; we're close." (Both are con artists.) At first, he is reluctant to become involved in catching Bastry and his gang: "It's their hustle; it's none of my business." Finally he accedes: "Maybe, I only owe Eddie." A deal is struck. He talks about a hustle he pulled once in Nevada: "It was a hell of a move; maybe I could work it again." The deal is struck. Eddie's prison term may be reduced if Melvin cooperates with the police.

9. Bastry's assistant (Billy's real assailant) expresses sorrow for the nephew. Bastry dismisses him: "He panicked, ran. Cut the garbage; I hardly knew him." The first truck is a dummy; the second has the goods. Bastry needs a licence: "If I didn't need your licence," he snarls at his co-conspirator, "I'd cut you out. You're running scared."

10. Pepper and Billy see a headline: "Cop error kills." Billy flinches.

11. The next scene takes place in the Huntley House Hotel, in a luxurious apartment. Bastry and the con-man, Eddie's partner, meet. The latter introduces himself as Melvin Brooks. After some preliminary sparring, Brooks says, "Mr. Bastry, I know you're a fence. I commend you for the way you turned the tables on the cops." Brooks then pulls a gun and points it at Bastry. "I have a business proposition," he says, and orders Bastry to sit down, explaining the gun is just a pacifier, and that he means only to talk business. "I have an operation in San Diego. I deal in hot cigarettes." Bastry denies he knows what Brooks is talking about. "We're going to make a lot of money together," says Brooks. "Have me checked out." There is a mention of "ten grand's" worth of cigarettes, and Brooks offers his business card. "Drop it on the table on the way out," says Bastry.

12. Bastry has his partner check out Brooks.

13. In the car, Bastry, whistling, sees his tail (Billy). He suddenly backs up and crashes into Billy. He gets out, shouting that Billy was trying to kill him. He intends to file a report.

14. Billy is officially suspended from the force, in a tense interview with his superior. He is not to go near Bastry. "Don't I have any rights?" asks Billy. "Criminals get tried in courts, cops in the newspaper." He hands over his gun, badge, and ID card. He says bitterly to Pepper, "You're the only real cop."

15. The con-artist reports to Pepper that he has made contact; Bastry has had him checked out, has gone into his past. Now he advises they mustn't lean on him, otherwise he could back out. "You're a good cop," he says, "I'm a good con-man. It's my ballpark. Wait." He needs some money, a minimum of $10,000. Pepper protests: "You don't know what I have to go through."

She promises to try.

16. Billy and Pepper argue about the former's stakeout of Bastry. "Don't be big sister," he says. He doesn't care about the rules. "Sitting here is adding to your grief," says Pepper, "People care about you. . . . They care, Billy! They don't know how to show it, but they care and you know it." "I've just got to do something," says Billy. "Just wait," says Pepper.

17. Pepper asks the lieutenant to raise the money. He will have to go right to the top. They're plotting a frame. It would leave the department open to a lot of criticism. The department is not human; Billy Crowley is a human. Doesn't the department owe him something, after 18 years of breaking his back, giving when no one else would? It's not a one-way street: he needs support. The lieutenant agrees to try, even though his neck is on the line. "We have to get it," pleads Pepper, "We owe Billy the chance." "Okay," says the lieutenant.

18. Pepper meets the con-man in a church: "The money's waiting; I'm waiting; Crowley's waiting." It should be next week, according to the con-man. He asks for a "grand" in advance, and then sets up a rendezvous for the raid. "Get your people set. The first truck doesn't mean anything. Watch for the spotter."

19. Now there is difficulty with a judge who refuses an application for a search warrant. "Did you think I'd sign?" he says to the lieutenant. He is afraid of publicity; no judge will sign the warrant, in the present climate of public opinion.

20. Pepper is in despair. "I've blown it. . . . Why do I know everything?"

21. Billy is at home talking to his friends, Pepper, Royster and Styles. "If only I could get my hands on the judge," he says. The only possible answer is an under-cover cop. One of the men, Styles, is unknown to the crooks.

22. Pepper has the task of selling the idea to the con-man. "You're a real cute broad," he says, "Who's conning whom?" He's not sure he can pull it off. He's been pulling in the string slowly; now it's time to give it a yank. However, to bring in the extra man will take more money, and charm. The con-man has added "eight grand"; Pepper throws in "two grand" of her own. The two joke together.

23. The con-man meets Bastry on the wharf. He introduces the idea of his own man (Styles, in reality). He proceeds to up the ante from "ten grand" to "eighteen or eighteen five". But, he says: "My man stays in." "That's different," says Bastry, "He can help with the extra unloading."

24. Pepper and Billy watch the truck enter the warehouse. "No problems; I left the driver tied up."

The truck is opened and unloading commences. As the exchange of money and cigarettes is completed, the undercover man, Styles, makes his move. "You set me up," shouts Bastry to "Brooks", as the sound of screaming sirens is heard. "Put the money in a safe place," says the con-man.

25. The spotter has been observed by Billy, and is trapped. "You're the guy who came at me in the warehouse that night," he says. "It was an accident. I was scared," says the panicky crook.

26. There is a celebration scene with the con-man and Billy's friends. Pepper and Billy drift off to talk alone. "Let me lay a little truth on you," says Billy. "Everything looked tragic. I forgot. I saw my career going down the drain. I was caught up in survival. Now, with everybody's help, I have my badge back. Everything's the same, but not really, never again." They exchange tender looks.

An Interpretation of "The Purge"
First, let us consider the initial sequence of events.

Table 6

Initial Events of Police Woman *(I)*

1. Bastry commits a robbery (hijacking).

2. The police intervene.

3. Bastry tricks the police and escapes by hiding the evidence (i.e., the first truck is always empty).

4. Bastry's accomplice assaults police hero (Billy) and Bastry's own nephew is killed.

5. The assaulter flees.

6. The assaulter is hidden.

7. Billy is falsely blamed for the crime of murder.

8. Billy tries to "crowd" Bastry.

9. Bastry tricks Billy by manufacturing false evidence (the spurious accident).

10. Billy is falsely blamed for the crime of assault and intimidation.

11. Billy is suspended from the police force.

12. Billy is the scapegoat.

13. Pepper and the other policemen still believe in Billy's innocence.

As in the two programs just analyzed, *Police Woman* (I) begins with a robbery (although the surface representation of details of the robbery is quite different from the two previous programs). The police intervene, hoping to catch the robbers red-handed, but, by a clever trick, the evidence has been hidden. (It will be recalled from the discussion of the previous chapter that, in general, the dramatist has two options following an

initial crime: either to "hide" the criminal, in which case the story concerns a search for the hidden criminal or his real identity, as in *Police Story*, *Baretta*, and *Starsky and Hutch*, or to hide the evidence, in which case the search concerns the discovery of clues, which will establish the guilt of the criminal beyond reasonable doubt, as in *Kojak* and *Hawaii Five-O*.)

In *Police Woman* (I), the initial crime is quickly followed by a second, murder (in keeping with the seemingly invariant television crime drama rule that an initial violation of social order is followed by a murder. In every American crime drama in my sample – except the fragmentary *Adam-12* – this combination occurs, and even in the latter, the drug pedlar has pursued the young neighbour boy, intending to kill him.) In *Police Woman* (I), it is the culprit who disappears. As a result of his disappearance, a scapegoat situation is created, as in *Starsky and Hutch* – but in the present instance the victim is Billy, one of the police heroes in the episode. Instead of a "reforming crook" (Larry), we have an "erring cop" ("Cop error kills," screams the headline).

Now let us consider the second major thematic sequence:

Table 7

Secondary Sequence of Events: Police Woman *(I)*

1. Pepper makes a deal with con-artists: release of Eddie the con-man from prison in return for tricking Bastry.

2. Melvin the con-man meets Bastry and offers to buy stolen goods.

3. Bastry, suspicious, has Melvin investigated and is satisfied that he is a *bona fide* crook.

4. The con-man waits like a spider for a fly to enter his web.

5. Pepper persuades the lieutenant to "go to the top" in order to get money to pull off deal.

6. The department provides the money.

7. The judge (because of a fear of bad publicity) refuses the search warrant.

8. An "undercover man" trick is devised.

9. Bastry agrees to the deal.

10. Bastry is captured by the undercover man; the real killer is caught by Billy; Billy is vindicated.

If *Police Woman* (I) resembles *Starsky and Hutch* in introducing a scapegoat (although an inversion occurs: [ex-con = scapegoat] to [cop = scapegoat]), it is clearly parallel to *Baretta* in the use of the "honest crook" trickery theme. As in *Baretta*, Pepper the policewoman succeeds in manipulating an honest crook; as in *Baretta*, there is a mutual feeling of respect ("you're a good cop; I'm a good con-man"); as in *Baretta*, the plan is accepted by the crook (in one case because of Jake's "demonstration"; in the other case, because Brooks "checks out"); as in *Baretta*, the crook leads the police

to the crook's hideout. The difference is that in one case it is the officer who is vindicated, in the other it is the ex-con. It both cases, an essential role of mediation is played by the ambiguous figure of the ex-con.

In spite of these parallelisms, the episode of *Police Woman* analyzed here does not fall into the class of "professional" plots, as defined by Wright, or rather it is probably a hybrid. The critical element missing is the sense of independence from society. Baretta "skates close to the line" in that he seems minimally (for a policeman) attached to society and to the ambiant values of society and maximally (for a policeman) integrated to the society which he polices. The heroes of *Police Woman* remain strongly middle-class in their apparent attachments and values (and often are heard to complain that police are not accepted by society, or at least not given sufficient credit by society).

Let us now consider a further episode in which the scapegoat theme occurs: *Police Woman* (II).

Police Woman (II)

"Incident in Black and White"

Broadcast on NBC, June 15, 1976, at 9:00 p.m.

Resume of the Episode

1. The program opens in a patrol car. The police are discussing attitudes: "Ever get the feeling that not everyone in the world loves cops?" one asks. "Partner, you're strung out like a goat," replies the other. The scene shifts to an outdoor restaurant, with several officers present. The "strung-out" one meets his girlfriend, whom he is to marry the following day. There is a good deal of friendly teasing.

2. A violent gang fight in a park. Police arrive and enter the fight. The betrothed officer is shot and killed. More police cars arrive. The girlfriend, who is a policewoman, sobs desperately, "Oh, no!"

3. At the police station, it is reported that a Mexican youth, aged 18 or 19, had a hand gun and ran off. The gun is a chrome .22. A brief description of the youth follows.

4. Pepper and Billy talk to the stricken girlfriend who is in shock. Pepper offers to take her home. Throughout the scene, it is Pepper who plays the role of comforter.

5. The police have found a fingerprint.

6. The "Mexican" kid is talking to his girlfriend. The boy had been there when the policeman was killed. Who killed him? "It could have been anyone." "Could the cops know you were there?" "Yes." The girl insists he go to the police. "You're crazy," he says. Why, she asks, did he have a gun? Because some of the "Flockers", the other gang, had weapons. He pleads with her to hide the gun where his mother will not find it.

7. The next scene takes place in a kind of small audito-

rium. George Buckles, the new head of the police section, is giving a speech. It is full of phrases such as "command", "task force", et cetera. Pepper arrives late, (having been occupied with the grieving girlfriend) and is severely reprimanded by Buckles. Buckles intends to tolerate no breaches of discipline. He insists on punctiliousness on the part of his officers. He intends to put a stop to gang violence. He proposes to set up an "investigative group" and a "patrol group". "I want my men," he says, "looking sharp." Two of the regular police characters in *Police Woman*, Royster and Styles, affect a flamboyant style of dress (part of their "undercover" role). Buckles says sarcastically that "You can't tell the cops from the crooks." This entire scene is played broadly, verging on a burlesque of military drill, and is shown to elicit scepticism from the men (who look amused and unbelieving.) "This guy's really beautiful," Billy comments as they leave.

8. The police now have an ID on Bobby Romero, the "Mexican" kid.

9. Billy is scornful of Buckles: "He doesn't know how to tell a case when he sees one," he says to Pepper. The latter reports that the girlfriend "wants out" of the police force. There is more discussion of the role of the police: "Cops keep the wolves from devouring the sheep," Billy says.

10. Back at the playground, the police face a hostile crowd: "Leave us alone." Billy replies heatedly, "Don't you understand, it's your problem, we're protecting you." Finally, the crowd quiets, and just as the conversation turns to Bobby Romero, Reuben, the person to whom Billy is talking, is shot. Everyone runs, and horror is shown on Pepper's face.

11. Tension builds up again. Against ominous music, the coroner's car arrives. "You people, what do you want?" people in the crowd ask. "We want to know who's responsible," Billy says. "You are," they answer. Amidst sirens and flashing lights, other police arrive, including Buckles, who says, "I'm in charge here; I give the orders. Do you understand?" "I understand one thing," says Billy, "The ghetto's ready to explode." Buckles quotes the Bible portentously, and comments that the men "are not presentable enough". Pepper quotes the Bible sarcastically in retort.

12. Back to Bobby and his girlfriend. She reports that somebody shot Reuben. "They think you shot the cop," she tells him. She pleads with him to go to the police and tell the truth. Again he says she is crazy. "Oh, Bobby, please!" she cries. "Tell my mom I'll be all right," he says, and "I need the gun. I've got to split – Bakersfield. Got to find me a car."

13. Pepper and Billy interview an old lady in a house near the park. She is friendly: "I don't know what the world is coming to," she says. "There's no respect for the police." She did not see the fight, but she tells them

of a man who stood watching it between two houses, a "white man like you" who was "carrying a cane".

14. Lieutenant Buckles is heard in the background, giving a press conference, speaking his usual pseudo-military jargon. Pepper reports that the dead policeman's girlfriend has decided to resign from the force. She is "overwrought". The lieutenant has settled on Bobby as the guilty party. Pepper has learned about the existence of Bobby's girlfriend and intends to interview her.

15. At Bobby's girlfriend's home, Pepper talks about the dead officer's fiancee, how they were to be married shortly, and how the fiancee is responding. The girl is sorry. Pepper says, "Why do you keep looking at that door?" She flings open the door to the bedroom suddenly, but Bobby has fled.

16. Bobby is shown on the run. He holds up a grocery store. "Bobby, what are you doing?" asks the perplexed grocer. There are shots fired, and Bobby flees. The police arrive. The grocer says he has known Bobby for 20 years in the *barrio*. The lieutenant tells other officers, "I thought so. I want a team effort, a team program. Understand?" This leads to a confrontation between the lieutenant and Billy, who is not convinced of Bobby's guilt.

17. The lieutenant is holding another press conference. Billy and the undercover men comment that he is "about to make captain." They discuss the man with a cane, observing that he could have been a man holding a rifle. The test results, which will show whether the bullet came from a . 22 pistol, will be available in the afternoon.

18. Bobby's girlfriend calls, demanding to talk to the dead policeman's fiancee, the "only one in the police department I can talk to." A rendezvous is arranged.

19. At a deserted rainy street corner, the two girlfriends meet. "I'm Gloria," says the policewoman. "I'm sorry about the wedding," says Bobby's girl. She then informs Gloria that the man with the cane is called Folett, previously a gang social worker who is disliked by Bobby. They talk about Bobby, who is scared. "Take me there," says Gloria, after being told that he is in Bakersfield.

20. Bobby, in a stolen car, is being pursued by the police. There is intercutting between him in his screaming car, and shots of the two women. The chase continues, and then Bobby crashes through a wall. The police follow, their guns at the ready.

21. In the police laboratory, it is confirmed that the slug could not have come from the presumed murder gun. It probably came from a rifle. The ballistics expert explains in technical language about "slippage". Pepper enters to say that Bobby is pinned down. Billy says excitedly that the bullets don't match.

22. Street scene, in the rain, outside a house where

Bobby is holed up. With his loudhailer, the lieutenant is ordering Bobby to come out and is giving numerous orders, although he does not appear to be in control of the situation. "Get this civilian out of here," he shouts at someone. "Perhaps you don't understand," he shouts to one of his men who questions an order. He orders tear gas. The real killer is seen briefly. Bobby emerges from the house carrying a gun and is shot and killed. His girl breaks into tears. Billy and Pepper arrive too late. Billy reports Bobby's innocence to the lieutenant, and adds bitterly, "Ya jes' couldn't wait, could ya?"

23. Back at the office, Folett's motive is revealed, as well as the ruse he employed to trap his victim. He was a gang worker who was busted for furnishing drugs to Bobby's gang. He spent a year in prison. A psychological study revealed extreme hostility towards the police. A tape of a call to the police reporting the gang fight reveals that Folett had phoned in an anonymous tip, thus setting up his victim. The police sergeant enters to reveal that another officer has been shot. Billy pleads to have all police cars kept out of the *barrio*, and proposes that he and Pepper answer all calls. This is seen as a contravention of Buckles' orders, but finally the sergeant agrees to the plan.

24. The first call proves to be a false alarm. Billy and Pepper are called to settle a domestic quarrel. Afterwards, Pepper says it was good experience: "I'll be able to handle you men better," she says, laughing.

25. A second call comes in, reporting a gang fight. "This is it," says Billy, and drives off, sirens screaming. "Watch your backs." There turns out to be a gang, but no fight. The two undercover officers arrive to help. There is a shot from a rifle held by someone behind a fence. The heroes duck. They talk by walkie-talkie. There is a running chase. A man with a rifle is spotted. Pepper points her revolver at him: "Drop it or you're a dead man!" He shoots, but Pepper wings him in the arm. Billy says, "That was one hell of a shot!"

26. Lieutenant Buckles is giving another press conference: "Under my command, . . . " He begins. "I think I'm going to throw up," says Billy. However, they console themselves with the knowledge that Buckles is now going to be captain, where they will no longer have to deal with him. Gloria has decided to stay in the force. "Gotta get to work," says Billy.

An Interpretation of "Incident in Black and White"
This episode of Police Woman allows us to understand better how the mechanism of mediation works. At the base of every one of the stories considered in this chapter lies one basic pattern, which we describe as follows:
  Step 1: An initial crime is committed. The initial crime invariably takes the form of a breach of some kind of social contract. Most often, some form of violation is implied, of a person (living or dead, but

most often living), or animal, or property. This constitutes a disturbance of the social order, and entails the intervention of an authority figure whose function it is to arrest or punish the disturber. From this flows an initial opposition, or adversary relationship, which often, but not always, results in a quarrel or other forms of violent exchange.
  Step 2: A murder, or killing of some kind, occurs. In at least 11 of the 12 American crime dramas considered, with *Adam-12* a possible exception, this function is present.[4] The purpose of this function is double: first, it transforms a simple conflict situation into a pure adversary relationship (a zero-sum game, in game-theory terms) with no possibility of further communication between adversaries; second, it motivates the entrance of the hero, without whom mediation cannot take place. In the logic of crime drama, the crook cannot be caught without mediation. The murder turns a simple disturbance of the social order into an unredeemable crime; it is no accident that Joe callously allows his cohort to die in great pain, or that Bastry sneers about the death of his own nephew, or that "Father Ignatius" cold-bloodedly kills while wearing the guise of a priest: the villain of a crime drama is usually portrayed as completely nasty. Furthermore, the avenging forces may be as savagely unrelenting as the villain is unrelentingly mischievous, Buckles being a case in point.
  Step 3: A third party is caught between the adversaries. Here there is a range of possibilities.
  Consider *Police Woman* (II). Folett, a bad ex-con, incites a gang fight. On the dimension intimate-to-anonymous-to-belligerent, a gang fight is classed somewhere between fratricide and warfare. It is, in any case, a social disturbance which introduces potentially punitive authority figures. Step 2 occurs: a policeman is killed (by Folett, who is hiding). It is important to the story that the policeman is about to marry, and that his fiancee is a policewoman, because this provides the mechanism by which mediation will take place.[5]

Now we have both a *real* adversary situation:

State 1.

Retributor —— Adversary Relationship —— Criminal
(The police)   (No communication   (Folett)
                        possible)

and (because of Folett's trickery) an apparent *adversary* situation:

State 2.

Retributor — Adversary Relationship— Criminal
(The police)   (Communication   (The people of
                     possible)   the *barrio*, in
                                                        particular
                                                        Bobby Romero)

Our problem is to get from State 2 to State 1.

In this process, the policeman's role of mediation is critical: this is Buckles' problem, but as Billy says, "he doesn't know a case when he sees one."

Let us examine, in turn, the crucial steps of mediation in *Police Woman* (II).

First, Gloria, the policewoman, who has been, in effect, widowed before even being married, grieves, and in her inconsolable sorrow rejects a police career. Her grief prepares her psychologically to sympathize with Bobby's girlfriend, and also make her eligible for that woman's trust, so that we now represent her as having moved towards the adversary position, but no in a direct line. Let us represent this diagramatically as follows:

Gloria

Retributor   Criminal
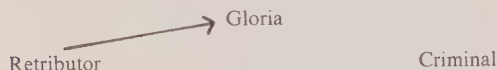
Billy and Pepper return to talk to the people of the *barrio*, who are totally hostile at first, but Billy makes an ımpassioned plea to the crowd, arguing that the police are really on their side, and only mean to keep order. Reuben is persuaded to respond, but as he does so he is shot. Thus, the first move towards rapprochement by the "criminal" side is wiped out by Folett's second murder before it can become effective. After this, the hostility of the ghetto becomes even more intense.

Against this intensification is the action of Bobby's girlfriend who pleads with him to go to the police and explain. Now the situation has altered: we find a vector parting from the "criminal" side of the diagram:

Gloria   Bobby's girlfriend

Retributor   "Criminal"
                                        (Bobby)
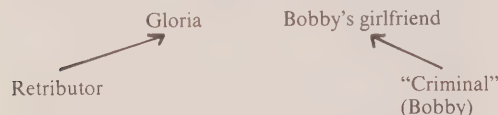
Bobby obstinately refuses to cooperate, and further complicates his own life by going on the run.

Billy and Pepper learn about a "Caucasian" carrying a "stick", who was present at the time of the crime. This prepares them psychologically to accept Bobby's innocence, indicated on our diagram as follows:

Pepper, Billy

Gloria   Bobby's girl friend

Retributor   Criminal
(Buckles)   (Bobby)
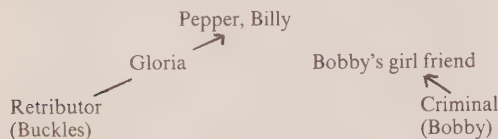
The lieutenant decides Bobby is guilty, leaving himself and Bobby as the only major characters whose positions have not altered.

Pepper now visits Bobby's girlfriend, barely failing to capture Bobby. She persuades Bobby's girlfriend of her sincerity, preparing the latter to take a further step, so that we indicate the new state as follows:

Pepper   Bobby's girlfriend

Billy

Gloria

Retributor   Criminal
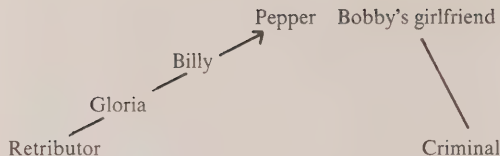
Billy argues with Buckles, but the latter is obdurate, which psychologically separates Billy even further from the initial retributor position.

Bobby's girlfriend now asks to meet the "widowed" policewoman, and the latter, reluctantly, is persuaded it is her duty to do so. The two meet, and mediation is completed:

Mediator
(Gloria, girl)

Retributor   Criminal
(Buckles)   (Bobby)
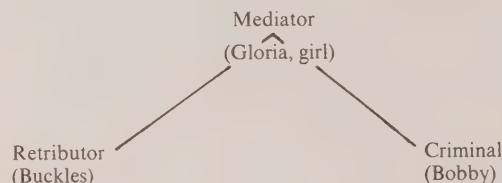
Immediately, the identity of the true killer is revealed, and shortly thereafter positive proof is found that Bobby's gun could not have fired the fatal bullet and, hence, that he is innocent. At this point, the functions of Gloria, the girl, Billy and Pepper have fused into a single purpose: to stop Bobby and Buckles from a fatal confrontation. We show this by reversing the direction of the arrows on the diagram, as follows:

Mediator

Retributor   Fugitive
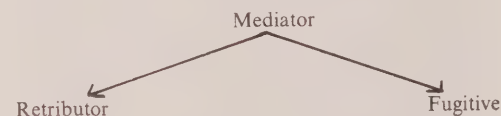
They are too late, and the unworthy retributor kills the unfortunate scapegoat.

Immediately, a new adversary situation is created: the police versus Folett (who, in the meantime, kills yet another policeman). Again, Billy and Pepper separate themselves from Buckles by subverting his instructions. They then deliberately set themselves up as targets for Folett, thus inviting him to leave the security of his hiding place. He does and is captured. The end. (Except for a somewhat cynical postscript: the false retributor, Buckles, is promoted to captain.)

It may be helpful to consider the plot as a game. The initial crime (villain's first move) disturbs the social equilibrium. Mediation is equivalent to restoration of the social equilibrium. Once mediation occurs, the defeat of the villain is imminent. The task of the villain is to hide (either by concealment, by disguise, or by elimination of evidence), and to get as many people as possible on his side, by subterfuge, by intimidation, by victimization, by enticement, et cetera. The mediator, in the guise of the police hero, must search for the hiding

place, and at the same time try to alienate the adversary from his unwitting accomplices. Only when the latter has been stripped of his disguise can he be captured (although not infrequently, as in this episode, a trap must be set to entice him from his hiding place).

It would be laborious to carry out the demonstration here in detail, but the reader can easily convince himself or herself that the same mediation model neatly fits the plot lines of *Starsky and Hutch*, *Baretta*, and *Police Woman* (I).

Let us consider the mechanism in another context concerned with gang conflict.

Streets of San Francisco
"Merchants of Death"

Broadcast on CTV, May 20, 1976 at 8:00 p.m.

Resume of the Episode

1. The story opens with shots of the community youth program. Many youths are playing organized sports in the street. A car arrives, and out of it a group of tough-looking kids emerge, watching the activity. "I told you they'd be here," says one boy. The youths return to their activities. Their counsellor, Eddie Griffin, talks to them about not stealing, and proposes a campaign to wash cars. He sees the tough-looking kids, and accuses them of "pushing junk at high school". There is the beginning of a fight between the toughs and a group of Chinese youths, which is broken up by the counsellor. A policeman thanks him. "It's personal with me," Eddie says. He's been an all-pro athlete. "A cop's life is always to be disappointed," comments the policeman, "Still, every kid you turn straight is one more I don't have to bust."

2. There is a street fight involving two gangs, the Dragons and the Kingsmen. Knives are used and a Dragon is killed. The police arrive. The Dragons refuse to talk: "We'll take care of it." Names are taken and Mike, one of the heroes of this series, warns the members of the gangs.

3. Two young kids, on the periphery of the gangs but in the sports program, are passing through a warehouse where they find a box which they decide to steal.

4. Mike and Steven, his younger partner, are in the Juvenile Bureau. Chang, head of a dangerous gang, was involved in pushing drugs. There is a gang vendetta, and the Kingsmen are attempting to take over an area, led by Buddy Winston.

5. The two kids open the box. Inside are high-powered machine rifles. One of the kids (in closeup) pretends to mow down an enemy, making shooting noises as he does so. One of the boys has a dad who gets hunting magazines. "My dad says, 'Know your merchandise, research your market.'"

6. The Kingsmen watch the police drive up. Mike

questions Buddy and other members of the gang about their movements, and lines up the gang. A friendly conversation follows between Eddie Griffin (the counsellor) and Steve, who apparently know each other. "You can't do it all," says Steve. Eddie says that, for at least three hours a week, he can keep some of the youngsters from being stoned. He admits that Buddy Winston is "using us", but he sees possibilities in Rick, Buddy's second-in-command.

7. At home, the two kids who have the stolen guns listen to a conversation involving one of their fathers, who admits that he is catering to an "over-supply" of amphetamines in the area. "Why worry if head office doesn't worry?" he asks.

8. Two of the Kingsmen, including Buddy, are seen fleeing from a very modern car driven by the Dragons. There is shooting. "We gotta get some guns," says Buddy, desperately.

9. One of the boys who has stolen the box of guns talks with his father: "Are you responsible for what happens when you sell a knife?" The question is posed hypothetically. The father replies that there is no problem, the seller has no responsibility. After the conversation, the two kids decide to put up their guns for sale for a thousand dollars. "Why not?" they ask, "Everyone else does it."

10. Mike and Steve answer a call about the burglary of a crate of M-16's. The dealer says sharply: "I just supply them; I don't tell them what to do with them." Steve says, "You're a businessman, right?" "Right," says the dealer aggressively, "I got a licence to export these guns." Reference is made to the street gangs. It is learned that the guard at the warehouse witnessed the murder of the Dragon and called the police.

11. Buddy (having got wind of the stolen guns) meets the kids with the guns. They ask for $50 "up front". They are to meet again later. One of the kids thinks that the other is crazy because "Buddy can't meet our price."

12. At the police station, the guard has been persuaded to give an identification of Buddy Winston as the killer of the Dragon. He is promised protection; Buddy will be brought in and held.

13. Winston and the kids meet. The guns are handed over but Buddy doesn't pay. Buddy then exultantly shoots the windows out of a nearby car, just for target practice.

14. Mike and Steve watch from their parked car as Buddy appears carrying a parcel. There is a chase; Buddy throws down his parcel; Steve catches Buddy; Mike finds the parcel. "Don't try to plant that on me," snarls Buddy.

15. In the poolroom, Eddie Griffin has an exchange with

Buddy, who accuses Eddie of getting his kicks playing cop. Eddie says that he is going to go down "just like Chang did," but "You're not going to take these kids with you." His argument is directed especially at Rick. Eddie then intimidates Buddy physically, but Buddy snarls, "Go ahead, hit me."

16. Buddy is stalking the guard: "There's the potbelly that fingered me."

17. Mike and Steve protest the releasing of Buddy, but the prosecutor's office is unsympathetic. There is an argument, in which it is made clear that Mike and Steve feel they have not been backed up by the prosecutor's office.

18. Buddy meets one of the boys with the guns and threatens to turn him in to the police if he does not bring guns.

19. The police go to the guard's apartment to interview him, but discover him in the dark, badly beaten up. They promise to protect him. "Like you did the last time?" he asks, and then decides he can no longer testify.

20. The two kids are uncertain what to do, how to "handle the business aspect". One of them starts off to deliver the guns. His partner fears for his friend's safety and decides to call Eddie Griffin, to tell him that his friend is meeting the gang in an old shack.

In the meantime, his father has begun to learn what has been going on. An ensuing conversation emphasizes the double standard of morality held by the father. He is shocked at his son's behaviour, but the audience knows that he, in fact, inspired it.

21. One of the kids is badly beaten up in an alleyway, and might well be killed except for the intervention of Rick, Buddy's second-in-command. "Are you trying to take over?" snarls Buddy. Eddie arrives to learn that the gang has run off with all the guns.

22. The father of the boy who has been beaten up and has a concussion, says, "It's my fault." He now realizes the meaning of his son's question about selling knives. "I deal in drugs," he admits.

23. Eddie Griffin learns of an upcoming gang fight ("blast") where the Kingsmen hope to wipe out the Dragons and Centurions. Griffin calls the police.

24. The gangs assemble under a great ramp. "Wait until everyone has arrived," says Buddy. (Everybody drives up in late-model, expensive cars.) The head of the Dragons arrives. Suddenly Griffin is there shouting "Get out, it's a trap." Everyone begins to run, except Buddy. Rick runs. The police pull up. Buddy tries to shoot Eddie Griffin, but is gunned down by Steve in the nick of time. "There was no way with this one." says Steve. "I guess you're right," says Eddie.

An Interpretation of "Merchants of Death"

We begin by demonstrating that the initial sequence follows the habitual pattern. At the beginning of the program there is the start of a gang fight, which is broken up by Eddie, the gang worker, who is an authority figure. (If we had any doubt, the scene immediately following makes the association between Eddie and the law quite explicit.) A second gang fight occurs, and this time Buddy kills a Dragon. The police enter. There is insufficient evidence for a conviction (except that a bloody jacket indicates the culprit was a Kingsman). The killer is hidden to the police at the beginning (although it will turn out there was a witness).

Buddy is the villain of the story. He fits the usual pattern: he is cruel and nasty.

However, there is a second villain. It will be recalled from *Police Woman* (II) that Folett, an ex-gang worker, had violated his trust by selling drugs to the gang, and subsequently returned to incite gang warfare. In *Streets of San Francisco* also, drugs are being deliberately oversupplied to the area for corporate and private profit, with the resultant gang warfare (in the sense that districts are being "carved up" by competing gangs). The "inciter" thinks of himself as a respectable businessman, but it is made clear that the business ethic is reprehensible (the point being driven home, in not-too-subtle fashion, through the interview with the gun merchant).

Mediation is effected, from the police side, by Eddie, who keeps working with the gang members, thinking of positive alternatives to fighting, such as washing cars, and who keeps trying, in particular, to persuade Buddy's principal ally, Rick, to give up their dangerous plans. These efforts at mediation prove inadequate.

Instead, an ironic situation is introduced. The son of the pill pedlar, seduced by his father's business logic, decides to sell guns to Buddy, so that gang warfare can be intensified. This puts him squarely on Buddy's side. His "reward" is to be nearly beaten to death by Buddy. This alienates him from Buddy. Next, Rick protests the beating, thus opening up a gap between Buddy and his principal ally. The boy's chum calls in Eddie who learns of the plans of the massacre. Eddie then frightens all of Buddy's gang into abandoning him, throwing down all the guns, and, the mediation complete, Buddy is shot down by the police. Presumably, the pill merchant has learned a lesson (since he was not intrinsically bad, but merely the vehicle of a bad ideology).

Interestingly enough, in this story, the police's direct efforts at mediation fail. Although the police have found a witness to Buddy's crime and caught him red-handed, carrying guns, he is immediately freed by the prosecutor's office (on grounds of insufficient evidence), whereupon he beats up the witness, and removes this possible means of mediation.

Streets of San Francisco seems to be one of the few programs that is concerned with transmitting specific messages relating to social problems. In this instance,

the pill merchant theme proved to be an ingenious way of conveying explicit social content without altering the basic form of the story (although making it somewhat more complex).

We now turn to consider briefly two programs of a rather different character: *Mannix* and *Barnaby Jones*. Both are stories about "private eyes".

Mannix
"Who Will Dig the Grave?"

Broadcast on CKVR (CBC affiliate), May 23, 1976, at 7:00 p.m.

Resume of the Episode

1. Mannix, in a public phone booth, is informed that "Mr. Phillips is ready." "What's the mystery?" he asks. He is told to walk half-way down the street. An ambulance appears; he gets into the vehicle, takes off his coat and shirt, dresses as an orderly, and is whisked off to Memorial Hospital. There, Mannix, in his disguise, shoves his way through a crowd of reporters, pushing a stretcher. "I don't name 'em, I just wheel 'em," he cracks to the reporters. A doctor leads Mannix into a private room, where "what's left of David Blair Phillips," as he puts it, is found propped up in bed. He is dying. His problem, and Mannix's task, is to find "needles in haystacks". A screen is pulled back and a film is run. We see a pretty folksinger, whom Mannix recognizes as Susan Ward, Mrs. Phillips. "Find her," says Phillips. But she has died? True, her clothes were found near the beach, with a suicide note. But later newsreel clips of a folksong festival revealed her to be alive. (There is a break here for the usual title sequence.) We see a closeup of Susan. On an earlier occasion, she had become famous at this festival. Why had she run away? "I don't hunt people who don't want to be found," says Mannix. "I was cruel, jealous," says Phillips. "I loved her. I want her back to make amends, if I can, before I die." He offers Mannix a generous fee, says it is all the information he has, and ends in apparent exhaustion, "Goodnight, Mannix." Mannix leaves. As he does, Phillips' assistant enters, and a revived Phillips says: "When he finds her, kill them both!"

2. Mannix is driving. A car follows, using a device that "bleeps". Mannix enters a building.

3. Mannix arrives in the midst of the recording session of a rock group. In master control, he says to the man in charge: "Good group!" The latter replies: "If you're looking for grass, try the park." "I'm here about a discovery of yours," replies Mannix. He explains his assignment from Susan's husband. "Her owner, you mean," replies the impressario. She has drowned. Mannix is disbelieving. The impressario explains his association with Susan. She "borrowed the guitar and stole the song." She was a "turned-on chick". She had electricity. Phillips kept her on display; "a half billion

buys a lot." Henry Talbot was his watchdog. But Susie had her ways: she was tough, ambitious, but human. She had gone along with him, but always on her own terms.

4. Mannix, still being followed, attempts to use his phone and deduces the presence of a bleeping device from the static. He stops, removes the device, and places it on a nearby police motorcycle. He then watches his tail drive past. He phones Phillips who is under sedation. Mannix asks Phillips' doctor what has happened to Henry Talbot. There was a misunderstanding and Talbot left. Last heard of in Rome. Phillips was generous. "I'm being tailed," says Mannix. Phillips, listening to this conversation, walks around as it ends: "I told you we had the right man," he says to the doctor.

5. Mannix interviews a professor of anthropology about Susan Ward. "Leave the dead alone," says the professor acidly. After reassurance, he explains that she studied for three years with him. She was an exceptional person. Mannix persuades him that he is not interested in exploiting Susan. "At least, you looked past the headlines," says the professor. She was shrewd, complex. She did excellent research. She kept that part of her life separate from the other. She was close to a young medical student, a Navajo from the Tablerock reservation, where her research had been conducted.

6. Mannix is phoned by his secretary from a bus station; she informs him the office phone has been bugged by a man who seemed "very efficient". Mannix contacts Phillips. "*Arrivederci*", says Mannix, "I'm on my way to Rome." Phillips deduces this latter is for his benefit. "Watch every flight out of San Francisco," he orders.

7. Mannix is in a New Mexico airport, at the car rental service. He is being watched. The girl at the car rental office tries to make him tell his destination, but Mannix puts her off with a joke. The next scene finds him at a gas station bar in the Tablerock Indian reservation, where he talks with the bartender in a friendly fashion, although the latter is obviously suspicious of strangers. When Mannix leaves, the bartender phones the young Navajo doctor to warn him of Mannix's mission.

8. Mannix asks the young doctor to help him find Susan Ward. The doctor cannot help, he is busy; Mannix is intruding. The doctor talks in Navajo to his "field nurse". "Who can summon the dead?" he asks. "Yeah, who?" replies Mannix.

9. A girl exits from a small house. It is Susan Ward. When she re-enters, Mannix is waiting. "Susan Ward?" "I just don't want to talk to you." "Your husband hired me," explains Mannix. Susan laughs: "You must be good!" She should be flattered. She is curious: "And if I say no?" Mannix says there is no question of going back to bondage. The husband wants to see her, he is dying. He wants to make amends for his cruelty. He lied, says

Susan: "I tried to kill him. That's why I ran." "Have you seen the killing room?" she asks. The Eagle's Nest is a room hung with weapons, dedicated to death. "I needled him. He hit me, again and again, and then he began to enjoy it. I grabbed a war club and hit him. That's it." Susan Ward was a "shady lady", hiding in shadows. She has tried to strip her life down to basics, until she can "look in the mirror and like what I see". Does she like what she sees? "I've learned to live with it," she answers. "I'll take your message back," says Mannix. "Please tell him you couldn't find me," she says. She pulls a gun, but is easily disarmed by Mannix. The phone rings. It is the doctor. "Susan, there are two men coming." We see the doctor phoning. There are shots. "Harvey!" cries Susan. "I've got to get there." "And do what?" Mannix asks. "Susan," he says, "I was picked as the 'judas goat' to lead the lamb to slaughter, only this time they're going to kill the goat too."

10. Mannix in his car is driving through the desert, followed by a van. They stop. "This is where we split up," says Mannix to Susan. "Find an isolated spot and stay there," he orders her. He is going looking for Henry Talbot. "I'm a romantic," he says. "Sometimes you have to gamble on people." He leaves, and is now pursued by a jeep. There is a wild chase sequence, with the jeep gaining. Shots are fired. Mannix's car crashes. The men approach the car. Suddenly Mannix appears from behind a nearby hill. He fires a warning shot. "The next shot won't miss." he warns. He has the men remove their shoes, and drives off in their jeep. "I'd like to leave you for the buzzards, but I'll settle for this," he says harshly.

11. Back in the recording studio, Mannix informs the impressario that he has found Susan, but the "watchdogs" are "wolves". He receives a call from his secretary, Peggy, who informs him that Talbot has been dead since January, and that his death certificate is signed by Dr. Gregory, Phillips' accomplice.

12. Mannix has arranged to have the body of Henry Talbot exhumed (by court order). The grave is empty. Mannix tells his friend to send a squad to the Eagle's Nest – fast. "Grave robbing is a dirty crime."

13. At the Eagle's Nest, Mannix waits. Susan Ward enters, elegantly attired, now back in her role as Mrs. David Blair Phillips. "I've come back. I keep my bargains. I came home." As part of the arrangement, there will be a million dollars for the Navajo hospital. Where is Phillips? Under sedation. "Who made the bargain?" asks Mannix. The doctor. Did he mention Henry Talbot, whom Mannix suspects has not died from natural causes? "No," replies Susan, "Phillips is ruthless, but not a fool. He considers violence the last resort of fools." She is grateful to Mannix. "I'm all right," she says. "Tell your watchdogs you're going to drive Mannix into town," Mannix challenges. A servant refuses; there are strict orders that Susan is not to leave.

Dr. Gregory is sent for. He says to Susan, "You agreed to stay." Anyway, Phillips gave absolute instructions. She is not to leave. We learn that this entire scene is being watched on closed-circuit television by Phillips. Mannix asks about Henry Talbot. "He died of a bad fall, there was nothing I could do," Dr. Gregory explains. Suddenly, the voice of Phillips is heard. "Please have my wife and Mannix come upstairs." As they enter, he says sardonically to Susan: "I'm not ill, I'm dead." "Henry!" she exlaims. "Yeah," he says, "Risen from the dead!" "No, Susan," he adds, "You didn't kill him, I did. I finished the job. For all that money! I took his identity." "I would have kept the bargain," says Susan. "Now you're gonna kill both of us," she adds. Mannix warns him there's no chance to get away with it, because others know where he is. Mannix communicates secretly with Susan, and then abruptly starts a fight. While he is being subdued, Susan takes a weapon from the wall. They all exit from the building. With the help of the primitive weapon passed to him by Susan, Mannix almost manages to regain control, but Dr. Gregory gets the upper hand with a gun. At just this moment, the police arrive, and our heroes are saved. Mannix holds Susan tenderly.

14. In an epilogue, we learn that Susan is going back to Tablerock, her search for herself not yet ended. In a tender scene, we are left with the possibility that, one day perhaps, she and Mannix will see each other again . . . .

Barnaby Jones
"Theater of Fear"

Broadcast on ABC, May 20, 1976, at 8:30 p.m.

Resume of the Episode

1. The scene opens on an exterior shot of a house. Inside, Miss Evans is rehearsing lines from a play. Suddenly, the window blows open and the wind rushes in. Miss Evans shows signs of fear, telephones her director, Parrish, who reassures her. We learn that she was a big star, but she has not acted for some time. The new play is sold out. She is on the verge of the big time. He asks about her servant, Agnes: "Agnes is off." Miss Evans is alone. She hears a sound; "I thought I closed the door." she says. There are noises: "I think there's someone in the house," she says in terror, "Please hurry," she adds. She picks up sharp scissors, and then stands on the balcony outside her door, shouting down into the empty house below: "Please go away! Please!" she screams. (All this scene is shot dramatically, with low angle shots of Miss Evans, et cetera).

The police arrive, the dog barks fiercely, Parrish picks up the scissors she has dropped and Miss Evans is found hiding, whereupon she breaks into desperate tears.

2. The star is recovering with her nurse, Agnes, who makes her drink orange juice. Barnaby Jones is intro-

duced. Last night's prowler, whose shadow Miss Evans saw, took nothing. She has been getting threatening phone calls from someone who quotes from a play she once starred in, although she has an unlisted phone.

As they leave, Miss Evans is accosted by a drunk, Roy Kilgore, former superbowl hero and her ex-husband. "Stay away," she says. Agnes describes him to Barnaby as "trash my baby landed up with". They have been separated for two or three years and their child is at boarding school. Agnes is sad that Miss Evans is going back to the stage; she is quite opposed. Jones looks thoughtful.

3. In the rehearsal, the stress is showing. Miss Evans' shaky performance is watched by an understudy, who says to Parrish's assistant, Davis, "I'm better than she is." She, the understudy, "knows where the bodies are buried".

4. Roy Kilgore is trying to make up with Shirley Evans: "I made a mistake." Kilgore and Parrish have words, and Kilgore leaves. Davis says to Jones: "I sure hope Mr. Parrish hasn't picked himself a *falling* star." Opening night could be a disaster.

5. Barnaby drives up to a poolhall, where he finds Roy. "It's not quite as good as the Superbowl." Roy says he thinks they're trying to make a fool of Shirley. "She's like me," he says, "All washed up. A drunk." Barnaby asks him where he was the night before, but his story doesn't check out. Barnaby, out of sight, watches as the understudy enters and talks to Roy. "We both know it's right," she says, "Whatever I say, it must seem as if I'm being selfish."

6. Parrish is talking to Shirley Evans beside the pool. "I only care about you," he says. She is more relaxed, doing "meditation with my feet." He leaves, having assured her that he loves her, and that he will see her tomorrow. Agnes berates Miss Evans. "What about your daughter in boarding school? Cathy needs a mother." Shirley accuses Agnes of being a hypocrite: "You like the good times too. If it weren't for me . . . ." She apologizes, but too late; Agnes, wounded, will pick up her things later.

7. Jones, in his office with his secretary, learns that a young woman has been killed in an accident by Miss Evans' car. He mulls over the matter of the phone calls, with the link to previous plays.

8. Miss Evans, on the phone to Mrs. Parrish, the director's wife, has received more threatening phone calls in the last half-hour. There are more noises in the house. She is alone. Someone is here again. "Leave me alone," she screams into the dark. She is in complete terror. Outside, the dog barks. The house is watched by Roy from the outside. He looks through a window. Suddenly Roy is attacked; he cries "No"; his body is pulled away and we next see it floating in the swimming pool.

9. The police and Barnaby are beside the pool, next morning. "Looks like he fell and hit his head," says the lieutenant. Miss Evans won't be troubled by prowlers any more.

10. Miss Evans had not seen Roy. Jones notes that Davis, the assistant, had arrived with remarkable dispatch after Miss Evans' call.

11. Agnes, Shirley, and Cathy, Shirley's daughter, meet at the boarding school. Shirley pleads: "I'm doing this for both of us." Cathy says bitterly: "I'm gone all the year. I liked it better when you were drunk. You're selfish. All you care about is the theatre." Shirley says in desperation: "What do people want from me anyway?"

12. In rehearsal, the understudy is performing. Jones applauds. "It was good," he says. "It was perfect," she replies. She is sorry about Roy. "You're a very good actress," observes Barnaby. He wonders what business she had with Roy in the bar. "No business," she says, and then adds: "Shirley Evans is a lush to the core. She's an inch away from popping the cork."

13. At home, Agnes discovers an empty bottle. Shirley is gone, drinking again. Meanwhile, Barnaby has discovered from his secretary a clue to the identity of the father of the girl killed by Shirley's car.

14. Barnaby enters the bar to find Shirley drunk. She is in a state of deep depression. Barnaby begins: "You're something special," he says. "They're hungry for you. You are doing the thing you were born to do. One in a million makes it to the top of the mountain." Shirley breaks into sobs, and leaves the bar, supported by Barnaby.

15. Barnaby inspects the pool. He then talks to Davis, who, it is now revealed, is the father of the girl who was killed. Davis admits the association, but says he is a professional. His daughter was wild. It was one of those things. Barnaby shows polite scepticism.

16. Barnaby is prowling around the house, looking. The dog barks at him, and Barnaby appears to be thinking.

17. Back in his office, he asks his secretary to get Mrs. Parrish on the phone. Maybe Parrish wants his show to fail. He asks Mrs. Parrish to say exactly what she heard on the phone the night that Miss Evans phoned her husband about the prowler.

18. Agnes is phoning Barnaby's office. While she is talking to the secretary, Agnes is knocked out from behind. (This scene is punctuated, like so many in this show, by "spooky" music.)

19. Jones is talking to the owner of the dog. His secretary reaches him with a message to get right over to Miss Evans.

20. Shirley Evans is again discovered in her room screaming in terror: "Please, no! Leave me alone! Help

me!" Barnaby enters and says: "There's no one here, Miss Evans. You deserve an award." It is now revealed that Roy saw her pretending there was an intruder, realized that there was no one there, and so he had to be killed. She screams about the "stupid faces", but Barnaby assures her that she will never have to face them again: "You don't have to do it again." "I never wanted to be out there," she says.

21. The clue came from the dog's bark. There was no barking when she phoned Parrish the first time, but when Roy was killed, the dog barked. Shirley looked up in surprise as Agnes enters: "You've been hurt!" she says. Shirley Evans has now lost touch with reality. This has been the biggest break of her life for the understudy and for Shirley also.

Mannix and *Barnaby Jones:* An Interpretation

In *Mannix*, there is again an apparent situation and a real situation of mediation.

The initial disturbance occurs when husband and wife quarrel, husband David becomes sadistic, and wife Susan tries to kill him. David, unconscious, is murdered by his "watchdog".

Here, two concealments occur, providing for two situations of mediation: Susan flees and disappears from sight, and Henry Talbot takes a disguise, assuming the identity of his dead patron.

In the apparent situation of mediation, the function of retribution is transmuted into that of atonement, and that of committing a crime into one of having had a "crime" (of "cruelty and jealousy") committed against one. Hence the apparent triangle is:

Mediator
(Mannix)

Atoner —————————— Atonee
(David)   (Susan)
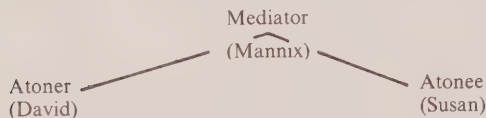
In fact, a genuine crime has occurred, and the eventual outcome will find Mannix (who fills that part of the policeman's function which is concerned with mediation) and Susan mediating between Henry Talbot and the police. (Susan is the dupe of Henry Talbot, just as Lorelei is the victim of Villiano; Mrs. Henderson the attempted victim of Marshall; Nations' wife the symbolic victim of the unknown killer; Larry the victim of Father Ignatius; Billy the victim of Bastry; Bobby the victim of Folett; and Baretta the supposed victim of Joe, through the agency of Jake.)

Mediator
(Mannix, Susan)

Retributor ————————— Criminal
(Police)   (Henry)
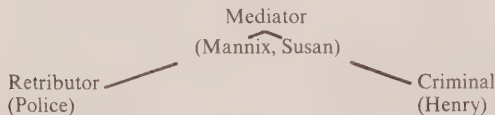
In the first part of the story, Mannix's quest is mediated by interventions of Susan's friends, the rock promoter, the anthropologist, and finally the Navajo doctor (who unknowingly gives Susan's hiding place

away). Mannix and Susan meet and discover a bond. As the initial apparent opposition is mediated, the real opposition begins to reveal itself. Phillips was not telling the truth, and Mannix realizes that he has been set up.

Susan now returns, placing herself voluntarily in the hands of the criminal. Mannix enters the trap, and the true villain is now tricked into revealing himself. A struggle follows, and, inevitably, the villain is captured.

In *Barnaby Jones*, the functions of criminal and victim are united in the same person. Shirley Evans is two people: on the one hand she is a talented, ambitious star on her way to the top; on the other hand she is a frightened little girl, terrified of all the "faces out there." The vulnerable little girl is held thrall by the ambitious star, until she is liberated at the very last moment by Barnaby Jones, whereupon she is unable to remember her previous self (she has no knowledge of having attacked Agnes, for example). All of her real friends – Roy, Agnes, and her own daughter Cathy – oppose her stage career, and try to liberate the real Shirley from her captor Miss Evans. Roy comes so close to discovering the secret that he is killed.

Summary and Conclusions

In this final part of Chapter 3, I want to say some relatively impressionistic things about what and how television crime drama communicates.

Throughout the report, I have tried to illustrate two things: first, that it is possible to ring an indefinite number of changes on a limited number of relatively simple story elements, and second, that the crime drama communicates more than one level of meaning.

Let us consider the first matter.

An extraordinary achievement of modern linguistics and cybernetics has been to show how, in practice, a finite procedure can be made to generate and recognize the elements of an infinite set. Chomsky posed the problem as follows: every human produces and understands, without feelings of strangeness, sentences which are not identical to any sentence he has ever heard or seen before. How, given infinite novelty, can we so easily recognize meaning? The answer for language must be the existence of a device called a grammar.

I am under no illusion that I have succeeded, in the space of a brief period of research, in revealing the "grammar" of crime drama. I hope, however, to have shown that the discovery of such a grammar is feasible. Even our preliminary investigation has shown the extraordinary degree to which elements recur across series, woven into combinations which give every story an appearance of superficial freshness.

The question of meaning is much more complex.

To illustrate what I believe to be the case, namely that meaning is multi-dimensional, I would ask the reader to suspend, for a moment, his scepticism, and attempt an exercise with me.

In most of the stories we have considered, there are, in fact, three major characters.

For example, in *Hawaii Five-O* the three characters

are McGarrett, Mrs. Henderson and Travis Marshall. All other characters play essentially secondary roles. The three are linked by three types of relationships: antagonism/opposition, affection/respect, and attempted victimization.

Mrs. Henderson
(respect)   (victimization)
McGarrett —— (antagonism) —— Travis Marshall
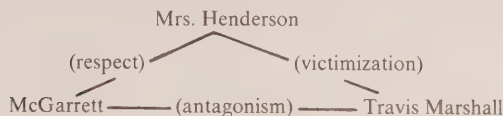
Now let us use imagination. The relationship between McGarrett and Mrs. Henderson strikes one, on watching the play, as that a son and his mother. McGarrett exhibits respectful behaviour throughout, tempered by mutual affection and apparent trust. But if the relation between McGarrett and Mrs. Henderson is that of son to mother, that of McGarrett to Travis Marshall is the equivalent of son to father, and that of Travis Marshall to Mrs. Henderson of exploitative father to mother, *as seen by the son*. In other words, the situation can be interpreted as a version of the Oedipal triangle, the universality of which is supported by a reasonable amount of psychoanalytical evidence.

In the same way, there are three main characters in *Kojak*, linked as follows:

Lorelei Mason
(tolerant   (victimization)
affection)
Kojak —— (antagonism) —— Villiano

Again, giving imagination rein, it is not difficult to see the story as a parable of the bad son who attempts to possess the mother and is chastized by the righteous, vindictive father. *Kojak* is thus a parable of authoritarianism, *Hawaii Five-O* of liberalism.

Similarly, we can perceive a triangle in *Police Story*: in Nations' mind his wife is victimized by the professor (again the son-father-mother theme), and this somehow becomes mixed in his mind with the crime he is investigating.

With equal ingenuity, it will be found that the other plots considered in this regard lend themselves to similar interpretations. These illustrations will, however, suffice; it would be unwise to be seduced by the facility with which such readings can be obtained into believing that we are tapping the hidden "meaning" of the programs. What I wish to establish here is that it is easy to find hidden meanings.

I think this brings us close to the reason for the appeal of crime dramas. Because of the simplicity of their structure, both syntactic and semantic, it is possible to read into them meanings that have emotional roots deep in the human psyche, although I am equally prepared to believe that such meanings vary from individual to individual.

That such meanings persist is a tribute to the durability of what Maranda called "semantic grooves."

The themes and plot lines of television crime drama do not differ in their essentials, I believe, from the primitive mythic structures of earlier periods, the same themes which were exploited in the Greek classical theatre and in Shakespearian English drama. Indeed, in many ways, Shakespeare's Globe Theatre had social functions that were probably closer to modern television than to Broadway. Shakespeare demonstrated that the "crime drama" (*Macbeth*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, et cetera) is potentially a vehicle of powerful communication. It may be asked how that potential is employed in the context of commercial television.

If the sample considered here is typical, one can answer that the potential is not employed, but exploited. Television crime drama is characterized by immense ingenuity and almost total lack of originality.

We have talked more in this report about violation than about violence. The two words have, of course, a common derivation (from the Latin *violare*.) For me at least, the difference is between the surface and the deep structure of crime drama: violence is immediately obvious, violation is related to the social meaning of a story.

The violence is obvious in television, although generally it is not conveyed by overt displays of brutality or obscene cruelty (as seems to be increasingly the case in film). Rather, the violence of television crime drama is part of the "gloss" of the show: the teaser, the use of music and camera technique to point up moments of tension, the careening car chases through public streets, the screaming siren, and so on. It is, in fact, difficult to get at this "glossy" violence by body counts, which are, on the whole, restrained (seldom more than two murders per show).

Most of the dramas considered begin with a violation (of person or property) which constitutes a breach of public order. But in fact the *déclencheur*, or initial act, is seldom the real focus of the story, the program *Police Story* being again an exception. The result is a pervasive banality; the programs seem initially to have a serious core of potential meaning, but the appearance is largely illusory.

The dramas do communicate – as much by what they do not say as by what they say. At the surface level, their sheen communicates an easy sensationalism, consistent with the commercial wrapping in which they are served up. At a deeper level, profound meanings are hinted at and powerful emotional responses set briefly in motion; but the story only titillates without revealing or exploring the human consequences of the logical dilemmas it presents.

At the end of the previous chapter, a question was posed which now demands an answer: What is the stability that provides security?

With the possible exception of *Baretta*, it can be said that overt competitiveness is universally regarded as a defect. One thinks of Lorelei, Villiano, Shirley Evans, Buckles. In the police teams of *Hawaii Five-O*, *Kojak*, *Police Woman*, *Adam-12*, *Starsky and Hutch*, *Streets of*

San Francisco, competition is never seen. Each of the teams fits into a well-regulated hierarchy.

Commercialism is also anathema. This message is made very clear in *Streets of San Francisco*, and is reiterated in an episode to be analyzed in the next chapter.

In most of the programs, much attention is given to office work and scientific expertise. As the backdrop for the cowboy hero was the mountains, so the backdrop for the police hero is a typewriter and a car.

While all of the police heroes are brave, individual heroism plays little part in the police drama, except in *Baretta* and *Mannix*. Indeed, the heroism of Nations was severely reprimanded. While the villain is to be captured, the police usually arrive in force, and in well-disciplined order. Even Mannix was the forerunner of the police squad.

Happy women appear mostly as secretaries and devoted wives. The exception is the female sergeant of *Police Woman*, who seems to be a concession to changing times but, ultimately, her role is secondary.

A man's world, an office world, hierarchical in its social forms, anti-commercial, suspicious of the press and the political process, anti-individualistic and anti-competitive, trusting to scientific process – what total image is this? I believe this configuration is that of the well-run bureaucracy. If so, television crime drama is, above all, a celebration of the bureaucratic way of life.

Security lies in bureaucracy.

Between the classical Western and the modern police drama, a distance has been travelled.

Chapter Four

From the *Streets of San Francisco*
To the Sidestreets of Toronto

Introduction

Of the 13 programs assessed in this project, 12 are of American origin. One was produced by the CBC and is set in Toronto. Its title is *Sidestreet*. In this last, brief section, we consider this attempt to produce crime drama in a Canadian setting and to develop a distinctively Canadian idiom.

There are significant differences between the Canadian show and its American counterparts. In order to point up some of the most apparent contrasts, I have chosen to place *Sidestreet* in contiguity with an episode of *Streets of San Francisco* (which will be referred to hereafter as *Streets* (II)). Both programs treat the theme of a community that is menaced by a large organization.

We look first at a brief synopsis of the plot of *Streets* (II) and then at a more detailed resume of the story of *Sidestreet*.

Streets of San Francisco (II)

Broadcast on ABC, April 15, 1976, at 8:00 p.m.

Resume of the Episode

The program opens as a young couple drive up to their home in a city neighbourhood. The wife is several months pregnant, and the two are looking forward to their new life. The husband exhibits tender concern for his wife. Suddenly, the front lights and then the side windows of their car are smashed violently. The woman screams in terror. The man attempts to exit: the violence ceases; the attackers disappear; neighbours come pouring out of their homes full of concern.

We learn that this is not the first time such things have occurred in this neighbourhood; there seems to be a systematic campaign of violence directed at this particular area. The local printer, who is a Jewish immigrant, decides to go see Mike, one of the heroes of the series, who is an old friend. At first, the latter is reluctant to help, because it is out of his jurisdiction, but is finally prevailed upon. He starts research in his spare time, and discovers that his printer friend has not exaggerated: statistically, the number of crimes in this district is out of proportion to normal city levels.

In another scene, we learn that a large multi-national communications firm wants to acquire all properties in the district to build a new western headquarters. The people who live there have proven resistant to offers, even relatively generous offers, to sell. The head of the company is seen talking to his young West Coast executive. He makes it clear that the company wants results, and is not interested in excuses. Furthermore, he holds out a promise of a promotion to world headquarters in New York, if the land can be acquired in an impossibly short time, and for the correct price. He then dismisses his assistant (who has, throughout the interview, shown signs of nervousness and a lack of self-confidence).

The West Coast executive meets his real estate agent who is responsible for the on-street negotiations (operating under a number of dummy companies). The message is passed on brutally: the company, the junior executive says harshly, wants results; it is not interested in how results are obtained; that is the agent's problem. The agent protests the high-handed pressure to which he is being subjected, but the message is made clear: results or else!

The agent makes a further attempt to buy the printer's property by increasing his offer, but the printer, who is a community leader, refuses the offer unconditionally: this is his home, his community, and he has no intention of leaving.

The West Coast executive is shown having marital problems: when he gets home, he brings out his briefcase and gets down to work. His beautiful wife attempts to seduce him but he is completely wrapped up in his calculations and rejects her advances. He talks about the importance of a promotion to New York. She reveals what being a company wife means to her – loneliness, being separated from him, never being able to put down roots, not having a family.

The real estate agent is observed hiring toughs. The next night the printing plant is vandalized, and the printer is killed.

The next morning the wife begins to suspect her husband's involvement in the crime when she sees the news of the killing in the papers; she knows that the printer was the principal stumbling block to the land

assembly plan: she has heard his name mentioned in passing. The real estate agent arrives and demands to see the junior executive. In a threatening scene, the agent makes clear what has happened, and demands to be paid. The executive is confused and shocked.

Mike and his assistant are now officially on the case. By patiently interviewing people, they discover, eventually, that the same agent is attempting to buy neighbourhood properties. They make inquiries and discover that this particular agent has a prison record in another state, for both embezzlement and assault with intent to do bodily harm. They visit the agent, who denies any knowledge of the crime. They are stymied.

The printer's young son, bitter about the murder of his father, breaks into the office of the agent, and steals the list of companies which have made offers, which he takes to the police. Mike pretends anger, officially books the young man for breaking and entering, and has him locked up. Secretly he is delighted. The list is returned to the agent.

Investigation shows that there is an underlying pattern to the offers. It remains to be seen who is behind the pattern.

The West Coast junior executive's wife now realizes her husband's complicity in the murder and leaves him. He is coming apart at the seams. It is revealed that he went to a small college, and has worked his way up by intense application and self-denial.

The real-estate agent's role is discovered; the latter, in turn, reveals his association with the junior executive.

The company president returns to town. The young assistant is now able to guarantee the success of the assembly plan: the last of the citizens, terrified by the murder, are selling.

Mike and his partner are ushered in. Mike now accuses the junior executive of complicity in the murder of the printer. The president offers the junior executive the services of the company lawyer before he replies, but the junior executive is confident of his immunity. Mike quickly describes the damaging evidence; the junior executive has no satisfactory answer, and now turns to the president for help. But the latter's attitude has now changed; he denies any connection, or knowledge, and repudiates his employee.

Sidestreet
"The Rebellion of Bertha MacKenzie"
Broadcast on CBC, May 22, 1976, at 10:00 p.m.

Resume of the Episode.

1. The scene takes place in front of a row house, with one woman (Bertha) at the top of the stairs leading into the house, and the other (Miss Meisner, a welfare officer) at the foot of the steps. The two are engaged in a vigorous argument: Miss Meisner informs Bertha that her widow's allowance cheque has been cut off because there is a man living in the house, contrary to department regulations. She has come down especially to make sure there is no misunderstanding. "You want

to run my life," says Bertha angrily. "Go back to your big-shot office. You don't tell me. I decide." "You've been lying," says Miss Meisner, "receiving cheques under false pretences." It is her job to see there is no misrepresentation. Bertha pleads that she is already a month behind in the rent, and the landlord is threatening to evict her. She has already received a notice. Miss Meisner asserts that "You and that man" have been cheating the taxpayers. "I don't make the rules," she says. "Get out," says Bertha, "and don't come back." She re-enters the house where "that man," Tony, is slouched in front of the television set. He asks what the fuss was about. Bertha says this time the welfare lady has gone too far. (Bertha has a pronounced accent which turns out to be Métis.)

2. Back in the office, Miss Meisner has a subordinate, Mr. Rayder, on the carpet. Rayder has failed to report the presence of a man in Bertha's house. "He's just a friend," protests Rayder. "He's a common-law husband, and you know it!" says Meisner. Bertha has not been eligible for the widow's allowance since last July; they have been "shacking up for six months." Rayder protests that with two children, Bertha needs a "man around the house." "Have you read the welfare act?" asks Meisner. "Miss Meisner, I think you should have waited," says Rayder, "Please release the cheque. There are two kids." "I don't play games," says Miss Meisner. "You're lucky you still have a job, Mr. Rayder."

3. The "man around the house," is lazily watching television, while Bertha and her two children are beginning to board up the windows. (The two children, a boy and a girl, are aged about 12 and 14.) "Tony, you're driving us mad," says Bertha and turns off the television. Tony, offended, turns it on again. She unplugs it, and he re-plugs, saying "Who's boss in this house?" "You're all crazy half-breeds," he says, "You and the kids and your half-wit brother."

4. In the office of the police inspector, the sergeant is assigned to the case of a woman who is tearing down a fence (Bertha). The sergeant protests at being assigned to such a trivial case.

5. Bertha calls her brother to ask for help.

6. The inspector of police, Woodward, one of the heroes of the series, speaks to Rayder who says he tried to stop Miss Meisner from cutting off the cheque. He says ruefully that Tony eats but doesn't work (which is why Bertha is behind on the rent). It is explained that Bertha is barricading her house.

7. Back in the house, Bertha rejects the idea of moving out. Tony assists the kids in writing letters on a banner: "At least spell it right. You don't want everyone to laugh at you."

8. There is a scene showing the sergeant (who is the

other series hero) talking to a stool-pigeon, an incident not clearly related to the present story.

9. The inspector and Rayder talk to Bertha. It is suggested that maybe Tony could move out, at least for a while. Bertha refuses: "Tony's no jewel," she admits, "But it needs a man around to make a family. I won't trade him in. I ain't going." The inspector warns her that she will be moved out Saturday morning. He moves towards the window. "Take your hands off the boards," she says, and he does. Tony protests that she's talking to a policeman, but she says "Out!" The inspector warns her that she can't win. They leave. Tony protests: "What do you think people do to survive?" "Maybe other people do those things. I don't," she says. There is now a huge banner hanging from the upstairs windows: "We got a right to live too!"

10. Bertha's brother, Oliver, arrives in a convertible and picks up Joey, her son, who is out buying groceries, stocking up for the siege. The uncle says to him: "We're blood: trees from the same forest." As the boy gets out, he sees a rifle in the back seat of Oliver's car. "Are we going to shoot someone?" asks Joey. "I hope not," says Oliver.

11. There is another scene with the sergeant concerning a suspect which seems unrelated to the present episode.

12. The inspector pleads with the landlord for leniency. The latter isn't interested in his tenants. "Does Henry Ford attend every car accident?" he asks rhetorically.

13. Tony is talking to Bertha: "You're good to me," he says, "I appreciate it. You mean a lot to me." She softens briefly, but when he says they should have their own children she retorts: "Any street bum can make babies, but can he act like a father?" "What's Ollie going to teach them?" asks Tony. "To carry a gun, to end up in jail?"

14. The sergeant now seems to be finished with his mysterious other case. It turns out that he knows Joey, who is on his ball team.

15. There is a confrontation between Ollie and Tony. Ollie says "There are two sides to the world, the outside and the inside, and one has to choose." Tony says, "You're crazy, you're all crazy." "Nail the door shut, or get out," says Ollie menacingly to Tony. Bertha tries to intervene, but Ollie persists, giving Tony five minutes to get out, if he refuses to nail the door shut.

16. The superintendent, the inspector's boss, is applying pressure; he wants the problem of Bertha resolved quickly.

17. Tony leaves. He pleads with Bertha to take the kids and get out with him, but Bertha tells him she can't let them "push us around." "Tony," she says, "I don't want you to go. I need you. I know I've been rough on you."

"I gotta go," says Tony, "Say goodbye to the kids for me."

18. The inspector and the sergeant visit Miss Meisner, to plead leniency for Bertha. "She thinks of herself as a victim." "Bend," they ask. But Miss Meisner is adamant: "Beware of pity;" she says, "a bent rule can never be made straight again." Finally, with Tony gone, Rayder persuades Miss Meisner to release the cheque. Meisner says: "Make sure she pays the rent with it!"

19. The press now arrive to cover the event.

20. Rayder and the policemen attempt to deliver the cheque. With Tony gone, Bertha is again eligible for welfare; she can pay the rent. "Money ain't my problem any more," she says. "Screw your cheque, keep your welfare." Ollie intervenes to talk menacingly to Métis power.

21 The police discuss Oliver Johnson, who is, in fact, alienated from the Métis community. They must take it slowly; they want no "posthumously decorated heroes."

22. Rayder visits Meisner in her apartment. She offers him a drink. He tells about the brother with the rifle, and Bertha's tearing up of the cheque. "Are you blaming me?" she asks. "What do we do now?" he replies. "Nothing!" she says, "Have a drink." Miss Meisner is feeling emotional: for 22 years she has been throwing money at public problems, and she hasn't solved one yet. "Of course I should have ignored the rules," she says bitterly, "I should have lost my job and my pension. Then I could have gone on welfare myself. Maybe I'd be lucky and have you for a social worker!"

23. In the house, the kids are bored and want to go back to school. Bertha reminisces about her children in the country. She needs more strength; she misses Tony.

24. Ollie watches the policemen who watch the house. He talks romantically to Joey: "When I take a rifle in my hands, the world listens!" He talks about the old days, and invokes the Métis mystique, talking of the Indians' guardian spirit. "It's hunt or be hunted," he says. "None of our people dream any more," he adds, "I have a spirit." He then sends Joey out of the house to call his Métis friends. "Tell them the time is now! My spirit will protect you, Joey."

25. Joey slips out of the house and makes the phone call. He is observed by the sergeant.

26. An argument between Bertha and Ollie follows. Ollie recalls how their father used to say, when the going was rough, "Stay in my tracks, Bertha!" He refused to disclose his plans but warns her of the coming confrontation.

27. Joey and the sergeant talk baseball. The sergeant explains that Joey's mother does not have to stay. He warns that Ollie does not care what happens to them.

He will get them into worse trouble. He can't be trusted. Joey, still under the spell of his uncle, slips back into the house.

28. Ollie and the inspector talk, Ollie holding his rifle in two hands and standing outside an upstairs window, legs straddled over a roof. Ollie is prepared for the role of a martyr: "We starve and we win." He is indifferent to calls to reason: "Anyone who tries to get in will be shot," he says.

29. Joey now breaks the news to Ollie that his friends will not come. Ollie does not believe him at first, but Joey repeats: "They said they won't come; they don't want to have anything to do with you." Ollie says, "We can do it alone." He then appeals to the boy, calling him "trees of the same forest, blood of my own blood." Is Joey on his side? Yes!

30. Inspector Woodward is being pushed by his superintendent. "Tear gas on children?" asks the inspector, incredulously. "I want it settled," the superintendent says.

31. Meanwhile, Bertha decides she has had enough. She wants out. Ollie refuses, saying "We're making history." But Bertha does not want her kids to die there. They matter. "None of us leave this house alive," says Ollie.

32. Meanwhile, the inspector and the sergeant have hit on a plan: the former will engage Ollie in discussion while the latter attempts to slip in the rear window used by Joey for his escape. Joey observes his move, and is about to inform Ollie, but is prevented by Bertha. The sergeant enters and starts up the stairs, and both men stand pointing guns at each other. It is a standoff. The sergeant talks Ollie into letting his gun drop, and the confrontation comes to an end. The sergeant exits with Ollie, and drives him away; Bertha remains in the house.

Streets of San Francisco (II) and Sidestreet: An Interpretation

We shall spend very little time on the *Streets* (II) episode. By now it will be clear that the episode fits well within the framework we have been developing: the initial crime, the mediating role of the young executive's wife and the victim's son, the ultimate denouement. As in the other episode of *Streets of San Francisco* which we considered earlier, the plot has been adapted in a way to suggest a villain behind a villain. The overt "nasty" is the real estate agent; in the tradition of crime drama, he fits the standard pattern: he has a criminal record, he kills without remorse, et cetera. In the background is a businessman whose commercial priorities (as in the other episode of *Streets* considered) result in crime and suffering for which he takes no responsibility: within the context of *his* system, his action is not reprehensible. The young executive is caught between the two and, through his role in the crime and his subsequent suffering, the program communicates a message about

the contradictions inherent in modern business practises. *Streets* (II) becomes a parable about the crime committed by big business (the international communications conglomerate) in crushing small business (the printer). In this battle, the role of the police force is associated with traditional institutions such as the court, Congress, et cetera. The message that seems to be communicated is that huge conglomerates are a menace to the community, and that the community's only recourse is to the traditional instruments of democratic action (including the police); but the outcome of the struggle is uncertain: Mike and the corporate president ultimately arrive at a standoff.

The message of *Sidestreet* defies such simple interpretation. I think, in fact, that *Sidestreet* communicates more than one meaning and that the meanings are internally inconsistent.

We note first that it is extraordinarily difficult to sort out what the crime of *Sidestreet* is. At first glance, it seems that the violation of the social code is the common-law cohabitation of a woman with a man. According to this interpretation, the authority figure is Miss Meisner and the equivalent to the usual murder in the standard crime drama would be stopping the welfare cheque (which, unlike murder, is a reversible action).

But this first interpretation is not supported by internal evidence. Sympathetic characters such as Rayder, the inspector and the sergeant, see the initial crime as actually a benefit (in providing the children with a substitute father). In addition, by the time Tony walks out, there is no longer a sense that his gesture is central to the plot.[1]

One could then argue that the initial crime flows from the intervention of Miss Meisner. It is obvious from the beginning that there exists great antagonism between the two women. From this we could then say that, in effect, Miss Meisner uses the power of the cheque to force the separation of the couple, and hence commits the violation of the social code which is termed "alienation of affection", or more crudely, husband-stealing.

This interpretation is also not well supported. While at first Miss Meisner is seen to be absolutely adamant and vindictive, it later turns out that this apparent obduracy is not motivated by primitive emotions of jealousy and hatred for Bertha, but simply by concern about her job security and pension. She then retracts her position and issues the welfare cheque, but only after Tony has departed. From this point on, she drops completely out of the story, which means that her "crime" cannot have been central to the story.

The most plausible interpretation is that the initial violation of the social order is the rejection by Bertha of landlord rights. This "violation" is amplified by the entry of Oliver, through which Bertha's misguided but admirable defence of her family and her home is transformed into a defence of minority rights against the incursions of the alien exploiting society, exemplified by (1) the landlord (business), and (2) the bureaucrat

(government). This is the conflict between community and the alien forces of business and government (which is a reasonable interpretation of Métis history) that the inspector and the sergeant (presumably modern Mounties) are called upon to mediate (in the face of extreme pressure and lack of sympathy from their own superintendent).

If this interpretation is correct, then some very ambiguous messages are being communicated.

First, Bertha's "violation." It consists of standing up to an unreasonable bureaucratic requirement. But note what happens. Tony leaves; the bureaucracy, having won, relents (like a good daddy); and Bertha *gives in*. When she gives in, she is rewarded, by being allowed to keep her family together and presumably to retain her home and her television set. But she has lost Tony. Tony, who was cynical from the beginning, turns out to have been right: "What do you think people do to survive?" Obviously, they don't fight the system.

The remorseless landlord, who is indifferent to people, wins, supported throughout by the police, who do not particularly like him or what he stands for, but who recognize the correctness or perhaps the inevitability of his position.

Now consider Oliver's "violation." His "crime" is to stand up *too strongly* for minority rights. For this he fails to be supported by his own Métis community, not because his position is wrong, but because he is prepared to resort to violent means. He is, in Tony's words, "crazy," but we know that Tony is an advocate of accommodation to the system, even when it is clearly unfair. Oliver is not nasty: he does not trick people, he does not kill cold-bloodedly, what he says to his nephew Joey is in many ways admirably romantic. He is simply quixotic, and too extreme.

But when the chips are down, he backs down, like a good boy. His threats to shoot anyone who tries to enter the house are shown to be empty. With all his bluster, he is ultimately incapable of acting on his threats.

Again the message: It is useless to stand up! Don't fight the system!

In order to understand the potential implications of this message, let us make a simple transposition.

Let it be supposed that the landlord stands for Canada's owner (obviously American business). This is not implausible; the landlord is made to say "Do you think Henry Ford attends every traffic accident?" Thus, he associates himself with corporate America.

Let us suppose equally that Ollie stands for the forces of Canadian nationalism. Again the parallel is far from completely implausible: Métis nationalism during the nineteenth century was an important force, and could easily stand as a symbol for the endogenous struggle to attain a sense of Canadian identity and original character ("trees of the same forest, blood of the same blood").

The message is that it is all right to organize movements, as long as one does not go so far as to actually disturb the social order. And, anyway, for all the bluster, the nationalists will back down in the end.

Is this the Canadian myth?

If so, it should prove reassuring to American investors.

One suspects that the decision to undertake *Sidestreet* was motivated by an admirable consideration; perhaps it seemed possible to produce a program that could be exciting, but not marked by the extremes of surface violence that characterize American productions, and that would, in some sense, stay closer to the realities of ordinary everyday existence; within these, women, for example, would be treated more equitably. In such a series, conflicts would be resolved sometimes by compromise, as in ordinary life, rather than by shoot-outs. In this way, Canadian broadcasting might lead the way towards more responsible programming.

The motive is commendable, but I think the reasoning fails to take account of how crime drama communicates its meaning. As we have seen, the episode of *Sidestreet* analyzed here is susceptible to an interpretation that I doubt is what the authors had in mind. I think the producers did not understand the importance of the deep structure of the myth, and of the communication process by which meanings are transmitted.

This leads to our concluding remarks:

Crime drama is an ancient form of message structure; it is found in almost every known human society, exemplified in myths, fairy tales, tragedies, novels, et cetera. It is potentially an immensely powerful form of communication, partly because of the basic simplicity of its structure and rich possibilities of combinations. It is a vehicle for conveying important meanings about social institutions, and human motives. At the heart of the crime drama there is invariably a theme of violation, which is realized in the surface structure as violence. One cannot remove the violence without weakening the genre's communicative power. What is left, after the violence is gone, is not a sanitized crime drama, or a more "realistic" view of life, but a different genre. *Sidestreet* fails to be either one or the other.

I think what must be asked is not whether there should be violence on television, or perhaps even how much (this latter question introduces considerations of a saturation effect, with which I am unprepared to deal here); rather we must ask whether the violence which does appear is justified by the importance of the messages being communicated about the society within which we live.

Personally, I have no doubt that, for the most part, and with honourable exceptions, a powerful means of communication of social values has been trivialized, sensationalized, and exploited for commercial purposes.

In the process, other voices have been crowded out.

This, in my view, is the question before the Commission: not how to bowdlerize a respectable genre – that is, crime drama – even further than the network censors already do, but how to assure the availability of alternative forms of artistic expression, including the enrichment of the crime drama itself.

Endnotes

Chapter One

1 Charles R. Wright, *Mass Communications: A Sociological Perspective* (New York: Random House, 1959).

2 Generative-transformational grammars were first proposed by Chomsky (1957). Chomsky's idea is that grammars of ordinary language may be thought of as having two kinds of rules: generative (or "re-write") rules whose application results in a set of what was originally termed "kernel" sentences (roughly equivalent to simple declarative sentences), which together form the *deep structure* of language; transformational rules operate on kernel sentences to change word order, insert and delete elements, introduce tense markers, produce questions and commands, et cetera. At the deep structural level of language, it is apparent that there are a limited number of basic sentence structures, and that it is by the insertion of lexical material that variety of meaning is attained. Thus, deep structural representations exemplify better than surface representations the basic logical pattern and meaning of a sentence.
Chomsky's theory permits us to see the potential role that preconscious processes play in producing and understanding language.

3 Claude Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), p. 212.

4 For an extensive discussion, see Edmund Leach (ed.), *The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism* (London: Tavistock, 1967).

5 Terence S. Turner, "Oedipus: Time and Structure in Narrative Form," in *Forms of Symbolic Action*. Proceedings of the 1969 Annual Spring Meeting, American Ethnological Society, R.F. Spencer, ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969.)

6 Mary Douglas, "The Meaning of Myth," in Leach, op. cit., p. 56.

7 Turner, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

8 Levi-Strauss collaborated at one period with the great European linguist, Roman Jacobson (from whom he seems to have first heard of Propp's work). Jacobson's seminal work on phonetics had a profound effect on Levi-Strauss' conceptualization of the nature and role of meaning in myth. In this the latter was not alone: application of the "distinctive features" theory of language categories has spawned a whole field of study called "cognitive anthropology" (Tyler, 1969), whose central goal is to isolate basic components of meaning underlying the wealth of surface meanings of ordinary language.

9 To get a "feel" for the principles involved, the reader is invited to compare, for each of the three triplets in the example (f,b,p), (th,d,t), (h,g,k), the changes in position of the muscles which are used to produce speech. Note that the same pattern emerges in all three cases. Such below-the-surface regularities need not be perceived consciously in order to play an important role in our ability to understand speech. Levi-Strauss' argument is that our perception of meaning is based on similar unconscious mechanisms.

10 But not always: for example, the Chinese prize "thousand-year-old" eggs; in our society, some individuals, but by no means all, love the "rottenness" of cheeses such as Limberger.

11 Pierre Maranda (ed.), *Mythology: Selected Readings* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 13.

12 Edmund Leach, "Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse," in *New Directions in the Study of Language*, Eric H. Lenneberg, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1964.

13 Maranda, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

14 Will Wright, *Sixguns and Society: A Structural Study of the Western* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975).

15 Ibid., p. 49.

16 C.B. MacPherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

17 Ibid., p. 263; Will Wright, op. cit., p. 136.

18 Will Wright, op. cit., p. 137.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., p. 173.

21 See endnote 2 for a discussion of surface and deep structure.

22 With respect to all these theories there is one unresolved question, often begged, that concerns the extent to which there does in fact exist a correlation between the depiction or description of violence in the story-telling of a society, and the actual level of violence in that society. Certainly violence, rape, murder, incest, treachery are universal elements of myth, even in the most peaceable of societies. Lessa (1966), for example, who has collected folklore in the South Pacific, notes that "physical aggression, including battles, murders and cannibalism, constitutes a noticeable ingredient of Ulithian folklore" even though today, as a people, they are "most gentle." Lessa is left to speculate on the possibility of cultural diffusion or borrowing, or of a "kind of outlet for repressions" (Maranda, 1972, p. 90). Neither is a satisfactory explanation: the "borrowing" hypothesis is a way of avoiding the question; the "outlet" theory is merely a variant of the catharsis model.

23 George Gerbner and Larry Gross, "The Scary World of TV's Heavy Viewer," *Psychology Today*, April 1976, pp. 41-45, 89.

24 The original Greek sense of *catharsis*, in Aristotle for example, included a notion of a tragic fate. Not all modern psychological theories of catharsis take account of the tragic elements which in fact can better be explained within a structural framework. Again, the emphasis in the psychological approach is on surface behaviour, correlated with emotional response patterns.

25 Turner, op. cit., p. 33.

26 Ibid., p. 66.

27 K. Krippendorff, "Models and Messages: Three Prototypes," in *Analysis of Communication Content*, George Gerbner, et al. (New York: Wiley, 1969), pp. 69-106.

28 An extended discussion of the question of what are termed suprasentential or trans-phrastic discourse analysis can be found in Chabrol (1973).

Chapter Two

1 The theme of money will turn up in relation to other programs, and will be treated more fully there. It might just be noted in passing that Will Wright (1975) has found that in movies, effete, greedy characters are often identified as "Easterners," and are usually contrasted with more honest, socially oriented "Westerners." Such is the case in the present

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episode: Marshall is the prototype of the untrustworthy Easterner.

2   This resume is an abridged version of one prepared by Barbara Leonard.

3   The interested reader may find an excellent treatment of this subject by the distinguished English anthropologist, Edmund Leach in Eric H. Lenneberg (ed.), *New Directions in the Study of Language* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1964), and in Pierre Maranda (ed.), *Mythology: Selected Readings* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972).

4   Kidnap-rape has often in the past been associated with the state of war. Traditionally, the spoils of victory of an invading army included the despoliation of women, as well as the sacking of cities, and the destruction of personal property. In the present case, the despoiler is perceived as an alienated individual within the society, uncivilized, rather than a member of an alien group who would be civilized within his own society. In one case, the threat is from within the society (what we term "excest" for want of a better term). In the other, the threat is from outside the society. Comparatively speaking, the notion of an anonymous society is of quite recent origin.

Chapter Three

1   I am told by some people whose homes have been burglarized that the resultant feeling of "violation" can be quite powerful, more than can be explained by the purely pragmatic consequences.

2   Robert M. Lindner, *Rebel Without a Cause: The Hypnoanalysis of a Criminal Psychopath*. (New York: Grove Press, 1944), pp. 274-275.

3   I use "belligerency" to refer to a context of warfare: the opposition of culturally identified groups involving the use of force in order to harm an enemy.

4   It is made clear, even in *Adam-12*, that the drug pusher intended to kill the neighbour's young boy.

5   The consequences (to family or friends) of a killing are rarely shown in crime dramas. This program provides an exception to the general rule. It is interesting to compare this finding with that obtained by Caron in his study of Quebec *téléromans* in this volume.

Chapter Four

1   Since this was written it has been pointed out to me (Barbara Leonard, personal communication), that the "crime" is cheating on the welfare rules. This interpretation is well supported by internal evidence and is more plausible than the ones offered in the text. However, it does not substantially alter my point that the story lends itself to ambiguous interpretation.

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Les frontières culturelles de l'imagerie télévisuelle:

une analyse de la télévision d'expression anglaise et française

André H. Caron
avec la collaboration de
Marie Couture

Section de Communication
Département de Psychologie
Université de Montréal
Montréal, Québec

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Toronto

Ottawa

Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay

Introduction

Objectif

Cette étude a pour but de faire une analyse comparative de la programmation offerte par la télévision d'expression anglaise et française ainsi qu'une analyse sélective du contenu des téléromans d'expression française.

Le rapport est donc divisé en deux sections principales:

– *La section I* analyse et compare la programmation télévisuelle offerte aux heures de grande écoute et les cotes en fonction des auditoires par types d'émissions, pour certains grands marchés du Québec et de l'Ontario: Montréal, Ottawa – Hull, Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay et Toronto.

– *La section II* est une analyse du contenu d'un certain nombre d'épisodes de téléromans québécois.

Section I:

L'analyse de la programmation offerte en semaine pour les heures de grande écoute est faite à partir de listes d'émissions extraites de revues à présentation standard telles que *TV Guide*, *TV Hebdo* et *Noront TV News*, pour deux périodes de quatre semaines dont l'une s'étend du 10 novembre au 7 décembre 1975 et l'autre du 23 février au 14 mars 1976.

Les données relatives aux cotes d'écoute par émission période/horaire, station, région et caractéristiques de l'auditoire sont établies d'après les rapports saisonniers de BBM Bureau of Measurement pour les périodes considérées. Au cours de cette analyse, nous étudions le rapport entre les cotes d'écoute et les caractéristiques distinctives des séries télévisées françaises et anglaises des marchés considérés. Le régime (d'état/privé) de réseaux et la proportion de contenu canadien dans la programmation aux heures de grande écoute, sont des facteurs supplémentaires analysés dans cette étude.

Section II:

Dans cette section, nous avons fait une description de certains épisodes choisis parmi les comédies et les téléromans québécois les plus regardés. Nous avons analysé les éléments suivants: environment (cadre ou milieu), personnages, relations interpersonnelles, genres de conflits, façons de résoudre ces conflits et finalement messages essentiels.

Les séries de télévision d'expression française spécifiques que nous avons étudiées sont les suivantes:

Rue des Pignons, Les Berger, La P'tite semaine, Y'a pas de problème, Symphorien, Avec le temps, Quelle famille.

Aussi étonnant que cela puisse paraître, peu d'études[1] ont été faites dans le but d'examiner systématiquement les ressemblances et les différences qui existent entre les deux programmations de télévision d'expression anglaise et française au Canada. Lorsqu'on a procédé à de telles études, il s'agissait habituellement périodes assez courtes et d'un nombre restreint de marchés. En outre, ces études[2] portaient, pour la plupart, sur une comparaison de la programmation de télévision canadienne d'expression anglaise avec la télévision américaine courante, plutôt que sur la variété de la programmation de télévision offerte par les différents réseaux d'expression française et anglaise au Canada.

Nous pensons qu'il y a là une omission importante. Bien que leurs propos aient toujours porté sur des considérations économiques (l'importation de production américaine étant moins coûteuse et plus populaire), il nous paraît essentiel de considérer d'autres facteurs, tels que la langue et la culture, qui sont les principaux sujets d'observation de notre étude.

Analyse de la programmation offerte et des cotes d'écoute

La section I est divisée en deux parties pour chaque marché étudié:

A) Les données ayant trait à la programmation de télévision offerte

B) Les données sur les cotes d'écoute en fonction des auditoires.

Méthode

Les sources d'information dont nous nous sommes servis pour l'analyse de la partie A sont principalement des revues à présentation standard telles que *TV Guide, TV Hebdo* et *Noront TV News.* Pour compléter nos données, nous avons dû néanmoins utiliser d'autres sources et nous avons demandé, entre autres, des informations aux directeurs de programmation d'un certain nombre le stations de télévision. Dans l'ensemble, le classement par catégorie que nous avons utilisé est une combinaison de la terminologie normalisée de l'industrie avec celle qui est habituellement utilisée dans les études d'analyse de contenu du même type que la nôtre.

Les catégories sont les suivantes:

Aventure:
(c.-à-d. *Littlest Hobo; Robinson Suisse*)

Comédie:
(c.-à-d. *Mary Tyler Moore; Symphorien*)

Série dramatique:
(c.-à-d. *Rich Man, Poor Man; Avec le temps*)

Série policière:
(c.-à-d. *Kojak; Les Incorruptibles*)

Série dramatique à sujet médical:
(c.-à-d. *Medical Centre; Médecins d'aujourd'hui*)

Téléroman:
(c.-à-d. *Les Berger*)

Interview:
(c.-à-d. *Tommy Banks; Parle, parle, jase, jase*)

Emission jeu:
(c.-à-d. *Name that Tune; Le travail à la chaine*)

Musique:
(c.-à-d. *Pig and Whistle; Ranch à Willie*)

Film:
(A) Type policier (c.-à-d. *St. Valentine Massacre*)
(B) Drame (c.a.d. *Le docteur Jivago*)
(C) Comédie (c.-à-d. *M*A*S*H*)
(D) Autres (c.-à-d. *Westerns; Comédies musicales*)

Variéte:
(c.-à-d. *Tom Jones; Gala de l'Union des artistes*)

Sports:
(A) Emissions d'information (c.-à-d. *Sports Beat; J.O.*)
(B) Reportage d'événements (c.-à-d. *hockey L.N.H.*)

Documentaires:
(c.-à-d. *Sharks; Heritage*)

Nouvelles:
(c.-à-d. *World Beat News; le Téléjournal*)

Affaires publiques:
(c.-à-d. *fifth estate, Le 60*)

Dessins animés:
(c.-à-d. *Legend of Christmas, Les Pierrafeu*)

Autre:
(c.-à-d. *Wintario, Loto Perfecta*)

Inclassable:[3]

Les tranches horaires

Notre analyse de contenu ne devait d'abord étudier que la programmation habituellement définie en termes d'heures de grande écoute, du lundi au vendredi. Nous avons, par la suite, décidé d'étendre notre étude à la programmation offerte à compter de 18 heures. En effet, la part de l'auditoire pour la programmation offerte plus tôt dans la soirée s'est avérée assez importante pour nous inciter à modifier notre définition des heures de grande écoute. Contrairement à ce que l'on pense généralement, les catégories d'émissions diffusées pendant cette période ne sont pas uniquement du type nouvelles télévisées. En fait, on trouve des variations selon les caractéristiques régionales. Nous aborderons en détail cette question, un peu plus loin dans ce chapitre.

Notre analyse s'étend donc à toute la programmation diffusée du lundi au vendredi, entre 18h et 23h.

Echantillonnage

Nous avons analysé au total quarante jours de programmation de télévision: vingt à l'automne 1975 et vingt au printemps 1976. Nous avons choisi les semaines pendant lesquelles la maison BBM fait ses rapports de cotes d'écoute, et en plus, une autre semaine complète de programmation de télévision. Nous avons fait de la sorte afin de d'une part comparer nos données à celles de la maison BBM, et d'autre part, de nous assurer que les émissions spéciales (c.-à-d. *Convention du PC, Miss Teen Canada*) ainsi que d'autres modifications irrégulières à l'horaire de la programmation seraient contrebalancées dans l'horaire régulier.

Nous avons choisi d'examiner pour cette étude quatre marchés régionaux: Montréal, Ottawa – Hull, Sudbury– Timmins – North Bay et Toronto, qui se distinguent les unes des autres par un certain nombre de caractéristiques. Il s'agit surtout de particularités régionales, à savoir la proportion et la représentation des groupes culturels selon les régions, les variations possibles de la programmation de télévision offerte aux différentes régions et aussi la taille même des auditoires. Les précisions à propos de ces caractéristiques, seront abordées en profondeur lors de la présentation de chacun des quatre marchés étudiés.

Nos résultats seront présentés de la façon suivante. Chaque marché régional sera d'abord présenté individuellement selon ses caractéristiques et la programmation offerte à la population de cette région. La programmation de télévision sera étudiée en termes de:
1. Catégories générales
2. Langue de diffusion
3. Régimes des réseaux (d'état/privé)
4. Culture (origine du contenu)

Nous présenterons également les profils spécifiques de programmation des principaux réseaux, pour chacun des marchés étudiés.

Analyse des données

Nous avons conçu l'analyse des données en termes d'unités/émissions (c.-à-d. nombre d'émissions) et d'unités/minutes (c.-à-d. nombre de minutes par émission) pour chacune des catégories d'émissions. Dans la plupart des cas, mis à part les films et les événements sportifs, ces deux types de mesures permettaient facilement la comparaison, étant assez constantes. Il n'est donc pas étonnant de retrouver dans la plupart des études de même ordre que la nôtre, les résultats exprimés uniquement en termes d'unités/émissions. Nous avons cru cependant qu'il serait plus juste de présenter les résultats de cette étude en termes de nombre d'unité/minutes pour toutes les catégories, étant donné la présence relativement importante de certaines catégories d'émissions, comme par exemple les films. En effet, les unités/minutes par émission reflètent

mieux à nos yeux la totalité du temps consacré à regarder la télévision par les téléspectateurs et l'importance réelle des différents types de programmation.

Les programmes de "nouvelles" compris dans notre des échantillonnage constituent une part importante de la programmation de nombreux réseaux. Si on excluait cette catégorie d'émissions, comme on le fait quelquefois dans certaines études, l'importance relative des autres catégories risquerait de paraître beaucoup plus grande. Cet aspect particulier sera abordé lorsqu'il sera question du contenu canadien dans la programmation de télévision.

Enfin, le *Public Broadcasting System* des Etats-Unis a été exclu de cette étude en raison de la faible importance de son auditoire canadien.

Résultats

Montréal
A) Programmation de télévision offerte

Caractéristiques démographiques

D'après le recensement de 1971, la population de la région métropolitaine de Montréal[4] était de 2,743,210 personnes dont 1,345,365 hommes et 1,397,845 femmes. Le nombre de personnes par famille était en moyenne de trois point six (3.6) et le nombre d'enfants par famille était en moyenne de un point six (1.6). La moyenne du revenu était d'environ $10,292.00. 1,819,640 personnes se disaient de langue française maternelle, 595,365 personnes se disaient de langue anglaise maternelle et 328,175 mentionnaient d'autres langues. Quant à la langue parlée à la maison, 1,818,860 indiquaient le français, 683,390 l'anglais, 106,995 l'italien, 11,665 l'allemand, 8,605 le polonais et 7,775 l'ukrainien et 1,470 le néerlandais.

Les groupes ethniques, pour la région métropolitaine de Montréal, se répartissent comme suit: 1,762,690 Français, 438,000 Britanniques, 160,605 Italiens, 38,440 Allemands, 36,500 Asiatiques, 20,410 Polonais, 18,050 Ukrainiens, 11,480 Hongrois, 9,040 Hollandais, 6,355 Scandinaves, 3,605 Russes.

Montréal se distingue non seulement par sa caractéristique linguistique et culturelle française, mais aussi en tant que centre important de production de télévision. En termes de représentation des deux plus importants groupes culturels au Canada, on se rend compte que les personnes de descendance française qui forment soixante-quatre pour cent de la population partagent avec les personnes de descendance britannique (seize pour cent) un nombre égal de réseaux de télévision commerciale.

Caractéristiques de la diffusion télévisuelle

Dans la région de Montréal, six réseaux importants se partagent le marché en termes d'auditoire. Tout d'abord, Radio-Canada, réseau de langue française subventionné par l'état (CBFT-2) et la CBC, son pendant de langue anglaise (CBMT-6). Existent également TVA, le réseau privé de langue française (CFTM-10) et CTV, le réseau privé de langue anglaise (CFCF-12). On compte encore deux réseaux américains; CBS(WCAX)-3) et NBC(WPTZ-5).

Un autre réseau américain ABC(WMTV-8) diffuse aussi ses programmes dans le région de Montréal; cependant BBM indique que leur part du marché pour l'année 1975-1976 était inférieure à cinq pour cent. Nous avons donc décidé de ne pas tenir compte de leurs statistiques. Il faut aussi mentionner Radio-Québec, réseau public provincial à contenu éducatif. Cet organisme est quelque peu comparable à l'OECA, de l'Ontario qui a également pour mission de produire du matériel éducatif tant pour la population d'âge scolaire que pour la population adulte. En dépit du fait que leur part du marché n'est pas fortement compétitive avec celle des réseaux principaux, nous aurions aimé inclure le réseau Radio-Québec dans notre étude d'analyse des programmations offertes. Malheureusement, à cause des limites de temps et de ressources, nous avons dû y renoncer. Nous espérons que cette omission pourra éventuellement être palliée dans une autre étude du même genre.

En tenant compte du nombre de réseaux disponibles dans la région de Montréal, nous constaterons plus tard, avec détails à l'appui, que Radio-Canada et TVA, sont les seuls réseaux de langue française. BBM[5] évalue à trente-sept pour cent le nombre des foyers qui bénéficient de la diffusion par câble ce qui signifie que près de quatre foyers sur dix ont complètement accès aux principaux réseaux décrits antérieurement. On estime à cinquante – quatre pour cent le nombre de foyers disposant de téléviseurs en couleur pour cette région du marché. Comme nous le verrons, la programmation de télévision de la région de Montréal est caractérisée par certains facteurs particuliers parmi lesquels il convient de citer l'importance d'émissions du type interviews, films, téléromans, qui occupent les tranches horaires de certains réseaux, en début de soirée. On note également à Montréal que certaines émissions de nouvelles, d'une durée de trente minutes, sont télédiffusées en fin de soirée à 22h30. D'autre part, étant donné que les nouvelles des réseaux de langue anglaise ne sont diffusées qu'à 21h, elles sont exclues de notre analyse. Il appartiendra donc au lecteur de prendre ceci en considération quand il interprétera les résultats.

Catégories générales (automne 1975)

Le tableau sommaire 1 reflète les principales caractéristiques de la programmation télédiffusée à Montréal. Dans cette étude, le terme "principales catégories" s'applique à toutes les catégories d'émission qui représentent au moins dix pour cent de la programmation pour la tranche horaire d'un réseau. Nous en avons également tenu compte dans la mesure où les catégories atteignent un niveau de neuf pour cent à neuf point cinq pour cent.

Tableau 1

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale

Radio-Canada		CBC		TVA	
Nouvelles	30%	Nouvelles	20%	Films (la plupart classés comme comédies)	23%
Films (la plupart classés comme drames	19%	Comédie	17%	Interviews	21%
Documentaire	10%	Musique	15%	Nouvelles	20%
Affaires publiques	10%	Série dramatique	11%	Série policière	12%
CTV		**CBS**		**NBC**	
Série policière	28%	Nouvelles	30%	Série policière	30%
Nouvelles	20%	Série policière	14%	Nouvelles	20%
Comédies	12%	Comédie	14%	Films (la plupart classés comme drames)	13%
		Films (la plupart classés comme drames)	10%		
		Emission de jeu	10%		

On peut identifier au total dix catégories d'émissions différentes en compilant les listes des principales catégories d'émissions offertes par chaque réseau. Pour tous les réseaux, les nouvelles télévisées constituent une partie importante de la programmation avec le plus haut pourcentage; trente pour cent pour Radio-Canada et trente pour cent pour NBC. Même en ajustant le pourcentage des réseaux de langue française (RC et TVA) de façon à exclure la présence marginale des nouvelles télévisées de fin de soirée à 22h30, ce genre de programmation demeurerait malgré tout l'une des catégories d'émissions les plus importantes. Généralement, les films se classent au second rang des émissions diffusées par la plupart des réseaux. L'importance des films est néanmoins plus grande pour certains réseaux (RC dix-neuf pour cent) TVA (vingt-trois pour cent) que pour d'autres (CBS, treize pour cent; NBC , dix pour cent). CBC(zero pour cent) qui s'abstient de présenter quelque film que ce soit et CTV (sept pour cent), sont les seuls à faire exception à cette règle. La série policière occupe le troisième rang comme catégorie d'émissions présentées (NBC, trente pour cent; CTV, vingt-neuf pour cent; CBS, quatorze pour cent; TVA, douze pour cent).

Le tableau I de l'annexe fournit tous les détails quant à l'importance de chaque catégorie pour chaque réseau. Ce tableau formule toutes les inscriptions de catégories en termes de pourcentages d'unités/minutes et d'unités/émissions. Si l'on examine les autres catégories importantes faisant partie de ces profils, on peut constater que les différences sont pour la plupart reliées soit à la langue de diffusion (française ou anglaise) et/ou aux facteurs économiques (régime d'état/privé) des réseaux.

Langue de diffusion (automne 1975)

En vue d'illustrer ces résultats plus clairement, nous avons synthétisé nos données en termes de langue de diffusion, tout en faisant la distinction entre les réseaux anglais, canadiens et américains. Les catégories les plus importantes retrouvées dans la programmation offerte en 1975 aux téléspectateurs dans la région de Montréal sont inscrites au tableau 2.

A l'exception de l'importance indiscutable des nouvelles télévisées par chaque réseau, on perçoit plusieurs différences particulièrement relatives à la

Tableau 2

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Réseaux de langue anglaise		Réseaux américains		Réseaux de langue française	
Nouvelles	20%	Nouvelles	25%	Nouvelles	25%
Série policière	16%	Série policière	22%	Films (la plupart classés comme drames)	21%
Comédie	14.5%	Films (la plupart classés comme drames)	11.5%	Interviews	10.5%
Musique	10.5%				

langue, dans la programmation courante pour la région de Montréal. Les séries policières constituent une de ces différences pour les réseaux de langue anglaise (seize pour cent) et les réseaux américains (vingt deux pour cent) comparativement aux réseaux de langue française. Les émissions d'interviews (dix point cinq pour cent) présentées uniquement par les réseaux de langue française, l'importance des comédies (quatorze point cinq pour cent) et des émissions musicales (dix point cinq pour cent) présentées aux réseaux de langue anglaise, les comédies (neuf pour cent) et les émissions de jeu (neuf pour cent) présentées par les réseaux américains (sept pour cent), marquent encore d'autres différences. Finalement, les films, qui prédominent dans la liste des programmations de langue française (vingt-et-un pour cent) sont présentés également, mais de façon moins évidente, par les réseaux américains (onze point cinq pour cent). Les films ne représentent que trois point cinq pour cent de la programmation courante des réseaux de langue anglaise. Compte tenu de l'importance accordée aux films dans les réseaux de langue française, nous avons décidé de sous-catégoriser ce type d'émissions pour vérifier si la série policière qui s'avérait

si importante pour les réseaux anglais ne l'était pas autant dans la programmation de langue française, mais plutôt dans un film que dans une série. Nous avons trouvé, à l'examen, que ce n'était pas le cas puisque les films présentés étaient surtout des drames (Pour les détails voir l'annexe, Tableau II).

Réseaux d'état et privés (automne 1975)

Si d'une part, la variable de la langue de diffusion peut expliquer en partie la diversité que l'on retrouve dans la programmation de télévision de la région de Montréal, une variable de type économique doit, d'autre part, être prise en considération. Nous avons synthétisé nos données en termes de régimes d'état et privés (réseaux), canadiens et américains. Ces données figurent au tableau 3

Si l'on examine les catégories principales d'émissions présentées par l'intermédiaire des réseaux d'état canadiens et des réseaux privés canadiens et américains au cours de l'automne 1975, on constate que tous les réseaux offrent un pourcentage élevé d'émissions de nouvelles. On constate également que les réseaux d'état canadiens et les réseaux privés américains offrent une

Tableau 3

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

D'état canadiens		Privés canadiens		Privés américains	
Nouvelles	25%	Série policière	20%	Nouvelles	25%
Comédie	11.5%	Nouvelles	20%	Série policière	22%
Films (la plupart classés comme drames)	9.5%	Films (la plupart classés comme comédies)	15%	Films (la plupart classés comme drames)	11.5%
		Interviews	10.5%		

proportion substantielle de séries policières. D'autre part, les réseaux d'état canadiens présentent nettement plus de comédies. Les programmations des trois types de réseaux présentent toujours beaucoup de films. Enfin, on compte un pourcentage de neuf pour cent pour les émissions de jeu aux réseaux américains, neuf pour cent pour les affaires publiques aux réseaux privés canadiens.

En ce qui concerne les émissions d'interviews dont il vient d'être question, nous savons, grâce aux données antérieures, que la présence d'émissions de ce genre est due exclusivement à la programmation du réseau privé de langue française TVA. Pour plus de détails, voir le tableau III de l'annexe.

La programmation offerte par les réseaux privés canadiens (surtout d'expression anglaise), semble davantage se rapprocher de celle des réseaux privés américains que de celle des réseaux d'état canadiens. Il semble que Radio-Canada et CBC offrent d'autre part, une programmation non seulement différente à leurs auditoires, mais aussi d'une plus grande variété.

Quant à la variété des émissions *offertes* à la population de Montréal, elle est due sans doute à l'interaction des variables relatives à l'économie et à la langue. Cela nous paraîtra encore plus évident quand

nous parlerons des préférences des téléspectateurs de Montréal dans leur *choix d'émissions*. Avant d'aborder cette partie de notre analyse, il serait cependant important de parler d'un autre facteur, c'est-à-dire la proportion des productions canadiennes dans la programmation de télévision de Montréal.

Contenu canadien (automne 1975)

Nos données sur la programmation de télévision offerte à l'automne 1975 dans la région de Montréal, étaient analysées également en termes de contenu canadien. Bien que dans cette étude nous n'ayons pas fait la distinction entre les émissions produites localement (c.-à-d. à Montréal) et les autres productions canadiennes, il faut comprendre que la production canadienne des réseaux de langue française se fait à Montréal presque exclusivement et comporte certaines caractéristiques régionales. Ces productions pourraient très bien être étiquetées "Fait au Québec" plutôt que "Fait au Canada". Le tableau 4 formule le pourcentage de productions (en fonction des unités/minutes) faites au Canada, aux Etats-Unis et dans les autres pays (c.-à-d. surtout des pays européens). Pour des raisons évidentes, seule la programmation des réseaux canadiens a été analysée cette manière.

Tableau 4

Pourcentage de productions canadiennes selon les réseaux
(sans les émissions de nouvelles)

Réseaux Pays d'origine	Radio-Canada		CBC		TVA		CTV	
Canada	70%	(58%)	65%	(56%)	59%	(49%)	40%	(24%)
U.S.	23%	(33%)	24%	(30%)	31%	(39%)	59%	(74%)
Autres	7%	(9%)	11%	(14%)	10%	(12%)	1%	(2%)

Ce sont les réseaux d'état (c.-à-d. Radio-Canada et CBC) qui offrent le plus haut pourcentage de productions canadiennes dans leur programmation. L'industrie privée comporte néanmoins des profils remarquablement différents selon qu'il s'agisse de réseaux de langue française ou de langue anglaise. En effet CTV choisit beaucoup de productions américaines pour sa programmation aux heures de grande écoute, alors que TVA, qui est aussi un réseau privé, offre en grande partie des productions canadiennes. En outre, il faut ajouter que CTV importe le plus grand nombre de productions étrangères (pour ne pas dire américaines). D'autre part, le nombre de pays ou il se fournit est très limité.

Compte tenu du fait que les émissions de nouvelles (lesquelles sont évidemment des productions canadiennes) constituent une grande partie de la programmation, nous avons cru bon de reconsidérer

nos données en excluant cette catégorie d'émissions de notre analyse. La deuxième colonne du tableau 4 présente donc cette information.

D'ailleurs, nos résultats corroborent très clairement ce que nous avons déjà exprimé. CTV accuse la plus forte baisse de sa proportion de contenu canadien (seize pour cent) tandis que les autres réseaux continuent à offrir principalement à leurs téléspectateurs des productions à contenu canadien.

En poursuivant notre analyse, nous avons examiné, en fonction de ces même variables, le genre de programmation qui avait été offert à Montréal au cours du printemps 1976.

Catégories générales (Printemps 1976)

Les principales caractéristiques de la programmation offerte par les réseaux, dans la région de Montréal pour cette période sont présentées au tableau 5.

Tableau 5

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale

Radio-Canada		CBC		TVA	
Nouvelles	30%	Comédie	25%	Films (drames pour la plupart)	22%
Films (drames pour la plupart)	13%	Nouvelles	20%	Nouvelles	20%
Affaires publiques	10%	Affaires publiques	10%	Interviews	20%
				Série policière	11%

CTV		CBS		NBC	
Série policière	30%	Nouvelles	30%	Série policière	33%
Nouvelles	20%	Série policière	16%	Nouvelles	20%
Comédie	15%	Comédie	14%	Films (drames pour la plupart)	11%
		Série dramatique	10%	Variétés	10%
		Emission de jeu	10%		

On a offert au téléspectateur montréalais à peu près la même variété d'émissions au printemps qu'à l'automne. Si on compile les listes des catégories d'émissions de chacun des réseaux, on distingue au total neuf catégories différentes. Bien que l'on constate quelques différences entre la programmation du printemps et de l'automne, il s'agit de fluctuations du type suivant: les documentaires qui représentaient dix pour cent de toutes les émissions à l'automne ne formaient plus que cinq pour cent de la programmation de Radio-Canada au printemps. Les émissions de sport avaient toutefois augmenté de quatre pour cent à l'automne à sept pour cent au printemps. Cela peut s'expliquer du fait qu'on préparait la prochaine tenue des jeux olympiques. Les émissions de comédies au réseau CBC étaient devenues encore plus importantes au printemps (vingt-cinq pour cent) qu'elles ne l'étaient à l'automne (dix-sept pour cent). On constate pour ce réseau également plus d'émissions d'affaires publiques (dix pour cent) et moins d'émissions de musique (printemps huit pour cent, automne quinze pour cent); et de séries dramatiques (printemps huit pour cent, automne onze pour cent). Dans le cas de TVA, les pourcentages s'avèrent à peu près les mêmes pour le printemps et pour l'automne. Au réseau CTV, au printemps on retrouve surtout des séries policières (trente pour cent), des nouvelles (vingt pour cent) et des comédies (quinze pour cent), ainsi qu'une plus grande proportion de temps accordée aux émissions de sport. Enfin, CBS avait réduit la proportion de films (printemps quatre pour cent, automne dix pour

cent) en faveur des séries dramatiques (printemps onze pour cent, automne six pour cent). Et, pour sa part, NBC augmentait légèrement le nombre de ses émissions de variétés (printemps dix pour cent, automne sept pour cent). En ce qui concerne les catégories principales (les trois plus importantes), qui représentent plus de cinquante pour cent du temps de programmation de tous les réseaux, les programmations d'automne et du printemps semblaient, en dernière analyse, presque identiques. Pour plus de détails sur l'importance de chacune des catégories, voir le tableau IV de l'annexe qui offre une présentation complète de ces données.

Langue de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Si on synthétise nos données sur la programmation de télévision offerte au printemps 1976 en termes de variable linguistique, on obtient le tableau 6.

Si on fait la comparaison, on constate que les trois groupes de réseaux: anglais, américains et français, accordent une proportion relativement élevée de leur tranches horaires aux émissions de nouvelles. Les séries policières, pour leur part, figurent sur deux des trois listes. Cette catégorie d'émission prédomine surtout pour les réseaux américains, (vingt-quatre point cinq pour cent), ainsi que pour les réseaux de langue anglaise (dix-huit point cinq pour cent). En ce qui concerne les autres catégories, on trouve des séries dramatiques exclusivement sur la liste des réseaux américains.

On constate d'autre part que la programmation des

Tableau 6

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Réseaux de langue anglaise		Réseaux américains		Réseaux de langue française	
Comédie	20%	Nouvelles	25%	Nouvelles	25%
Nouvelles	20%	Série policière	24.5%	Films (séries policières pour la plupart)	17.5%
Série policière	18.5%	Comédie	11%		
		Série dramatique	9.5%	Interviews	10%

réseaux américains accuse une baisse côté films (automne onze point cinq pour cent, printemps sept point cinq pour cent). Cette catégorie d'émission demeure quand même importante pour les réseaux de langue française (automne vingt-et-un pour cent; printemps dix-sept point cinq pour cent).

Dans le cas des réseaux de langue française, on remarque aussi que les films étaient surtout de type policier. Ce léger glissement du type dramatique (à l'automne) au type policier (au printemps) doit être cependant interprété dans son contexte. La moitié environ des films présentés au printemps (c.-à-d. la moitié de dix-sept pour cent) était de type policier, ce qui représente à peu près huit pour cent du total de la programmation. Tout compte fait, la programmation du printemps ressemblait à celle de l'automne et les différences culturelles jouaient encore un rôle important pour le genre de programmation offerte à la population de Montréal. Pour plus de détails, consulter le tableau V de l'annexe.

Les réseaux d'état et privés (printemps 1976)
Les données synthétisées en termes de régimes et de nationalités des réseaux d'état canadiens, privés canadiens et américains, offrent les résultats suivants (Tableau 7).

Au printemps 1976 on trouve pratiquement des concentrations de catégories d'émissions semblables à celles dont nous avons déjà fait mention pour l'automne. Aux réseaux privés américains, la disparition des émissions de jeu et l'apparition de séries dramatiques sont en fait les seules exceptions. Indépendamment du fait qu'elles soient diffusées sur les réseaux canadiens ou américains, les séries policières continuent à dominer la programmation des réseaux privés. Pour leur part, les comédies et les émissions d'affaires publiques sont toujours au rang de catégories principales sur les réseaux d'état canadiens. Pour plus de détails, voit le tableau VI de l'annexe.

Contenu canadien (printemps 1976)
Nous avons également évalué l'importance des productions canadiennes pour la programmation des réseaux canadiens au printemps 1976. (Tableau 8).

Dans l'ensemble, au printemps, les réseaux canadiens avaient quelque peu augmenté la proportion de productions canadiennes dans leur programmation. Radio-Canada, en particulier, augmentait sa proportion de

Tableau 7

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

D'état canadiens		Privés canadiens		Privés américains	
Nouvelles	25%	Série policière	20.5%	Nouvelles	25%
Comédie	15.5%	Nouvelles	20%	Série policière	24.5%
Affaires publiques	10%	Films (divisés également entre les drames, les policiers et les comédies)	12.5%	Comédie	11%
				Série dramatique	9.5%
		Interviews	10%		

Tableau 8

Pourcentage de productions canadiennes selon les réseaux
(sauf les nouvelles)

Réseaux Radio-Canada CBC			TVA		CTV			
Pays d'origine								
Canada	78%	(68%)	63%	(53%)	61%	(52%)	44%	(30%)
U.S.	12%	(18%)	32%	(40%)	29%	(36%)	55%	(69%)
Autres	10%	(14%)	5%	(7%)	10%	(12%)	1%	(1%)

contenu canadien de soixante-dix pour cent à l'automne, à soixante-dix-huit pour cent au printemps. Cette augmentation se fait surtout au dépens des productions américaines (printemps douze pour cent automne vingt-trois pour cent) puisque la proportion des productions provenant des autres pays augmentait (printemps dix pour cent, automne sept pour cent. Par contre, le réseau CBC affichait la tendance inverse avec une proportion de production des autres réseaux, TVA et CTV, on remarque peu de changements. CTV demeure le seul réseau canadien de la région de Montréal à offrir en majorité des émissions américaines.

Si on exclut les nouvelles télévisées, on constate que la programmation du printemps reflète des tendances semblables à celle de l'automne et que CTV est le réseau dont la proportion de contenu canadien décroît le plus (quatorze pour cent).

En résumé, on constate qu'à l'exception de quelques fluctuations saisonnières mineures, la programmation de télévision diffusée à Montréal pendant les deux périodes d'enquête (automne 1975, printemps 1976) est caractérisée par un certain nombre de profils de programmation différents. Les facteurs linguistique, culturel, et jusqu'à un certain point économique, sont les principales causes de cet état de fait.

Maintenant que nous avons terminé l'étude des programmations offertes par les réseaux à la population de Montréal à l'automne 1975 et au printemps 1976, nous allons nous intéresser à ce que les téléspectateurs ont choisi de regarder durant ces mêmes périodes.

Montréal
B) Les cotes d'écoute en fonction de l'auditoire

Dans cette partie, nous nous intéresserons aux types de programmations les plus regardées d'après les rapports de BBM. Certains problèmes ont rendu cependant la comparaison difficile entre l'automne et le printemps, compliquant ainsi cette partie de notre analyse. A l'automne 1975, BBM n'avait pu compiler ses informations aussi systématiquement que de coutume à cause d'une grève postale. Les données se rapportant à

l'automne 1975 étaient pour cette raison, peu détaillées et n'offraient pas la précision et la validité coutumières des rapports de BBM. Dans ce rapport, nous avons donc choisi d'analyser uniquement les données facilement comparables à celles du rapport du printemps. A cause de tous ces aléas, nous présentons donc les résultats de la manière suivante:

Automne 1975
Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population

Région centrale seulement
    Les trente émissions, selon les catégories, les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population:

Printemps 1976
    Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population:

Région centrale et territoire total de diffusion
    Les trente émissions, selon les catégories, les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population

Territoire total de diffusion
    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes de dix-huit ans et plus
    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les femmes
    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les hommes
    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adolescents
    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les enfants

Méthode

D'après les critères de BBM l'auditoire se divise en deux types particuliers. L'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion et l'auditoire de la région centrale. BBM donne la définition suivante de ces concepts:

Territoire total de diffusion:
    "Le territoire total de diffusion comprend tous les comtés ou divisions de rencensement ou autres régions d'enquête de BBM atteints soit directement, soit par câble, par les stations de télévision faisant l'objet du rapport. La région centrale est comprise dans le territoire total de diffusion. Veuillez noter que toutes les

stations faisant l'objet du rapport peuvent être captées dans tout le territoire total de diffusion." La population du territoire total de diffusion de Montréal est d'environ 4,261,670 personnes.

Région centrale:[6]

"La région centrale est soit une région métropolitaine de recensement, soit un comté, soit une division de recensement, ou encore un groupe de comtés, ou un groupe de divisions de recensement. La définition précise de la région centrale pour ce rapport se trouve à la *page des données du marché*. Toutes les données relatives à l'auditoire de la région centrale sont sous forme de pourcentage, et coniernent soit les cotes d'écoute, soit les fractions de l'auditoire." La population de la région centrale de Montréal est d'environ 2,811,890 personnes.

Nous avons transformé et évalué, pour notre étude, les pourcentages de la région centrale en nombre de téléspectateurs selon le mode utilisé dans le cas du territoire total de diffusion. *Ces chiffres reflètent assez bien les préférences de l'auditoire bien que nous soyons conscients qu'il ne faille pas les considérer comme valeurs absolues.*

Nous ne pouvons faire aucune comparaison entre les données de l'automne et celles du printemps pour le territoire total de diffusion parce que le rapport d'automne de BBM ne comporte que les données concernant l'auditoire de la région centrale. Bien qu'on ne trouve que peu de différence dans les préférences des auditoires de la région centrale et du territoire total de diffusion dans les grands centres urbains, on trouve plus de divergences dans les préférences des auditoires des marchés moins importants. Nous avons donc jugé bon de présenter ces deux types de données (région centrale et territoire total de diffusion) pour le printemps. Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, nous présenterons aussi un classement par groupes, selon l'âge et le sexe, pour les données du territoire total de diffusion.

Nous ne désirons pas insister davantage sur les méthodes de sondage de BBM, cette entreprise étant considérée par le gouvernement et par l'industrie comme une source d'information sure pour les cotes d'écoute. Leurs rapports contiennent des chapitres "Glossaire" et "Introduction" qu'il est bon de consulter pour de plus amples détails.

Région centrale (automne 1975)

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) pour la région centrale de Montréal à l'automne 1975, figurent au tableau 9.

Tableau 9

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région de Montréal*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 2,811,890 personnes

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Téléroman	927,923
2.	*Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comédie	815,448
3.	*Le docteur Jivago* (R-C)	U.S.	Film	815,448
4.	*Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Téléroman	759,210
5.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (lundi) (TVA)	Can.	Interview	618,615
6.	*Hawaii Five-0* (TVA)	U.S.	Série policière	590,496
7.	*Le 10 vous informe* (lundi) (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	506,140
8.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (mardi) (TVA)	Can.	Interview-variété	506,140
9.	*Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	506,140
10.	*Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Série dramatique	478,021
11.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (mer.) (TVA)	Can.	Interview-variété	478,021
12.	*La P'tite semaine* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	449,902
13.	*Kojak* (TVA)	U.S.	Série policière	449,902
14.	*Médecin d'aujourd'hui* (TVA)	U.S.	Série dramatique médicale	449,902
15.	*Le 10 vous informe* (mardi) (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	421,783
16.	*Vedettes à nu* (TVA)	Can.	Interview	421,783

Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
17. *Parle parle, jase jase* (jeudi) (TVA)	Can.	Interview	393,664
18. *Parle parle, jase jase* (vendredi) (TVA)	Can.	Interview	393,664
19. *A la Canadienne* (TVA)	Can.	Musique	393,664
20. *Découvertes '75* (TVA)	Can.	Musique	393,664
21. *Jeudi 8h30* (TVA)	U.S./Fr./U.S.	Film	393,664
22. *Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Affaires publiques	365,545
23. *Télésélection* (R-C)	U.S.	Film	365,545
24. *Le 10 vous informe* (mercredi) (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	365,545
25. *Le 10 vous informe* (jeudi) (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	365,545
26. *Le Ranch à Willie* (TVA)	Can.	Musique	365,545
27. *Les grandes Productions* (TVA)	U.S./Fr./Brit.	Film	365,545
28. *Les incorruptibles* (TVA)	U.S.	Série policière	365,545
29. *Le 10 vous informe* (vendredi) (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	337,426
30. *Cinéma sur demande* (TVA)	U.S.	Film	337,426

* Evaluation de BBM en termes d'auditoires de la région centrale. (Automne 1975.)

L'élément le plus frappant qui ressort de l'étude de ces données est que Radio-Canada et TVA, deux réseaux français, sont les seuls à avoir des émissions sur cette liste. Le réseau privé de langue française TVA domine cependant avec vingt-trois émissions sur trente. Une étude approfondie du tableau 9 révèle qu'au moins deux émissions (*Le 10 vous informe* et *Parle parle, jase jase*), offertes chaque jour de la semaine, représentent un tiers (10/30) du total de la liste des émissions les plus regardées. On remarque enfin la forte prédominance des productions canadiennes. Pour tenir compte de ces observations de façon précise dans le cas des films, nous avons divisé chaque unité de film en trois (pour les trois semaines d'échantillonnage) étant donné que BBM ne fait habituellement pas de référence aux films pris individuellement. Cela signifie qu'une mention ou valeur de: point trois (0.3) est accordée au pays d'origine de chaque film. Ceci nous a permis de découvrir que sur les trente émissions les plus regardées vingt-deux étaient des productions canadiennes.

Pour permettre une meilleure compréhension de ces données, nous avons synthétisé l'information par catégorie d'émission. Le tableau 10 présente cette information en termes d'unités/émissions et d'unités/minutes. Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, les résultats de l'analyse en termes d'unités/minutes et en termes d'unités/émissions sont quelque peu similaires, sauf dans le cas de la catégorie d'émissions "Film". Nous interprétons nos résultats uniquement en termes d'unités/minutes de façon à mieux évaluer l'importance des catégories d'émissions. La catégorie d'émission que les Montréalais préfèrent avant tout est le film. Compte tenu du type de films diffusés pendant les trois semaines durant lesquelles BBM a fait ses sondages, à l'automne 1975, on a retrouvé des comédies (N = 5), drames

Tableau 10

Les trente émissions, classées par catégorie, les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) dans la région de Montréal*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 2,811,890 personnes

Catégorie d'émission	Unités émissions	Catégorie d'émission	Unités minutes
Interview	20%	Film	38%
Film	17%	Interview	19%
Nouvelles	17%	Série policière	11%
Comédie	10%	Nouvelles	9%
Musique	10%	Comédie	5%
Série policière	10%	Musique	5%
Téléroman	7%	Téléroman	3.3%
Série dramatique	3%	Affaires publiques	3.3%
Affaires publiques	3%	Série dramatique médicale	3.3%
Série dramatique médicale	3%	Série dramatique	2%

* Evaluation de BBM en termes d'auditoires de la région centrale. (Automne 1975.)

(N = 4), policiers (N = 3) et un western. Les émissions de type interview(dix-neuf pour cent) présentées uniquement au réseau TVA se sont classées au second rang du tableau des préférences de l'auditoire. Les séries dramatiques policières venaient au troisième rang, représentant onze pour cent de disponibilité (de la part des téléspectateurs) pour les émissions les plus regardées.

Exception faite des films, interviews et nouvelles télévisées, on trouve une grande variété d'émissions (comédies, musique, téléromans, affaires publiques et séries dramatiques) qui ne sont pas offertes particuliè-

Tableau 11

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région de Montréal*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 2,811,890 personnes

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Téléroman	927,923
2.	*Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comédie	843,567
3.	*Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Téléroman	815,448
4.	*Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	702,972
5.	*Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Série dramatique	562,378
6.	*La p'tite semaine* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	534,259
7.	*Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Affaires publiques	478,021
8.	*Télésélection* (lundi) (R-C)	U.S./Brit./U.S.	Film	478,021
9.	*Quelle Famille* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	449,902
10.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (lundi) (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	449,902
11.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (mardi) (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	421,783
12.	*Hawaii Five-0* (TVA)	U.S.	Série policière	421,783
13.	*Le Monde de Disney* (R-C)	U.S.	Aventure	421,783
14.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (mercredi) (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	421,783
15.	*Le 10 vous informe* (lundi) (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	421,783
16.	*La Corne d'abondance* (TVA)	Can.	Autre	393,664
17.	*Les grandes productions* (TVA)	U.S./Brit./U.S.	Film	393,664
18.	*Le Travail à la chaîne* (R-C)	Can.	Jeu	393,664
19.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (jeudi) (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	365,545
20.	*Le 10 vous informe* (mardi) (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	365,545
21.	*Le 10 vous informe* (mer.) (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	365,545
22.	*Médecin d'aujourd'hui* (TVA)	U.S.	Série dramatique médicale	365,545
23.	*Soirée du Hockey* (R-C)	Can.	Sports	365,545
24.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (vendredi) (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	365,545
25.	*Ranch à Willie* (TVA)	Can.	Musique	365,545
26.	*Découvertes '76* (TVA)	Can.	Musique	337,426
27.	*J-P. Ferland* (TVA)	Can.	Documentaire	337,426
28.	*Qui dit vrai* (TVA)	Can.	Emission de jeu	337,426
29.	*Jeudi 8h30* (TVA)	Fr./U.S./Brit.	Film	337,426
30.	*Kojak* (TVA)	U.S.	Série policière	337,426

* Evaluation de BBM en termes d'auditoires de la région centrale. (Printemps 1976.)

rement en grande quantité à l'automne, mais qui ont la faveur des Montréalais. De fait, parmi les quatre émissions les plus regardées à Montréal, on trouve deux téléromans, une comédie et un film.

Région centrale (printemps 1976)

Le tableau 11 présente les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population de la région centrale de Montréal au printemps.

L'analyse des données ne révèle que peu de changements comparativement aux préférences exprimées à l'automne. Les deux réseaux d'expression française (Radio-Camada et TVA) sont une fois de plus les seuls représentés et le réseau TVA a la part du marché la plus importante avec vingt des trente émissions figurant sur la liste.

Les interviews (*Parle parle, jase jase*) et les nouvelles télévisées (*Le 10 vous informe*) sont une fois de plus bien représentées sur cette liste (sept sur trente). Les productions canadiennes sont toujours prédominantes au printemps dans une proportion de vingt-quatre émissions sur trente.

En étudiant ces données en termes de catégories d'émissions les plus regardées au printemps, on constate que les films, bien qu'ils soient en moins grand nombre (automne trente-huit pour cent, printemps vingt-et-un pour cent) et les émissions de type interviews (printemps dix-neuf pour cent, automne dix-neuf pour cent), dominent encore. On trouve de nouveau une part égale de films de types dramatique et drame policier. Les téléromans et les comédies conservent la faveur du public, avec une bonne cote en termes de fractions d'auditoire. (Voir tableau 12).

La présense de plusieurs nouvelles catégories d'émissions sur la liste du printemps constitue une différence intéressante entre les choix d'émissions exprimés à l'automne et au printemps. Elles s'ajoutent aux catégories figurant déjà sur les listes d'automne. Les sports (dix pour cent), les émissions d'aventures (quatre pour cent), les émissions de jeu (quatre pour cent), les documentaires (trois pour cent) et autres types d'émissions (un pour cent) figurent maintenant sur la liste des trente émissions les plus regardées au printemps.

Territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Si on étudie les cotes d'écoute du territoire total de diffusion, on constate que les trente émissions les plus regardées au printemps sont pratiquement les mêmes pour le territoire total que pour le région centrale. Comme on le voit dans le tableau 13, il n'y a que quelques changements dans l'ordre de classement. On remarque toutefois deux nouvelles émissions parmi les toutes dernières rubriques de la liste, *Marcus Welby, M.D.* (série dramatique à sujet médical) et *Les Pierrafeu* (dessin animé).

Ainsi, la représentation des catégories d'émissions pour le territoire total de diffusion est aussi variée que celle de la région centrale. Comme on le voit au tableau

Tableau 12

Les trente émissions, classées par catégorie, les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) dans la région de Montréal*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 2,811,890 personnes

Catégorie d'émission	Unités emissions	Catégorie d'émission	Unités minutes
Interviews	17%	Film	21%
Comédie	14%	Interviews	19%
Film	10%	Sports	10%
Nouvelles	10%	Comédie	7%
Téléroman	7%	Série policière	7%
Musique	7%	Nouvelles	6%
Emission de jeu	7%	Téléroman	4%
Série policière	7%	Affaires publiques	4%
Autre	3%	Aventure	4%
Sports	3%	Musique	4%
Série dramatique à sujet médical	3%	Emission de jeu	4%
Aventure	3%	Série dramatique à sujet médical	4%
Série dramatique	3%	Documentaire	3%
Affaires publiques	3%	Série dramatique	2%
Documentaire	3%	Autre	1%

* Evaluation de BBM en termes d'auditoires de la région centrale. (Automne 1976.)

14, les émissions de type interviews et les films sont encore les catégories les plus importantes. Quant aux autres types d'émissions, ils sont représentés de la même façon que sur la liste de la région centrale, mis à part les dessins animés qui ne se retrouvent que sur la liste du territoire total de diffusion et les sports qui ne figurent que sur la liste de la région centrale.

Comme nous l'avons mentionné dans l'introduction, dans les grands centres urbains, il y a peu de différences les entre les préférences des auditoires de la région centrale et du territoire total de diffusion.

Tableau 13

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région de Montréal*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 4,261,670 personnes

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Téléroman	1,423,800
2.	*Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comédie	1,308,300
3.	*Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Téléroman	1,153,800
4.	*Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	994,900
5.	*Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Série dramatique	791,700
6.	*La p'tite semaine* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	735,400
7.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (lundi) (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	711,900
8.	*Quelle Famille* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	698,800
9.	*Le 10 vous informe* (lundi) (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	681,600
10.	*Télésélection* (R-C)	Brit./U.S./U.S.	Film	661,600
11.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (mardi) (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	657,400
12.	*Parle parle, jase jaes* (mercredi) (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	644,600
13.	*Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Affaires publiques	643,500
14.	*Hawaii Five-0* (TVA)	U.S.	Série policière	637,800
15.	*Le Monde de Disney* (R-C)	U.S.	Aventure	636,400
16.	*Le 10 vous informe* (mardi) (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	629,900
17.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (jeudi) (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	612,400
18.	*Médecin d'aujourd'hui* (TVA)	U.S.	Série dramatique à sujet médical	583,100
19.	*Parle parle, jase jase* (vendredi) (TVA)	Can.	Interview	582,900
20.	*Le Ranch à Willie* (TVA)	Can.	Musique	581,700
21.	*Les grandes Productions* (TVA)	U.S./Fr./U.S.	Film	575,900
22.	*La Corne d'abondance* (TVA)	Can.	Autre	565,200
23.	*Le 10 vous informe* (mercredi)(TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	563,300
24.	*Le travail à la chaîne* (R-C)	Can.	Emission de jeu	558,800
25.	*Le 10 vous informe* (jeudi) (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	542,600
26.	*Découvertes '76* (TVA)	Can.	Musique	539,400
27.	*Kojak* (TVA)	U.S.	Série policière	535,700
28.	*Marcus Welby, M.D.* (R-C)	U.S.	Série dramatique à sujet médical	518,700
29.	*Les Pierrafeu* (R-C)	U.S.	Dessins animés	502,400
30.	*A la canadienne* (TVA)	Can.	Musique	489,500

* Evaluation de BBM en termes d'auditoires de la région centrale. (Printemps 1976.)

Tableau 14

Les trente émissions, classées par catégorie, les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) dans la région de Montréal*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 4,261,670 personnes

Catégorie d'émission	Unités émissions	Catégorie d'émission	Unités minutes
Interviews	17%	Interviews	22%
Comédie	13.5%	Film	16%
Nouvelles	13.5%	Comédie	9%
Musique	10%	Nouvelles	9%
Film	7%	Série dramatique à sujet médical	9%
Téléroman	7%	Série policière	9%
Série policière	7%	Musique	7%
Série dramatique sujet médical	7%	Téléroman	4%
Affaires publiques	3%	Affaires publiques	4%
Série dramatique	3%	Aventure	4%
Aventure	3%	Dessins animés	2%
Emission de jeu	3%	Emission de jeu	2%
Dessins animéss	3%	Série dramatique	2%
Autre	3%	Autre	1%

* Evaluation de BBM en termes d'auditoires de la région centrale. (Automne 1976.)

Groupes selon le sexe

Pour compléter notre étude du marché à Montréal, nous avons analysé nos données en termes de programmation préférée par groupes selon le sexe et l'âge. Pour les groupes selon le sexe, nous avons compilé les dix émissions les plus regardées au printemps 1976 par les hommes et les femmes dans le territoire total de diffusion, selon les données de BBM.

Comme on le voit dans le tableau 15, dans l'ensemble, les hommes et les femmes ont exprimé à peu près les mêmes goûts. Parmi les dix émissions les plus regardées sept sont les mêmes pour les deux groupes,

bien que l'ordre de classement varie. Les principales exceptions sont d'une part, la présence de deux émissions de nouvelles télévisées sur la liste des hommes, alors qu'une seule de ces émissions figure sur celle des femmes; celles-ci, préférant deux émissions d'interviews. D'autre part, les hommes ajoutent à leur liste des films et des séries policières. En ce qui concerne l'origine du contenu des productions, toutes les émissions qui figurent sur la liste des femmes et, parmi dix émissions qui figurent sur celle des hommes, huit sont des productions canadiennes. Proportionnellement à l'importance de l'auditoire, les femmes semblent généralement regarder davantage les émissions que les hommes. A titre d'exemple, l'émission la plus suivie par les femmes (c.-à-d. *Rue des Pignons*), était regardée par 600,900 femmes alors que celle qui figurait en tête de liste pour les hommes (c.-à-d. *Les Berger*) n'atteignait que 401,600 téléspectateurs hommes. (Voir tableau 15).

Groupes selon l'âge

Nous avons divisé nos données en trois groups d'âge: les adultes, dix-huit ans et plus; les adolescents, douze a dix-sept ans; les enfants, deux a onze ans. On doit noter que les listes des dix émissions les plus regardées par tous les groupes d'âge (c.-à-d. adultes, adolescents et enfants) ne comprennent que les émissions diffusées entre 18h et 23h.

A première vue on remarque que les trois groupes d'âge n'ont que trois émissions (deux comédies et un téléroman) en commun parmi leurs émissions favorites. En comparant les listes, on constate que ce sont les enfants et les adolescents qui ont le plus d'émissions favorites en commun. Les deux groupes expriment les mêmes préférences pour huit des dix émissions, surtout en ce qui concerne les comédies et les émissions d'aventure. La liste des adultes, d'autre part, comprend principalement des téléromans, des interviews et des nouvelles télévisées. Ces deux dernières catégories sont complètement absentes des listes des adolescents et des enfants (Voir tableau 16).

En ce qui concerne le contenu canadien, les dix é missions de la liste des adultes, huit des dix émissions de la liste des adolescents et sept des dix émissions de la liste des enfants, sont des productions canadiennes. L'importance de l'auditoire est à peu près la même pour les adolescents (237,700) et les enfants (222,300). Les émissions les plus regardées par les adultes atteignaient un auditoire de 995,900 personnes.

Enfin, il est intéressant de noter que le majorité des adultes choisissent la plupart de leurs émissions sur le réseau d'expression française TVA (sept émissions sur dix); tandis que les adolescents (sept émissions sur dix); tandis que les adolescents (sept émissions sur dix) et les enfants (huit émissions sur dix) choisissent plutôt leurs émissions sur le réseau français de Radio-Canada.

Tableau 15

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les femmes (dix-huit ans et plus) dans la région de Montréal*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 4,261,670 personnes

Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1. *Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Téléroman	600,900
2. *Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Téléroman	594,300
3. *Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comédie	465,500
4. *Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	369,400
5. *Parle parle, jase jase* (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	356,800
6. *Parle parle, jase jase* (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	341,100
7. *Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Affaires publiques	337,200
8. *Le 10 vous informe* (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	331,000
9. *Parle parle, jase jase* (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	324,100
10. *Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Série dramatique	304,600

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les hommes (dix-huit ans et plus) dans la région de Montréal*

Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1. *Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Téléroman	401,600
2. *Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comédie	398,800
3. *Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Téléroman	326,200
4. *Le 10 vous informe* (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	276,000
5. *Parle parle, jase jase* (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	265,200
6. *Le 10 vous informe* (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	263,500
7. *Télésélection* (R-C)	Brit./U.S./U.S.	Film	255,700
8. *Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	251,600
9. *Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Affaires publiques	251,000
10. *Hawaii Five-0* (R-C)	U.S.	Série policière	250,100

* Evaluation de BBM en termes d'auditoires de la région centrale. (Printemps 1976.)

Tableau 16

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (dix-huit ans et plus) dans la région de Montréal*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 4,261,670 personnes

Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1. *Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Téléroman	995,900
2. *Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Téléroman	927,100
3. *Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comédie	863,500

4. *Parle parle, jase jase* (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	622,000
5. *Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	621,000
6. *Le 10 vous informe* (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	607,000
7. *Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Affaires publiques	588,600
8. *Parle parle, jase jase* (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	582,600
9. *Le 10 vous informe* (TVA)	Can.	Nouvelles	557,900
10. *Parle parle, jase jase* (TVA)	Can.	Interviews	551,700

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adolescents (de douze à dix-sept ans) dans la région de Montréal*

Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1. *Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comédie	237,700
2. *Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Téléroman	205,600
3. *Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	196,300
4. *Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Série dramatique	164,400
5. *Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Téléroman	155,800
6. *Quelle Famille* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	148,300
7. *La p'tite semaine* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	111,000
8. *Disney* (R-C)	U.S.	Aventure	99,800
9. *Robinson suisse* (R-C)	Can.	Aventure	95,800
10. *Les grandes Productions* (TVA)	U.S./Fr./U.S.	Film	95,600

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les enfants (de deux à onze ans) dans la région de Montréal*

Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1. *Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Téléroman	222,300
2. *Quelle Famille* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	212,400
3. *Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comédie	207,100
4. *Le Monde de Disney* (R-C)	U.S.	Aventure	178,300
5. *Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	177,600
6. *Les Pierrafeu* (R-C)	U.S.	Dessins animés	171,900
7. *Robinson suisse* (R-C)	Can.	Aventure	138,400
8. *La P'tite semaine* (R-C)	Can.	Comédie	133,900
9. *Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Série dramatique	115,300
10. *Marcus Welby, M.D.* (R-C)	U.S.	Série dramatique à sujet médical	110,400

* Evaluation de BBM en termes d'auditoires de la région centrale. (Printemps 1976.)

Toronto

A) Programmation de télévision offerte

Caractéristiques démographiques

Au recensement de 1971,[7] la population de la région métropolitaine de Toronto était de 2,628,045 personnes dont 1,300,525 hommes et 1,327,500 femmes. Les familles comptaient en moyenne 3.4 personnes et 1.5 enfants. Le revenu familial moyen était de $11,841. 1,940,735 personnes se disaient de langue maternelle française et 641,735 personnes mentionnaient d'autres langues. 2,148,950 personnes déclaraient parler l'anglais à la maison, 189,420 l'italien, 30,300 l'allemand, 22,570 l'ukrainien, 20,580 le français, 19,555 le polonais et 4,020 le néerlandais.

Dans la région métropolitaine de Toronto, on compte un total de 1,495,295 Britanniques, 271,755 Italiens, 116,640 Allemands, 91,975 Français, 71,030 Asiatiques, 60,755 Ukrainiens, 51,185 Polonais, 44,430 Hollandais, 23,350 Hongrois, 18,360 Scandinaves et 5,265 Russes.

Cinquante-sept pour cent de la population de la région de Toronto sont donc d'origine britannique et quarante-trois pour cent proviennent d'autres cultures. Toronto est, parmi les grandes villes canadiennes, l'une de celles qui a accès au plus grand nombre de réseaux de télévision. C'est également l'un des principaux centres de production de télévision.

Caractéristiques de la télédiffusion

Nous étudierons, pour la région de Toronto, la programmation offerte par les principaux réseaux qui se partagent la plus grande part du marché. Ce sont les réseaux suivants: le réseau d'état d'expression anglaise CBC (CBLT – 5) et son pendant d'expression française Radio-Canada (CBFT – 25), le réseau privé d'expression anglaise CTV (CFTO – 9), le réseau indépendant d'expression anglaise Toronto-Hamilton (CHCH – 11) et le réseau indépendant d'expression anglaise d'Uxbridge (CKGN – 22). Il y a également 3 réseaux américains, soit CBS de Buffalo (WBEN – 4), NBC de Buffalo (WGR – 2) et ABC de Buffalo (WKBW – 7), dont le rayon de diffusion atteint Toronto et qui feront également l'objet de notre étude. Nous avons décidé de ne pas inclure deux autres réseaux qui rejoignent également la région (CITY – 79 et WUTV – 29) pour plusieurs raisons, parmi lesquelles la faible importance de leur auditoire. Enfin, on doit souligner la présence de TVOntario qui relève de l'OECA (*Ontario Educational Communication Authority*), le réseau éducatif provincial de l'Ontario qui tente d'offrir une programmation à la fois éducative et divertissante. Ce réseau offre aussi des émissions en français destinées aux téléspectateurs francophones et bilingues. Bien que sa part du marché ne soit guère comparable à celle des autres grands réseaux, nous avons cru bon de l'inclure à l'analyse en raison de l'alternative qu'il offre aux téléspectateurs de Toronto. Nous discuterons donc brièvement de sa programmation et de ses cotes d'écoute à la fin de cette section.

L'une des caractéristiques du marché de Toronto réside dans le fait d'un important chevauchement pour certaines catégories d'émissions entre les réseaux canadiens et américains. Nous avons donc combiné les cotes d'écoute d'une même émission quand elle était présentée simultanément par deux réseaux différents pour mieux évaluer la popularité de cette émission ainsi que l'importance de son auditoire. Lorsque cela se présente, nous avons toujours noté dans nos tableaux les réseaux concernés. La diffusion des nouvelles télévisées du soir à 22h par Global et à 22h30 par Radio-Canada est un autre facteur de la programmation à Toronto. Nous ferons état de ces émissions dans notre analyse, mais elles demeurent marginales par rapport aux autres réseaux.

On évalue à soixante-huit pour cent, dans le rapport de BBM[8], la proportion des foyers qui disposent de la câblodistribution pour le marché de Toronto. On pourrait croire que l'ampleur de la câblodistribution garantisse automatiquement une programmation plus diversifiée à cause de l'accessibilité à un plus grand nombre de réseaux.

C'est là une des questions auxquelles nous tenterons de répondre. Enfin, le pourcentage des foyers qui possèdent un téléviseur en couleur est de soixante-deux pour cent.

Catégories générales (automne 1975)

Les principales caractéristiques de la programmation des réseaux de Toronto sont exposées au tableau 17.

Comme on peut le voir, les huit principaux réseaux d'expression anglaise offrent au téléspectateur torontois moyen neuf catégories d'émissions différentes (série dramatique, variétés, film, sports, jeu, musique, comédie, nouvelles et série policière). Pour sa part, le réseau d'expression française offre deux catégories distinctes d'émissions (affaires publiques et documentaires).

Les nouvelles télévisées obtiennent la plus grande proportion de la programmation pour tous les réseaux. CBS, réseau américain, atteint le pourcentage le plus élevé avec (trente-et-un pour cent) et Radio-Canada réseau d'expression française obtient vingt-neuf pour cent. CHCH (dix pour cent) et CFTO (dix pour cent) ont le pourcentage le plus bas quant aux émissions de nouvelles. Les séries policières et les films sont les deux types d'émissions les plus courants pour cinq des huit réseaux. D'une part, seuls CBC (quatre pou cent) et Radio-Canada (zéro pour cent) ne présentent pas ou peu d'émissions policières; d'autre part, CBC (zéro pour cent) et ABC (six pour cent) offrent rarement des films. Le plus grand promoteur d'émissions de type série policière est CTV (vingt-huit pour cent), suivi de près par CHCH (vingt-sept pour cent). On voit que les réseaux canadiens ont dépassé leurs voisins du Sud en tant que promoteurs de programmation de type violent. Les films, (vingt-deux pour cent) sont d'autre part, présentés surtout par le réseau d'expression française CBC. La catégorie qui se classe au troisième rang pour quatre des huit réseaux est celle des émissions du type comédie (CBC, dix-neuf pour cent; Global, seize pour cent; CBS, treize pour cent; CTV, onze pour cent).

Pour plus de détails quant à l'importance de chaque catégorie pour chaque réseau, voir le tableau 7 de l'annexe. Ce tableau présente les pourcentages en termes d'unités/minutes et d'unités'/émissions pour chacune des catégories.

La langue de diffusion (automne 1975)

On remarque, dans les données déjà présentées, qu'un réseau au moins (CBC) est marginal part rapport aux autres quant à ce qu'il offre aux téléspectateurs en termes de langue de diffusion et de catégories de la

Tableau 17

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale

CBC (CBLT)		CTV (CFTO)		*Independant* (CHCH)	
Nouvelles	20%	Série dramatique	28%	Série policière	27%
Comédie	19%	Jeu	13%	Jeu	12%
Musique	13%	Comédie	11%	Musique	11%
Variétés	12%	Nouvelles	10%	Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	11%
		Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	10%	Nouvelles	10%

Global (CKGN)		Radio-Canada (CBLFT)		NBC (WGR)	
Nouvelles	29%	Nouvelles	29%	Nouvelles	21%
Série policière	22%	Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	22%	Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	18%
Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	22%	Documentaire	12%	Série policière	17%
Comédie	16%	Affaires publiques	11.5%	Série dramatique	10%
				Sports	10%

CBS (WBEN)		ABC (WKBW)	
Nouvelles	31%	Nouvelles	20%
Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	14%	Jeu	19%
Comédie	13%	Sports	18%
Sports	13%	Série policière	17%
Série policière	11%		

programmation. Nous avons synthétisé nos données selon cette variable tout en faisant la distinction entre les réseaux canadiens et américains, de façon à démontrer clairement cet aspect de la question. Les catégories principales offertes aux téléspectateurs dans le région de Toronto à l'automne 1975 sont présentées au tableau 18.

A part la prédominance des nouvelles télévisées pour tous les réseaux, il semble y avoir d'importantes différences reliées à la langue de diffusion dans le type de programmation offert aux téléspectateurs torontois. L'une de ces différences réside dans l'importance des séries policières pour les réseaux d'expression anglaise et pour les réseaux américains, alors que le réseau de langue française n'en diffuse que très peu.

On constate d'autres différences du genre avec le grand nombre de documentaires (douze pour cent) et d'émissions d'affaires publiques (onze point cinq pour cent) au réseau de langue française proportionnellement aux réseaux de langue anglaise (deux pour cent et quatre pour cent respectivement) et aux réseaux américains (deux pour cent et un pour cent respectivement). Les émissions de sports (quatorze pour cent) ne sont fréquemment présentées qu'aux réseaux américains.

Tableau 18

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Réseaux de langue anglaise		Réseaux américains		Réseaux de langue française	
Série policière	20%	Nouvelles	24%	Nouvelles	29%
Nouvelles	17%	Série policière	15%	Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	22%
Comédie	12%	Sports	14%	Documentaire	12%
Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	11%	Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	12%	Affaires publiques	11.5%

Tableau 19

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon les réseaux

D'état canadiens		Privés canadiens		Privés américains	
Nouvelles	24.5%	Série policière	26%	Nouvelles	24%
Comédie	11.5%	Nouvelles	16%	Série policière	15%
Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	11%	Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	14%	Sports	14%
Affaires publiques	10%	Comédie	10%	Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	12%

Les réseaux d'état et les réseaux privés (automne 1975)

L'analyse de nos données nous a démontré que les différences dans la programmation tenaient non seulement du facteur de la langue de diffusion mais aussi du facteur économique. Nous avons synthétisé nos données en termes de régime des réseaux, soit les réseaux d'état canadiens et les réseaux privés canadiens ainsi que les réseaux privés américains. Le tableau 19 présente ces données.

Enfin, les films ont une place relativement importante dans la programmation de tous les réseaux, mais plus particulièrement au réseau d'expression française (vingt-deux pour cent). Compte tenu de l'importance de ce type d'émission au réseau de langue française, nous avons décidé de le subdiviser en sous-catégories comme nous l'avions fait pour le marché de Montréal. Au cours de cette analyse, nous avons constaté que le contenu des films était surtout de type dramatique (Voir tableau VIII de l'annexe).

Si on étudie les principales catégories d'émissions offertes par les réseaux d'état canadiens, les réseaux privés canadiens et américains à l'automne 1975, on constate que tous les réseaux présentent à peu près les mêmes pourcentages et les mêmes types de films. Les nouvelles télévisées occupent une bonne part de la programmation quoiqu'elles s'avèrent moins importantes pour les réseaux privés canadiens (seize pour cent). Les réseaux privés canadiens consacrent plus de temps aux émissions de type série policière (vingt-six pour cent) que les réseaux privés américains qui n'allouent que (quinze pour cent) de leur temps de diffusion à ce type de programmation. Les réseaux d'état canadiens n'offrent que très peu d'émissions du genre série policière (deux pour cent) dans la programmation de télévision. Ils offrent plutôt des émissions d'affaires publiques (dix pour cent). Quant aux autres catégories d'émissions, il faut tenir compte des comédies qui occupent une part de la programmation tout aussi importante pour les réseaux canadiens d'état (onze point cinq pour cent) et privés (dix pour cent); les émissions de sports atteignent quatorze pour cent pour les réseaux américains.

Il nous semble donc qu'il faille d'avantage prendre en considération les facteurs économiques pour comprendre les structures de la programmation de télévision destinée au marché de Toronto. En étudiant non seulement les types de catégorie, mais encore le pourcentage de temps alloué à chaque catégorie, on constate que les trois types de réseaux ont des profils de programmation tout à fait différents (Voir tableau IX de l'annexe).

Tableau 20

Pourcentage de productions canadiennes selon les réseaux
(à l'exclusion des nouvelles)

Réseaux Pays D'origine	Radio-Canada (CBLFT)		CBC (CBLT)		CTV (CFTO)		Indépendant (CHCH)		Global (CKGN)	
Canada	67.5%	(54%)	66%	(57%)	37%	(29%)	38%	(30%)	39.5%	(15%)
U.S.	25%	(36%)	28%	(35%)	60%	(67%)	62%	(70%)	60.5%	(85%)
Autre	7.5%	(10%)	6%	(8%)	3%	(4%)	0%	(0%)	0%	(0%)

Le contenu canadien (automne 1975)

Nous avons également analysé nos données sur la programmation de télévision de la région de Toronto à l'automne 1975 en termes de contenu canadien. On trouve au tableau 20 la proportion de productions canadiennes (en termes d'unités/minutes), américaines et provenant d'autres pays (c.-à-d. surtout des pays européens). Nous n'avons analysé que les réseaux canadiens sous ce rapport.

On trouve les plus grandes proportions de productions canadiennes sur les deux réseaux d'état (c.-à-d. Radio-Canada et CBC). D'autre part, les réseaux privés n'atteignent pas quarante pour cent de contenu canadien. Ils sont donc les plus grand importateurs de productions étrangères, malgré le petit nombre de pays où ils choisissent leur approvisionnement. Les Etats-Unis ont ainsi le monopole des émissions exportées vers les réseaux canadiens privés. Le réseau CHCH présente la plus forte proportion de productions américaines, soit soixante-deux pour cent des émissions diffusées.

Nous avons admis que les nouvelles télévisées (productions canadiennes) constituaient une part importante de la programmation; nous avons donc analysé nos données comme nous l'avions fait pour les autres marchés, en excluant cette catégorie. La deuxième colonne du tableau 20 présente ces résultats.

Nos résultats démontrent que malgré une baisse, les deux réseaux d'état, (Radio-Canada (cinquante-quatre pour cent); CBC, (cinquante-sept pour cent), ne cessent de présenter majoritairement des productions canadiennes. Global, qui détient comme nous l'avons vu antérieurement un fort pourcentage de nouvelles télévisées, accuse une baisse considérable (c.-à-d. une diminution de vingt-quatre point cinq pour cent). A partir de ces données, on peut facilement conclure que les téléspectateurs torontois seraient davantage portés vers les valeurs et images américaines au vers les valeurs et images canadiennes s'ils ne regardaient que la programmation offerte par les réseaux privés canadiens. Etant donné que cette partie de notre analyse traite des types d'émissions *offertes* à la population, cette hypothèse ne pourra être vérifiée que lors de l'étude des *préférences* exprimées par les téléspectateurs torontois dans leur sélection d'émissions.

Avant de présenter cette information, nous allons toutefois compléter cette partie de notre analyse en examinant ce qu'on offrait comme types de programmation à Toronto, au printemps 1976.

Catégories générales (printemps 1976)

Le tableau 21 présente les principales catégories d'émissions (unités/minutes) diffusées dans la région de Toronto, au printemps 1976, pour chaque réseau.

Il semble qu'on ait offert au téléspectateur torontois moyen, une moins grande variété d'émissions au printemps qu'à l'automne. En fait, on ne trouve que huit catégories distinctes d'émissions contre onze à l'automne. Les catégories suivantes: musique, variétés, documentaires, ont été retirées des listes.

Tous les réseaux semblent avoir quelque peu modifié leur programmation du printemps. Les nouvelles télévisées, séries policières, comédies et les jeux conservent à peu près la même importance au printemps par rapport à l'automne. Les séries policières sont encore prédominantes pour CTV, (vingt-neuf pour cent), Global, (vingt-sept pour cent) et Independant CHCH (vingt-quatre pour cent). Les nouvelles télévisées demeurent la catégorie principale aussi bien pour Radio-Canada (trente pour cent) que pour CBC (vingt pour cent). On trouve d'autre part, quant aux variations spécifiques des réseaux, que CBC a augmenté au printemps ses émissions d'affaires publiques (printemps dix pour cent; automne huit pour cent). Radio-Canada, pour sa part, réduisait le nombre de ses émissions de type documentaire (printemps, cinq pour cent, automne, douze pour cent). Quant aux autres réseaux canadiens, nous avons remarqué une diminution considérable des films dans le cas de CTV (printemps, deux pour cent, automne dix pour cent) et de Global (printemps, cinq pour cent; automne, vingt-deux pour cent), ainsi qu'une petite diminution pour la catégorie d'émissions musique à CHCH Independant (printemps, neuf pour cent; automne, onze pour cent). Global a néanmoins accru sensiblement le nombre des émissions sportives dans sa programmation (printemps,

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Tableau 21

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale

CBC (CBLT)		CTV (CFTO)		Independent (CHCH)	
Nouvelles	20%	Série policière	29%	Série policière	24%
Comédie	20%	Comédie	13%	Jeu	10%
Affaires publiques	10%	Jeu	12%	Nouvelles	10%
		Nouvelles	10%		
Global (CKGN)		Radio-Canada (CBLFT)		NBC (WGR)	
Nouvelles	27%	Nouvelles	30%	Série policière	25%
Série policière	21%	Film (surtout des drames)	19%	Nouvelles	20%
Sports	19%			Film (surtout des drames)	11%
Comédie	16%	Affaires publiques	14%	Sports	10%
CBS (WBEN)		ABC (WKBW)			
Nouvelles	30%	Nouvelles	20%		
Comédie	15%	Jeu	17%		
Sports	15%	Film	14%		
Série dramatique	11%	Série policière	12%		
		Sports	10%		

dix-neuf pour cent; automne deux pour cent).

Enfin, l'étude de nos données nous a permis de constater, en ce qui concerne les réseaux américains, d'autres changements entre les programmations présentées à l'automne et au printemps. D'une part, la programmation contient une plus faible proportion de films pour les réseaux CBS (printemps, huit pour cent;, automne, quatorze pour cent) et NBC (printemps, onze pour cent; automne, dix-huit pour cent) tandis que ABC accuse une hausse dans cette même catégorie (printemps, quatorze pour cent; automne, six pour cent). NBC augmentait son pourcentage de séries policières (printemps, vingt-cinq pour cent;, automne, dix-sept pour cent), tandis que CBS (printemps, neuf pour cent; automne, onze pour cent) et ABC (printemps, donze pour cent; automne, dix-sept pour cent) diminuait ce même pourcentage. Toutefois, la proportion globale d'émissions policières demeure assez stable dans l'ensemble. En ce qui concerne les séries dramatiques, NBC accuse une baisse (printemps, huit pour cent; automne, dix pour cent) et ABC accuse également une baisse côté sports (printemps, dix pour cent; automne, dix-huit pour cent); d'autre part CBS augmente sa proportion d'émissions dans la catégorie série dramatique (printemps, onze pour cent; automne-,deux pour cent). Pour plus de détails sur l'importance de chaque catégorie, voir le tableau X de l'annexe qui offre une présentation complète de ces données.

On découvre que la programmation offerte dans la région de Toronto au printemps 1976 comporte moins de diversité que celle de l'automne 1975.

La langue de diffusion

Nous avons synthétisé nos données sur la programmation offerte au printemps 1976, en termes de langue de diffusion. (Voir tableau 22.)

Tableau 22

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Réseaux de langue anglaise		Réseaux américains		Réseaux de langue française	
Série policière	20%	Nouvelles	24%	Nouvelles	30%
Nouvelles	17%	Série policière	15%	Film (la plupart de type dramatique)	19%
Comédie	13%	Sports	12%		
		Film (de type dramatique pour la plupart)	11%	Affaire publiques	14%
		Comédie	10%		

Tableau 23

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

Réseaux d'état canadiens		Réseaux privés canadiens		Réseaux privés américains	
Nouvelles	25%	Série policière	25%	Nouvelles	24%
Comédie	12%	Nouvelles	16%	Série policière	15%
Affaires publiques	12%	Comédies	11%	Sports	12%
Films (surtout des drames)	10%			Films (surtout des drames)	11%
				Comédies	10%

Dans l'ensemble, les changements que l'on avait remarqués entre l'automne et le printemps sont dus à une diminution des films sur les réseaux de langue anglaise et une diminution des documentaires aux réseaux de langue françaises. Pour plus de détails, le tableau XI de l'annexe.

Les réseaux d'état et les réseaux privés (printemps 1975)
Nous avons synthétisé nos données en termes de régions des réseaux, soit les réseaux d'état canadiens et les réseaux privés canadiens et américains. Les résultats sont présentés au tableau 23.

Pour le printemps 1976, nous avons trouvé des concentrations de catégories d'émissions semblables à celles dont il a été question pour les données de l'automne. Les seules exceptions pour la liste des catégories principales sont l'exclusion des films (printemps, cinq pour cent; automne, quatorze pour cent) aux réseaux privés canadiens et un plus grand nombre de comédies (printemps, dix pour cent; automne, neuf pour cent) aux réseaux privés améri-

cains. Les comédies et les nouvelles télévisées sont de nouveau les deux seules catégories d'émissions communes aux trois types de réseaux. Les films sont surtout offerts par les réseaux d'état canadiens. Les réseaux américains se distinguent par la quantité des émissions de sport qu'ils présentent. Pour plus de détails, consulter le tableau XII de l'annexe.

Le contenu canadien (printemps 1976)
Nous avons également analysé la proportion des productions canadiennes dans la programmation des réseaux canadiens pour le printemps. (Voir tableau 24.)

On constate une augmentation de la proportion des productions canadiennes au printemps pour trois des cinq réseaux. Radio-Canada (automne, soixante-sept point cinq pour cent; printemps, soixante-dix point cinq pour cent) CTV (automne, trente-sept pour cent; printemps, quarante-sept point cinq pour cent) et Global (automne, trente-neuf point cinq pour cent; printemps, quarante-neuf pour cent). Ceci est particulièrement apparent dans le cas de CTV et Global qui ont

Tableau 24

Pourcentage de productions canadiennes selon les réseaux
(à L'exclusion des nouvelles)

Réseaux	Radio-Canada (CBLFT)		CBC (CBLT)		CTV (CFTO)		Independent (CHCH)		Global (CKGN)	
Pays D'origine										
Canada	72.5%	(61%)	66.5%	(58%)	47.5%	(42%)	39.5%	(33%)	49%	(30%)
U.S.	15%	(21%)	28.5%	(36%)	50.5%	(56%)	60.5%	(67%)	50%	(68%)
Autre	12.5%	(18%)	5%	(6%)	2%	(2%)	0%	(0%)	1%	(2%)

augmenté leur proportion de productions canadiennes grâce à la diffusion de reportages sportifs. Comparativement à l'automne, CBC n'avait apporté que peu de changements et continuait, au printemps, à présenter surtout des productions canadiennes, tandis que CHCH continuait d'offrir presque uniquement des productions américaines. Dans l'ensemble, mis à part les émissions de sport, les deux réseaux d'état étaient les seuls à offrir aux téléspectateurs torontois un contenu en grande partie canadien. Radio-Canada une fois encore, offrait la plus grande divernté de programmes d'origine étrangère avec quinze pour cent de productions américaines et donze point cinq pour cent de productions provenant d'autres pays.

Si on exclut les nouvelles télévisées, on constate, comme à l'automne, que tous les pourcentages de contenu canadien de tous les réseaux diminuent. Cette baisse est particulièrement apparente dans le cas du réseau Global (dix-neuf pour cent) dont le pourcentage de nouvelles télévisées est très élevé.

On constate que le programmation de télévision offerte dans la région de Toronto enregistrait certaines variations entre l'automne 1975 et la printemps 1976. De fait, on remarquait moins de variété dans les catégories d'émissions et une augmentation du contenu canadien. Ces variables ne sont cependant pas nécessairement interdépendantes et la dernière variation enregistrée (augmentation du contenu canadien) était surtout due à une catégorie d'émissions, à savoir les sports. On remarque également que les facteurs qui ont trait à la langue ainsi que les facteurs économiques constituent aussi des variables qui peuvent expliquer en partie les modifications de profils de programmation.

Après avoir étudié la programmation offerte dans la région de Toronto à l'automne 1975 et au printemps 1976, nous allons nous intéresser aux préférences des téléspectateurs pendant les périodes considérées.

Toronto
B) Les cotes d'écoute en fonction de l'auditoire

Dans cette section, nous présentons les résultats, en termes de nombre de téléspectateurs pour la programmation la plus regardée selon les rapports de cote d'écoute de BBM. Pour plus de détails sur la façon dont ces données ont été recueillies et les définitions méthodologiques utilisées, veuillez consulter l'introduction de ce chapitre et les remarques préliminaires de la description du marché de Montréal. La présentation de nos résultats comporte les rubriques suivantes:

Automne 1975
    Les trente émissions les plus regardées
par l'ensemble de la population

Région centrale seulement
    Les trente émissions les plus regardées
par l'elnsemble de la population, selon les catégories

Printemps 1976
    Les trente émissions les plus regardées
par l'ensemble de la population

Région centrale et territoire total de diffusion
    Les trente émissions les plus regardées
par l'ensemble de la population, selon les catégories

Territoire total de diffusion
    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (dix-huit ans et plus)
    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les femmes
    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les hommes
    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adolescents
    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les enfants

Région centrale (automne 1975)
Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) à l'automne 1975, dans la région de Toronto, sont présentées au tableau 25.
    Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, pour le marché de Toronto, plusieurs émissions sont souvent présentées

Tableau 25

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région de Toronto*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 2,819,270 personnes

	Nom d'émission	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	648,432
2.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	592,046
3.	*Rhoda* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	451,083
4.	*Dean Martin* (Th.) (NBC)	U.S.	Variété	366,505
5.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	366,505
6.	*Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	338,312
7.	*Maude* (Global-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	310,119
8.	*Flip Wilson* (CTV-CBS)	U.S.	Variété	310,119
9.	*Wednesday Night Film* (CHCH)	U.S.	Film	310,119
10.	*Hockey* (ABC)	U.S.	Sports	281,927
11.	*Phyllis* (CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	281,927
12.	*That's Entertainment* (CBS)	U.S.	Film	253,734
13.	*Don Rickles* (CBS)	U.S.	Variétés	253,734
14.	*Baretta* (CHCH)	U.S.	Série policière	253,734
15.	*Grand Old Opry* (ABC)	U.S.	Musique	253,734
16.	*Monday Football* (CHCH-WKBW-ABC)	U.S.	Sports	253,734
17.	*Dean Martin* (lundi) (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	253,734
18.	*World Beat* (mardi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	225,541
19.	*Ellery Queen* (Global)	U.S.	Série policière	225,541
20.	*The Odd Couple* (Global)	U.S.	Comédie	225,541
21.	*Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Emission de jeu	197,348
22.	*World Beat* (lundi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	197,348
23.	*World Beat* (vendredi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	197,348
24.	*World Beat* (mercredi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	197,348
25.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	197,348
26.	*Medical Center* (CBS)	U.S.	Série dramatique à sujet médical	197,348
27.	*Barney Miller* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	197,348
28.	*Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variétés	197,348
29.	*Friday Film* (ABC)	U.S.	Film	197,348
30.	*Ann Margret* (NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	197,348

* Estimation de BBM pour l'auditoire de la région centrale (automne 1975).

simultanément par deux réseaux différents, l'un canadien et l'autre américain. Du fait que nous évaluons la popularité des émissions pour l'ensemble de l'auditoire, nous avons compilé les deux données ensemble; ainsi, lorsqu'il s'agissait de plus d'un réseau, nous en avons fait mention dans nos tableaux.

On peut voir d'abord, en étudiant ces données, que sept émissions au moins ayant la faveur du public sont présentées simultanément sur deux réseaux. C'est souvent le cas avec CBC dont quatre émissions sont présentées concurremment par les réseaux américains. CBC a un total de neuf émissions (dont sept comédies) et se classe au premier rang sur cette liste des émissions les plus regardées à l'automne. Sur cette même liste, CBS se classe deuxième avec un total de sept émissions (pour la plupart des émissions de variétés et des comédies). En

troisième position nous avons CTV avec cinq émissions (dont deux émissions de sport, un film, une émission de musique et une comédie). Global pour sa part, a trois émissions (dont deux comédies et une émission policière. En dernière position on retrouve CHCH avec deux émissions (dont un film et une émission policière) et NBC avec deux émissions de variétés. Au total, sur les trente émissions les plus regardées, quatorze (étaient présentées par les réseaux canadiens, neuf étaient offertes exclusivement par les réseaux américains et sept étaient présentées par les deux réseaux.

Les téléspectateurs torontois semblent donc avoir un fort penchant soit pour les émissions diffusées concurremment par les réseaux américains indépendamment du contenu lui-même. Cette liste aidant, nous pouvons dans certains cas, distinguer des profils de réseau. Par exemple, CBC vient en tête avec ses comédies alors que ce sont les nouvelles télévisées qui font le succès de CTV. Nous tenons également à souligner que le faible pourcentage de personnes se disant d'origine française dans le recensement pourrait en partie expliquer l'absence de Radio-Canada sur cette liste.

Enfin, on remarque l'importance des productions américaines. Sur les trente émissions les plus regardées cinq seulement sont des productions canadiennes, et là encore, quatre d'entre elles sont des nouvelles télévisées. Pour permettre une analyse plus précise relativement à l'importance de chaque type d'émission, nous avons synthétisé l'ilnformation sous forme de catégories d'émissions.

Le tableau 26 présente cette information en termes d'unités/minutes et d'unités/émissions. Comme nous l'avons mentionné plus haut, l'analyse en termes d'unités/émissions et d'unités/minutes offre des résultats très similaires sauf dans le cas des catégories "film" et "sport". Nous allons donc interpréter nos données en termes d'unités/minutes de façon à évaluer l'importance des catégories d'émissions.

En termes de temps de consommation, la catégorie d'émission la plus regardée par les Torontois est le "film".

A l'automne 1975, tous les films étaient des productions américaines, parmi lesquelles on retrouve des proportions égales de films dramatiques et policièrs. Suivaient les émissions de sport diffusées par les réseaux américains avec vingt pour cent, les comédies, dix-sept pour cent, et les émissions de variétés, dix-sept pour cent, (productions exclusivement américaines). Les séries policières (sept pour cent), les nouvelles (sept pour cent), les émissions de musique (cinq pour cent), les séries dramatiques à sujet médical (trois pour cent) et les émissions de jeu (un pour cent) complétaient la liste. (Voir tableau 26).

Mis à part les nouvelles et les films, on trouve certaines catégories d'émissions (musique, série dramatique à sujet médical, émission de jeu) qui ne prédominaient plus dans la programmation offerte à l'automne, mais qui sont très regardées par les téléspectateurs

Tableau 26

Les trente émissions par catégorie, les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) dans la région de Toronto*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 2,819,270 personnes

Catégorie d'émission	Unités emissions	Catégorie d'émission	Unités minutes
Comédie	33%	Film	23%
Variétés	20%	Sports	20%
Nouvelles	13%	Comédie	17%
Film	10%	Variétés	17%
Sports	7%	Série policière	7%
Série policière	7%	Nouvelles	7%
Emission de jeu	3.3%	Musique	5%
Série dramatique médicale	3.3%	Série dramatique médicale	3%
Musique	3.3%	Emission de jeu	1%

* Estimation de BBM pour l'auditoires de la région centrale. (Automne 1975.)

torontois. D'autres écarts entre ce qui est offert et ce qui est préféré sont centrés sur les séries policières. Ce genre d'émission domine en effet la liste de plusieurs réseaux, alors que seulement deux d'entre elles figurent parmi les trente émissions les plus regardées. Par contre, les comédies, et de façon plus marquante encore, les émissions de variétés sont de loin les plus demandées à Toronto, bien qu'elles ne soient offertes (sauf dans le cas de CBC) que de façon modérée par la plupart des réseaux.

Région centrale (printemps 1976)

Le tableau 27 présente les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population de la région centrale de Toronto, au printemps 1976. En ce qui concerne le réseau le plus regardé, nos résultats révèlent un certain nombre de contrastes si on les compare avec ceux de l'automne.

Au printemps, les réseau américain ABC est celui qui comporte le plus d'émissions sur la liste, avec onze émissions parmi les trente les plus regardées (quatre comédies, deux séries dramatiques, un film, un spectacle de variétés, une série aventure, une émission de sport et une série policière); parmi ces émissions, quatre sont diffusées simultanément sur des réseaux canadiens. Au second rang vient CTV(CFTO) avec huit émissions (deux émissions de nouvelles, deux séries policières, une émission de variétés, une comédie, une émission de sport et une émission "autre"); trois de ces émissions sont diffusées également par les réseaux américains.

Tableau 27

Les trente émissions de télévision les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région de Toronto*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 2,819,270 personnes

	Nom d'émission	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	704,817
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	535,661
3.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	451,083
4.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	451,083
5.	*Hockey Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Sports	422,890
6.	*Rhoda* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	366,505
7.	*Wintario* (Global)	Can.	Autres	338,312
8.	*Dean Martin* (vendredi)(CHCH-NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	338,312
9.	*Dean Martin* (mardi) (NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	338,312
10.	*Bob Hope* (NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	310,119
11.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autres	310,119
12.	*Welcome Back, Kotter* (ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	310,119
13.	*Police Woman* (CHCH)	U.S.	Série policière	281,927
14.	*Starsky and Hutch* (CHCH)	U.S.	Série policière	253,739
15.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (lundi) (ABC)	U.S.	Série dramatique	253,734
16.	*World Beat* (lundi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	253,734
17.	*Monday Film* (ABC)	U.S.	Film	253,734
18.	*Lola Falana* (CTV-ABC)	U.S.	Variétés	253,734
19.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	253,734
20.	*The Odd Couple* (lundi) (Global)	U.S.	Comédie	253,734
21.	*The Odd Couple* (jeudi)(Global)	U.S.	Comédie	253,734
22.	*Bionic Woman* (ABC)	U.S.	Aventure	253,734
23.	*Medical Center* (CHCH-CBS)	U.S.	Série dramatique à sujet médical	253,734
24.	*Joe Forrester* (CTV-NBC)	U.S.	Série policière	225,541
25.	*Hockey* (jeudi) (ABC)	U.S.	Sports	225,541
26.	*Rookies* (CTV-ABC)	U.S.	Série policière	225,541
27.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (lundi) (ABC)	U.S.	Série dramatique	225,541
28.	*Film* (jeudi)(CHCH)	U.S.	Film	225,541
29.	*World Beat* (mardi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	225,541
30.	*M*A*S*H* (mardi) (CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	225,541

*Estimation de BBM de l'auditoire de la région centrale (printemps 1976).

CHCH, avec six émissions (deux émissions de variétés, deux séries policières, une série dramatique à sujet médical et un film) partage aussi trois de ses émissions avec les réseaux américains. NBC comporte quatre émissions (trois émissions de variétés et une série policière) au même titre que CBS (trois comédies et une série dramatique à sujet médical). Enfin, CBC (trois comédies) et Global (deux comédies et une émission "autre") cumulent chacun trois émissions sur la liste des trente émissions les plus regardées. Somme toute, onze

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émissions sur trente sont présentées exclusivement par les réseaux canadiens; dix émissions sont diffusées par des réseaux américains et neuf sont diffusées simultanément par les réseaux canadiens et américains.

Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, trois possibilités s'offrent aux téléspectateurs torontois: 1. Les émissions présentées exclusivement par les réseaux canadiens; 2. Les émissions présentées exclusivement par les réseaux américains; 3. Les émissions présentées simultanément par les réseaux canadiens et américains. Par rapport à l'automne, les données, du printemps démontrent que les téléspectateurs torontois optent plus volontiers pour les deux dernières possibilités.

Cette liste nous permet ainsi de distinguer certains profils de réseaux. Par exemple, on regarde ABC et CBC surtout pour les comédies qu'ils présentent. NBC d'autre part, se caractérise par ses émissions de variétés. Pour sa part, le réseau français CBC est de nouveau absent de la liste comme c'était le cas à l'automne. Cette liste apporte de nouveau la preuve de la prédominance des émissions américaines (vingt-cinq émissions sur trente).

Pour permettre une meilleure analyse des données eu égard aux différents types d'émissions, nous avons synthétisé l'information par catégorie. Le tableau 28 présente cette information dont nous parlerons en termes d'unités/minutes.

Pour le printemps, les émissions de variétés constituent la catégorie prédominante (dix-neuf pour cent), en termes d'unités/minutes; suivent les sports (quize pour cent) et les comédies (quatorze pour cent). En

quatrième place, on trouve les séries policières (treize pour cent) dont la popularité a presque doublé depuis l'automne. Les séries dramatiques, absentes de la liste à l'automne, recueillent maintenant (douze pour cent). Ceci peut sans doute s'expliquer par le très grand succès de la série *Rich Man, Poor Man*. Les films qui étaient en première place à l'automne n'occupent plus que douze pour cent du temps de la programmation préférée au printemps.

Les autres émissions les plus regardées se classent dans les catégories "autre" (c.-à-d. *Miss Teen Canada, Wintario* (six pour cent), séries dramatique à sujet médical (trois pour cent), nouvelles télévisées (trois pour cent) et aventures (trois pour cent). En résumé, trois nouvelles catégories figurent sur cette liste; série dramatique, aventure et "autre". Les émissions de musique et les émissions de jeu, inscrites sur la liste de l'automne n'apparaissent plus sur celle du printemps.

Territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Si on étudie les cotes d'écoute du territoire total de diffusion pour le printemps, on constate que les trente émissions les plus regardées sont pratiquement les mêmes pour le territoire total de diffusion et la région centrale, avec de nouveau, une forte prépondérance des émissions américaines (vingt-sept émissions sur trente). Au tableau 29 l'ordre de classement des émissions n'a subi que trés peu de changements. Une série policière (*Cannon*), un film (*Friday Night Movie*) et une série dramatique (*Little House on the Prairie*) apparaissent en fin de liste. Nous avons synthétisé les données par catégorie de façon à voir si ces nouvelles émissions affectaient la distribution de ces catégories.

Comme on peut le voir au tableau 30, la distribution par catégorie du territoire total de diffusion est dans l'ensemble assez semblable à celle de la région centrale. Les mêmes catégories d'émissions s'y retrouvent et conservent à peu près les mêmes pourcentages de temps. On constate qu'une divergence d'un ou deux pour cent, sauf dans le cas des films dont le pourcentage augmente de quatre pour cent (région centrale, douze pour cent, territoire total de diffusion, seize pour cent), et des comédies (région centrale quatorze pour cent; territoire total de diffusion, onze pour cent). En ce qui concerne les grands centres urbains, comme nous l'avons mentionné plus haut, on découvre rarement de grandes différences dans les préférences de l'auditoire de la région centrale par rapport à celles de l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion.

Les groupes selon le sexe

Pour compléter notre analyse du marché torontois, nous avons compilé nos données en termes de consommation de la programmation par groupes selon l'âge et le sexe. Pour les groupes selon le sexe, nous avons compilé les dix émissions de télévision les plus regardées par les femmes et par les hommes pour l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion, au printemps 1976, d'après les

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Tableau 28

Les trente émissions par catégorie, les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) dans la région de Toronto*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 2,819,270 personnes

Catégorie d'émission	Unités emissions	Catégorie d'émission	Unités minutes
Comédie	30%	Variétés	19%
Variétés	16%	Sports	15%
Série policière	13%	Comédie	14%
Nouvelles	7%	Série policière	13%
Sports	7%	Film	12%
Série dramatique	7%	Série dramatique	12%
Autres	7%	Autres	6%
Film	7%	Nouvelles	3%
Aventure	3%	Aventure	3%
Série dramatique médicale	3%	Série dramatique médicale	3%

* Estimation de BBM de la région centrale (printemps 1976.)

Tableau 29

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région de Toronto*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 4,583,230 personnes

	Nom d'émission	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	1,121,300
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	807,400
3.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variétés	788,500
4.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	749,700
5.	*Dean Martin* (Fr.) (CHCH-NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	622,500
6.	*Hockey Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Sports	615,500
7.	*Dean Martin* (Tu.) (NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	533,800
8.	*Rhoda* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	531,900
9.	*Welcome Back, Kotter* (ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	502,000
10.	*Bob Hope* (NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	488,100
11.	*Monday Night Movie* (ABC)	U.S.	Film	478,000
12.	*Police Woman* (CHCH)	U.S.	Série policière	472,300
13.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (lundi) (ABC)	U.S.	Série dramatique	467,375
14.	*Starsky and Hutch* (CHCH)	U.S.	Série policière	460,700
15.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autres	446,200
16.	*The Rookies* (CTV-ABC)	U.S.	Série policière	439,000
17.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (lundi) (ABC)	U.S.	Série dramatique	433,450
18.	*Movie* (CHCH)	U.S.	Film	428,500
19.	*M*A*S*H* (CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	402,600
20.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	398,300
21.	*Hockey* (ABC)	U.S.	Sports	397,400
22.	*Lola Falana* (CTV-ABC)	U.S.	Variétés	397,200
23.	*Medical Center* (CBS)	U.S.	Série dramatique à sujet médical	393,000
24.	*Bionic Woman* (ABC)	U.S.	Aventure	383,500
25.	*Cannon* (CHCH)	U.S.	Série policière	374,400
26.	*World Beat* (lundi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	369,300
27.	*Friday Night Movie* (ABC)	U.S.	Film	347,800
28.	*Joe Forrester* (NBC-CTV)	U.S.	Série policière	346,900
29.	*Bionic Woman* (mardi) (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	346,700
30.	*Little House* (CHCH)	U.S.	Série dramatique	344,200

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoire du territoire total diffusion (printemps 1976).

Tableau 30

Les trente émissions, par catégorie, les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région de Toronto*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 4,583,230 personnes

Catégorie d'émission	Unités emissions	Catégorie d'émission	Unités minutes
Comédie	23%	Variétés	17%
Variétés	17%	Film	17%
Série policière	17%	Série policière	15%
Série dramatique	10%	Série dramatique	14%
Film	10%	Sports	14%
Aventure	7%	Comédie	11%
Sports	7%	Aventure	5%
Nouvelles	3%	Autre	4%
Série dramatique médicale	3%	Série dramatique médicale	3%
Autre	3%	Nouvelles	1%

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoires du territoire de diffusion. (Printemps 1976.)

rapports de BBM. Le tableau 31 nous permet de constater que cinq émissions sur les dix les plus regardées sont les mêmes pour les hommes et pour les femmes. Les femmes, se distinguent des hommes par leur préférence plus marquée pour les comédies et les séries dramatiques à sujet médical. Les hommes en revanche, préfèrent les sports et les films. Toutes les émissions choisies par les deux groupes (hommes et femmes) sont des productions américaines, sauf les reportages de rencontres de hockey. Compte tenu de l'importance de l'auditoire, la différence entre les hommes et les femmes n'est pas aussi marquée pour le marché de Toronto que pour celui de Montréal. L'émission la plus regardée par les femmes comprend un auditoire de 372,300 personnes et l'émission la plus regardée par les hommes comprend un auditoire de 342,900 personnes.

Les groupes selon l'age

Nous avons divisé nos données en trois groupes d'âge: les adultes, dix-huit ans et plus; les adolescents, de douze à dix-sept ans; et les enfants, de deux à onze ans. Il faut noter que les listes des émissions les plus

regardées par tous les groupes d'âge (c.-à-d. adultes, adolescents et enfants) ne comprennent que les émissions diffusées entre 18 heures et 23 heures.

On distingue trois types d'émissions (deux comédies et une émission de variétés) auxquelles les trois groupes d'âge accordent leur préférence. En comparant les listes des adolescents et des enfants, on constate que ces deux groupes ont exprimé un choix semblable dans le cas de six émissions qui sont, pour la plupart, des comédies, aventure et séries policières.

La liste des adultes comprend principalement des comédies (quatre), émissions de variétés (quatre), de sport (une), et des séries dramatiques (une). Quant aux adolescents, ils accordent leur préférence aux comédies (cinq), séries policières (deux), émission de variétés (une), aventure (une) et une émissions "autre". Pour leur part, les enfants ont choisi des comédies (quatre), aventures (deux), une série dramatique, une émission de variétés, un dessin animé et une série policière. Quant au contenu canadien, une seule émission (sport) figurant sur la liste des adultes et une autre sur celles des adolescents (*Miss Teen Canada*) étaient des productions canadiennes.

L'émission la plus regardée par les adultes comprenait un auditoire de 678,800 personnes; celle des adolescents comprenait un auditoire de 247,800 personnes et celle des enfants, un auditoire de 244,300 personnes. (Voir tableau 32).

OECA

Les régions de Toronto et d'Ottawa ont accès au réseau éducatif provincial de l'OECA (Ontario Educational Communications Authority) qui offre une alternative à la programmation de type commercial des autres réseaux. La première tâche de l'OECA est d'offrir un contenu substantiel et divertissant dans ses émissions éducatives.

Par ailleurs, le réseau diffuse certaines émissions en français. Il s'avère assez difficile d'appliquer les mêmes critères d'analyse à cette programmation qu'à celle des autres réseaux, en raison de ses caractéristiques particulières. En général, le profil de programmation se définit sous forme d'émissions d'actualité, de documentaires, de films et d'interviews. Le fait qu'il soit très difficile de bien décrire les catégories de programmation sans utiliser une terminologie stéréotypée, est sans doute un indice de leur dimension particulière. Le contenu de leurs émissions offre une telle variété de présentations qu'on ne peut, par exemple, classer *The Education of Mike McManus* simplement comme une émission d'interviews.

Quoi qu'il en soit, nous allons présenter et décrire brièvement un échantillon d'émission diffusée par ce réseau:

Issues – Cette émission est présentée une fois par mois. Il s'agit d'une mise en relief et d'une analyse de tous les problèmes d'actualité qui ont un impact sur la vie des Canadiens.

Tableau 31

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (hommes dix-huit ans et plus) de la région de Toronto*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 4,583,230 personnes

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Hockey Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Sports	342,900
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	306,500
3.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	287,600
4.	*Dean Martin* (CHCH-NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	246,300
5.	*Hockey* (ABC)	U.S.	Sports	224,700
6.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (ABC)	U.S.	Série dramatique	200,200
7.	*Bob Hope* (NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	192,600
8.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variétés	191,300
9.	*Monday Movie* (ABC)	U.S.	Film	169,800
10.	*Movie* (jeudi) (CHCH)	U.S.	Film	168,000

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (femmes, dix-huit ans et plus) dans la région de Toronto*

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	372,300
2.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	341,600
3.	*Dean Martin* (CHCH-NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	280,000
4.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	265,200
5.	*Rhoda* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	265,100
6.	*Dean Martin* (NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	230,000
7.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variétés	228,900
8.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (ABC)	U.S.	Série dramatique	223,200
9.	*Medical Center* (CBS-CHCH)	U.S.	Série dramatique à sujet médical	215,900
10.	*The Rookies* (CTV-ABC)	U.S.	Série policière	207,800

* Estimation de BBM de auditoire du territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976).

Tableau 32

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (dix-huit ans et plus) dans la région de Toronto*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 4,583,230 personnes

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	678,800
2.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	629,200
3.	*Dean Martin* (CHCH-NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	526,300
4.	*Hockey Canada* (CBC)	Can.	Sports	491,400
5.	*Dean Martin* (NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	468,600
6.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (ABC)	U.S.	Série dramatique	423,400
7.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variétés	420,200
8.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	414,700
9.	*Bob Hope* (NBC)	U.S.	Variétés	398,100
10.	*Rhoda* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	395,700

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adolescents (de douze à dix-sept ans) de la région de Toronto*

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	247,800
2.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	172,700
3.	*Welcome Back, Kotter* (ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	151,900
4.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variétés	124,100
5.	*Starsky and Hutch* (CHCH)	U.S.	Série policière	104,800
6.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	85,300
7.	*Bionic Woman* (ABC)	U.S.	Aventure	85,000
8.	*Police Woman* (CHCH)	U.S.	Série policière	81,500
9.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autre	78,600
10.	*One Day at a Time* (CBS)	U.S.	Comédie	73,900

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les enfants (de deux à onze ans) dans la région de Toronto*

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	244,300
2.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variété	244,200
3.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	162,300
4.	*Bionic Woman* (ABC)	U.S.	Aventure	119,100
5.	*Little House* (CHCH)	U.S.	Série dramatique	105,600
6.	*Dr. Seuss* (CBS)	U.S.	Dessins animés	103,800
7.	*Welcome Back, Kotter* (ABC)	U.S.	Comédie	101,600
8.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	93,700
9.	*Police Woman* (CHCH)	U.S.	Série policière	83,100
10.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	81,900

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976).

Saturday Night at the Movies: Cette émission offre les classiques du cinéma. Chaque émission a un thème particulier, tel que la question irlandaise, l'anatomie d'une révolution ou encore la moralité en politique. Toute cette série constitue en quelque sorte un cours sur l'esthétique et l'industrie du film, à la manière de ce qui est présenté par CINE-TVO, son équivalent de langue française.

Pays et peuples, un nouveau documentaire qui explore le Moyen-Orient arabe.

Villages et visages, est un documentaire qui nous présente les régions rurales de l'Ontario où la culture française est profondément enracinée. C'est un cours d'histoire à travers les anecdotes, les souvenirs des gens et la musique folklorique.

En se racontant l'histoire d'ici, est l'histoire du Canada racontée par Laurier Lapierre.

Dr. Who, une série fiction qui fait voyager le téléspectateur dans le temps et l'espace, tout en présentant et en évaluant individuellement des histories vives et imagées, chacune dans son genre.

The Government We Deserve, animée par Judy LaMarsh. Celle-ci s'entretient avec des hommes et des femmes exerçant des fonctions politiques aux niveaux fédéral, provincial et municipal.

Communiqué, est une revue quotidienne de quinze minutes sur les activités culturelles, éducatives et récréatives du Sud de l'Ontario.

Magee And Company, une manière parfois sérieuse, parfois moqueuse de regarder l'actualité.

Polka Dot Door. Chaque émission est préparée dans le but d'offrir à l'enfant des expériences d'apprentissage intéressantes et stimulantes pendant et après l'émission.

Les données des cotes d'écoute de BBM révélaient au printemps 1976 que la part de l'auditoire de TV Ontario, en semaine, était d'environ un ou deux pour cent pour la plupart de leurs émissions, ces chiffres s'appliquant aussi bien à la région de Toronto qu'à la région d'Ottawa. On trouve néanmoins quelques exceptions comme la série très populaire *Polka Dot Door* qui s'adresse à un auditoire de sept a huit pour cent d'enfants, mais en général TV Ontario ne semble pas avoir la partie facile pour convaincre les téléspectateurs de renoncer à la programmation plus familière présentée par les réseaux commerciaux. Cet état de chose est dû probablement en grande partie au manque d'information et de réceptivité des téléspectateurs vis-à-vis de cette programmation alternative. Il se peut que grâce à l'éducation du consommateur, le public finisse par prendre conscience de cet état de fait et considérer cette programmation comme une forme complémentaire de distraction et d'éduction.

Ottawa
A) Programmation de télévision offerte
Caractéristiques démographiques
Au recensement de 1971, la population de la région métropolitaine d'Ottawa était de 602,510 habitants dont 296,300 hommes et 306,215 femmes. Le nombre de personnes par famille était d'en moyenne trois point sept et le nombre d'enfants par famille était d'en moyenne un point huit. Le revenu familial moyen était de $12,010.00. 340,240 personnes déclaraient être de langue maternelle anglaise, 220,335 personnes de langue maternelle française et 41,940 personnes mentionnaient d'autres langues. 374,680 personnes déclaraient parler surtout l'anglais à la maison, 203,595 déclaraient parler de français, 8,495 l'italien, 2,535 l'allemand, 1,270 de polonais, 810 l'ukrainien et 615 le néérlandais.

On trouvait dans la région d'Ottawa un total de 270,525 Britanniques, 238,495 Français, 19,145 Allemands, 15,170 Italiens, 9,230 Asiatiques, 7,465 Néérlandais, 5,400 Ukrainiens, 5,400 Polonais, 3,805 Scandinaves, 1,965 Hongrois et 795 Russes.

Ottawa est non seulement la capitale canadienne, mais elle est également située au point de rencontre des deux principaux groupes culturels qui forment la nation canadienne. Si on s'intéresse à la représentation des deux groupes culturels officiels du Canada, on remarque qu'à Ottawa, quarante-cinq pour cent de la population est d'origine anglaise et quarante pour cent d'origine française. Parmi les quatre marchés étudiés, Ottawa est le seul dont les deux groupes culturels sont en proportion égale.[9]

Caractéristiques de la télédiffusion
Six réseaux importants se divisent la plus grande part du marché dans la région d'Ottawa. Il y a tout d'abord le réseau d'état d'expression anglaise CBC(CBOT-4) et son pendant d'expression française Radio-Canada CBOFT-9) puis le réseau d'expression française CFVO-30,[10] et le réseau privé d'expression anglaise CTV (CJOH-13) et Global (CKGN-6). Tous ces réseaux sont situés à Ottawa à l'exception de CFVO qui se trouve dans la région de Hull. Existent également les réseaux américains ABC, NBC, CBS, qui diffusent conjointement par l'intermédiare d'un poste (WWNY-7) situé à Watertown, New York. Le marché se distingue donc de ceux de Toronto et de Montréal à cause du seul poste en commun, pour trois réseaux américains par opposition à la situation un poste/un réseau. Bien que cette situation ne fasse pas diminuer la possibilité qu'ont les téléspectateurs de regarder les émissions américaines, cela fait toutefois augmenter les chances pour les téléspectateurs de regarder davantage leurs émissions préférées par l'intermédiaire des réseaux canadiens. Il faut également mentionner que la programmation produite par l'OECA, dont nous avons parlé pour le marché de Toronto, est diffusée par l'intermédiaire du poste 24 dans la région d'Ottawa.

Les rapports de BBM évaluent à soixante-huit pour cent le pourcentage des foyers disposant de la diffusion par câble. Ce pourcentage est presque aussi élevé que celui de la région de Toronto. On évalue à soixante-deux pour cent le pourcentage des foyers possédant un téléviseur en couleur dans cette région.

Avant de présenter les résultats, on doit souligner que pour le marché d'Ottawa, les nouvelles du soir sont diffusées à 22 heures sur le réseau Global et à 22h30 sur Radio-Canada et sur TVA. Il faut donc en tenir compte pour l'interprétation des résultats.

Catégories générales (automne 1975)

Les principales caractéristiques de la programmation offerte à Ottawa apparaissent au tableau récapitulatif 33. Si on s'intéresse aux catégories principales d'émissions (unités/minutes de l'automne 1975), pour chaque réseau, on remarque les données du tableau 33.

Tableau 33

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale

CBC		Global		Radio-Canada	
Nouvelles	20%	Nouvelles	28%	Affaires publiques	29%
Comédies	18%	Films (surtout des policiers)	22%	Films (surtout des drames)	20%
Musique	13%	Série	20%	Nouvelles	19%
Affaires publiques	11%	Comédies	17%	Documentaire	10%
CTV		**TVA**		**ABC/NBC/CBS** (WWNY)	
Série policière	28%	Films (surtout ceux classés "autre"	24%	Nouvelles	20%
Nouvelles	20%	Nouvelles	20%	Comédie	16%
Comédie	12%	Interviews	20%	Films (surtout ceux classés "autre" et de drames)	14%
		Série policière	16%	Série policière	10%
				Série dramatique	10%
				Emission de variétés	10%

Comme on le voit, on offre au téléspectateur d'Ottawa, une certaine variété d'émissions qui dépendent du réseau choisi en fonction de la langue de diffusion: soit un réseau d'expression française, soit un réseau d'expression anglaise; ou en fonction du régime des réseaux: soit un réseau d'état canadien, soit un ré seau privé canadien ou américain.

Si on compile les listes des principales catégories d'émissions offertes par chaque réseau, on obtient un total de dix catégories distinctes d'émissions.

Les nouvelles télévisées constituent une part importante de la programmation de tous les réseaux, Global ayant le plus haut pourcentage avec vingt-huit pour cent. On doit souligner un détail intéressant relié au pourcentage élevé d'émissions d'affaires publiques offertes par Radio-Canada (vingt-neuf pour cent). Ce pourcentage était dû à une émission présentée régulière-ment, composée en partie de nouvelles et en partie d'affaires publiques. Les représentants du réseau nous ont informés cependant que cette dernière catégorie (affaires publiques) représentait mieux ce type d'émissions. En général, la catégorie "film" s'avère le deuxième type d'émission au point de vue fréquence de présentation pour la plupart des réseaux. Les films ont toutefois plus d'importance pour certains réseaux (TVA, vingt-quatre pour cent; Global, vingt-deux pour cent; Radio-Canada, vingt pour cent; WWNY, quatorze pour cent) que pour d'autres (CBC, zero pour cent; CTV, huit pour cent). Les séries policières s'avèrent la troisième catégorie d'émission au point de vue fréquence de présentation par les réseaux (CTV, vingt-huit pour cent; Global, vingt pour cent; TVA, seize pour cent; WWNY, dix pour cent). On remarque que les deux réseaux d'état préfèrent offrir d'autres genres d'émissions, comme les

émissions de musique (treize pour cent) et d'affaires publiques (onze pour cent) à CBC ainsi que des émissions d'affaires publiques (vingt-neuf pour cent) et documentaires (dix pour cent) à Radio-Canada. Les comédies, pour leur part, n'apparaissent que sur les listes des réseaux de langue anglaise: (CBC, dix-huit pour cent; Global, dix-sept pour cent; WWNY, seize pour cent; et CTV treize pour cent). Enfin, les séries dramatiques (dix pour cent) et les variétés (dix pour cent) étaient présentées en force par les réseaux américains, alors que les interviews (vingt pour cent) constituaient une part importante de la programmation au réseau TVA.

Pour plus de détails sur l'importance de chaque catégorie pour chacun des réseaux, voir le tableau XIII de l'annexe.

Langue de diffusion (automne 1975)

Nous avons synthétisé nos données en termes de langue de diffusion, tout en conservant la distinction entre les réseaux de langue anglaise et les réseaux américains. Les catégories principales offertes au téléspectateur, à l'automne 1975, dans la région d'Ottawa, sont présentées au tableau 34.

Tableau 34

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Réseaux de langue anglaise		Réseaux américains		Réseaux de langue française	
Nouvelles	23%	Nouvelles	20%	Films (surtout ceux classés "drames" et "autre")	22%
Série policière	17%	Comédie	15%		
Comédie	16%	Films (surtout ceux classés "drames" et "autres")	14%	Nouvelles	19.5%
Films (surtout des policiers)	10%			Affaires publiques	15.5%
		Série policière	10%	Interviews	10%
		Série dramatique	10%		
		Variétés	10%		

Il semble qu'il y ait des différences relatives à la langue de diffusion quant à la programmation offerte dans la région d'Ottawa, si on fait exception des nouvelles qui sont importantes pour tous les réseaux (anglais, vingt-trois pour cent; américains, vingt pour cent; français, dix-neuf point cinq pour cent). L'une de ces différences semble être l'importance des séries policières (anglais, dix-sept pour cent; américains, dix pour cent) et des comédies (anglais, seize pour cent; américains, quinze pour cent) pour les réseaux anglais et américains en comparaison avec les réseaux de langue française (séries policières, huit pour cent; comédies, trois pour cent).

Les autres divergences remarquées étaient dues à la présence exclusive des émissions d'interviews (dix pour cent) et d'affaires publiques, quinze point cinq pour cent) au réseau d'expression française, ainsi qu'à l'importance des émissions de variétés (dix pour cent) et des séries dramatiques (dix pour cent) pour les réseaux américains. Enfin la catégorie "film" qui domine la liste des émissions des réseaux de langue française (vingt-deux pour cent), figure également, quoique le façon moins importante, sur les listes des réseaux de langue

anglaise CTV (cinquante-quatre pour cent U.S. et Global cent). Nous avons sous-catégorisé les films et constaté que les réseaux de langue française et les réseaux américains offrent surtout des films de type dramatique ou "autre" (c.-à-d. musique, westerns, et cetera) alors que les réseaux de langue anglaise présentent surtout des films de type policier. Dans l'ensemble, on voit que les réseaux de langue anglaise ont plus en commun avec les réseaux américains, au moins quatre catégories d'émissions, qu'avec les réseaux de langue française (voir tableau XIV de l'annexe).

Les réseaux d'état et les réseaux privés (automne 1975)

Si on peut expliquer la diversité des émissions de télévision de la région d'Ottawa en partie à cause du facteur de langue de diffusion, on constate que cette diversité est aussi en partie reliée facteur économique. Nous avons synthétisé nos données en termes de régime des réseaux: réseaux d'état canadiens, réseaux privés canadiens et américains. Le tableau 35 présente ces données.

Tableau 35

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon les réseaux

Réseaux d'état canadiens		Réseaux privés canadiens		Réseaux privés américains	
Affaires publiques	20%	Nouvelles	23%	Nouvelles	20%
Nouvelles	19.5%	Série policière	21%	Comédie	16%
Comédie	11%	Films (surtout des policiers	18%	Films (surtout ceux classés "drames" et "autre")	14%
Films (surtout des drames)	10%	Comédie	10%	Série policière	10%
				Série dramatique	10%
				Variétés	10%

Si on examine les catégories principales d'émissions offertes par les réseaux d'état canadiens, les réseaux privés canadiens et les réseaux privés américains, à l'automne 1975, on constate que les trois types de réseaux offrent des pourcentages semblables de nouvelles. On remarque également que les trois types de réseaux présentent la même proportion de comédies et de films. D'autre part, chacun des types de réseau offre à ses téléspectateurs au moins une catégorie d'émission qui lui est propre. Les réseaux d'état canadiens offrent une grande quantité d'émissions d'affaires publiques (vingt pour cent), les réseaux privés canadiens offrent une grande quantité de séries policières, particulièrement en tenant compte des films policiers présentés; enfin les réseaux américains sont les seuls à présenter une quantité appréciable de séries dramatiques et d'émissions de variétés. On constate donc dans l'ensemble, que les réseaux américains offrent la plus grande variété d'émissions alors que les réseaux privés canadiens semblent se spécialiser dans les émissions de genre violent.

Il semble donc qu'il y ait, pour le marché d'Ottawa comme pour le marché de Montréal, une interaction des variables linguistique et économique, laquelle s'avère être la cause de la variété des émissions offertes à la population. Il faut ajouter que la diffusion d'une sélection des émissions des trois réseaux américains par un seul poste semble favoriser une plus grande diversité de programmation. (voir tableau XV de l'annexe).

Le contenu canadien (automne 1975)

Nous avons analysé nos données sur la programmation offerte dans la région d'Ottawa à l'automne 1975 en termes d'origine du contenu. Nous n'avons inclus dans cette partie de l'analyse que la programmation des réseaux canadiens pour les raisons évidentes. (Voir tableau 36.)

On trouve le plus haut pourcentage de productions canadiennes aux deux réseaux d'état (c.-à-d. Radio-Canada, soixante-quinze pour cent; CBC, soixante-sept pour cent). Pour l'industrie privée, il est étonnant de remarquer les différences entre les profils de programmation, selon qu'ils sont présentés par les réseaux de langue française ou par ceux de langue anglaise. On remarque en effet que les deux réseaux privés de langue anglaise CTV (cinquante-quatre pour cent US) et Global

Tableau 36

Pourcentage de productions canadiennes selon les réseaux
(à l'exclusion des nouvelles)

Réseaux Pays d'origine	CBC		Global		Radio-Canada		CTV		TVA	
Canada	67%	(59%)	41%	(17%)	75%	(69%)	40.5%	(25.5%)	61%	(49%)
U.S.	28%	(35%)	57%	(80%)	17.5%	(21%)	54%	(65.5%)	37%	(48%)
Autre	5%	(6%)	2%	(3%)	7.5%	(10%)	5.5%	(7%)	2%	(3%)

(cinquante-sept pour cent U.S. utilisent beaucoup de productions américaines aux heures de grande écoute, alors que le réseau de langue française TVA, qui est aussi un réseau privé, offre surtout des productions candiennes (soixante-et-un pour cent). La plus grande variété de productions étrangères autres qu'américaines est offerte par Radio-Canada (sept point cinq pour cent) et la moins grande variété par Global (deux pour cent) et TVA (deux pour cent). C'est dans l'ensemble un taux beaucoup plus bas que celui que nous avions trouvé pour le marché de Montréal.

Puisque les nouvelles (qui sont toutes des productions canadiennes) ont toujours une grande part de la programmation, nous avons réanalysé nos données en excluant cette catégorie d'émissions. Ces résultats sont présentés dans la deuxième colonne du tableau 36. On constate ainsi que les deux réseaux de langue anglaise CTV (baisse de quinze pour cent) et Global (baisse de vingt-quatre pour cent) accusent la plus forte baisse d'émissions à contenu canadien alors que les autres réseaux offrent à leurs téléspectateurs une programmation de productions en majorité canadiennes.

Catégories générales (printemps 1975)

Les principales caractéristiques de la programmation des réseaux d'Ottawa, pour le printemps 1976, apparaissent au tableau 37. Ce tableau détermine les catégories principales d'émissions (unités/minutes) offertes aux téléspectateurs par chaque réseau, au printemps 1976.

Tableau 37

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale

CBC		Global		Radio-Canada	
Nouvelles	20%	Nouvelles	26%	Affaires publiques	29%
Comédie	17%	Série policière	21%	Nouvelles	20%
Affaires publiques	14%	Sports	19%	Films (surtout des policiers)	13%
		Comédie	16%		
				ABC/NBC/CBS (WWNY)	
CTV		TVA			
Série policière	27%	Films (surtout des policiers)	23%	Nouvelles	20%
Nouvelles	20%			Série policière	19%
		Nouvelles	20%		
Comédie	13%	Interviews	20%	Comédie	16%
				Films (surtout des comédies)	10%
		Série policière	11%		

Au printemps 1976, on offrait au téléspectateur d'Ottawa, une moins grande variété d'émissions qu'à l'automne. Si one compile la liste de catégories d'émissions de chaque réseau, on ne compte plus que sept catégories distinctes d'émissions. Bien qu'on remarque une nouvelle catégorie d'émissions (sports), les documentaires, les variétés, les séries dramatiques et les émissions de musique ne figurent plus sur la liste des catégories principales. Ces changements se traduisent pour CBC par une diminution des émissions de musique, de treize pour cent à l'automne à neuf pour cent au printemps. Pour le réseau Global, on note que la catégorie film qui représentait vingt-deux pour cent de la programmation de l'automne, ne constituait plus que cinq pour cent du temps de diffusion totale au printemps. Cette catégorie semble d'ailleurs avoir été remplacée par la diffusion des reportages sportifs (printemps, dix-neuf pour cent; automne, cinq pour cent).

L'horaire de Radio-Canada comportait moins de films (printemps, quize pour cent; automne, vingt pour cent), moins de documentaires (printemps, cinq pour cent; automne, dix pour cent) mais accusait une l'égère hausse pour la catégorie Sports (printemps, neuf pour cent; automne, quatre pour cent). On remarque très peu de changements pour le réseau CTV. L'importance des séries policières diminuait au réseau TVA (printemps, onze pour cent; automne, seize pour cent). Enfin les ré seaux américains, pour la plupart, offraient beaucoup plus de séries policières (printemps, dix-neuf pour cent; automne, dix pour cent), moins d'émissions de variétés (printemps, sept pour cent; automne, dix pour cent) et

de séries dramatiques (printemps, heut pour cent; automne, dix pour cent).

Dans l'ensemble, l'analyse de ces données démontre qu'une moins grande variété d'émissions était offerte et que cela était dû en partie, du moins dans le cas des réseaux américains, à une augmentation des séries policières. L'importance de la catégorie film semble diminuer dans le cas de tous les réseaux. Pour Radio-Canada, on doit préciser que même si ces films étaient maintenant classés surtout dans le catégorie "policiers", ils ne comptaient que pour huit pour cent du temps total de diffusion.

Enfin, la catégorie sport augmentait substantiellement au printemps, du moins pour Global qui offrait ce type d'émission pendant dix-neuf pour cent de son temps total de diffusion. Pour plus de détails sur l'importance de ces données, consulter la présentation complète de ces données au tableau XVI de l'annexe.

Tableau 38

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Réseaux de langue anglaise		Réseaux américains		Réseaux de langue française	
Nouvelles	22%	Nouvelles	20%	Nouvelles	20%
Série policière	19%	Série policière	19%	Films (surtout des policiers)	16.5%
Comédie	16%	Comédie	16%	Affaires publiques	15%
		Films (surtout des comédies)	10%	Interviews	10%

Langue de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Nous avons synthétisé nos données sur la programmation de télévision offerte au printemps 1976 en termes de langue de diffusion. (Voir tableau 38.)

Si on compare ces données avec celles de l'automne, on remarque des profils semblables à ceux que l'on avait déjà observés. Néanmoins, on constate quelques exceptions, telles que la disparition des films de la liste des catégories principales des réseaux de langue anglaise, celles des séries dramatiques et des variétés des listes des réseaux américains. Les réseaux de langue française sont ceux qui s'avèrent les plus constants dans le choix qu'ils offrent aux téléspectateurs d'Ottawa, à l'automne et au printemps. Si on exclut les nouvelles qui sont présentées par les trois types de réseaux, ce sont les réseaux de langue anglaise et les réseaux américains qui ont le plus de catégories en commun. Comme on peut le remarquer, les séries policières et les comédies figurent sur les deux listes à peu près dans le mêmes proportions. Enfin, le type de films le plus fréquemment offerts par les réseaux de langue française passe de la catégorie drame à l'automne, à la catégorie policière au printemps; ce changement mineur devrait être interprété de la même manière que celui dont il a déjà été question, c'est-à-dire qu'un peu moins de la moitié des films présentés au printemps (c.-à-d. moins de la moitié de dix-huit point cinq pour cent) étaient du type film policier. Ce qui représente à peu près huit pour cent de toute la programmation.

Il semble donc que la langue de diffusion jouait encore un rôle important pour le type de programmation offerte à la population d'Ottawa. Pour plus de détails, voir le tableau XVII de l'annexe.

Les réseaux d'état et les réseaux privés (printemps 1976)

Si on synthétise les données en termes de régime de réseaux, soit les réseaux d'état canadiens et les réseaux privés canadiens et américains, on obtient les résultats du tableau 39.

A l'exception des changements déjà mentionnés pour les réseaux américains, on remarque au printemps 1976, une concentration de catégories presque identique à celle de l'automne. On note quand même une exception à cet état de fait, soit une importance moins grande de la catégorie film sur les réseaux d'état canadiens (printemps, six point cinq pour cent; automne, dix pour cent), sur les réseaux privés canadiens (automne, dix-huit pour cent; printemps, onze point cinq pour cent) et sur les réseaux privés américains (printemps, dix pour cent; automne, quatorze pour cent). Dans l'ensemble, les réseaux privés canadiens et américains de distinguent par la grande quantité de séries policières qu'ils offrent à leurs téléspectateurs, alors que les réseaux d'état canadiens préfèrent offrir des émissions d'affaires publiques. Pour plus de détails, consulter tableau XVIII de l'annexe.

Le contenu canadien (printemps 1976)

Nous avons également analysé l'importance des productions canadiennes dans la programmation des réseaux canadiens pour le printemps 1976. (Voir tableau 40.)

Tableau 39

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

Réseaux d'état canadiens		Réseaux privés canadiens		Réseaux privés américains	
Affaires publiques	21.5%	Nouvelles	22%	Nouvelles	20%
Nouvelles	20%	Série policière	20%	Série policière	19%
Comédie	10.5%	Films (surtout des drames)	11.5%	Comédie	16%
		Comédie	11%	Films (surtout des comédies)	10%

Tableau 40

Pourcentage de productions canadiennes selon les réseaux
(à l'exclusion des nouvelles)

Réseaux pays	CBC		Global		Radio-Canada		CTV		TVA	
Canada	70%	(63%)	50%	(31%)	84%	(78%)	42%	(27%)	63%	(53%)
U.S.	23%	(29%)	49%	(67%)	6%	(7.5%)	51%	(61%)	30%	(37%)
Autre	7%	(9%)	1%	(2%)	10%	(12.5%)	7%	(9%)	7%	(10%)

Dans l'ensemble, les réseaux canadiens avaient augmenté leurs pourcentages de contenu canadien au printemps. Ceci était particulièrement évident pour Radio-Canada dont le contenu canadien était passé de soixante-quinze pour cent à quatre-vingt-quatre pour cent au printemps. La réseau Global augmentait aussi considérablement son pourcentage de contenu canadien (printemps, cinquante pour cent; automne, quarante-et-un pour cent. Dans le cas des deux réseaux, cette augmentation s'était faite aux dépens des productions américaines. En fait, on constate entre l'automne et le printemps, pour la majorité des réseaux, un accroissement du pourcentage de productions étrangères autres qu'américaines.

Comme àl'automne, les réseaux d'état, Radio-Canada et CBC, ainsi que le réseau privé de langue française TVA, offraient surtout des émissions à contenu canadien à leurs téléspectateurs. Pour sa part, CTV continuait d'offrir surtout des émissions à contenu américain. Enfin, Global qui offrait à l'automne une programmation comparable à celle de CTV, offrait au printemps des productions canadiennes et américaines dans des proportions à peu près identiques.

En ce qui concerne le printemps, si on exclut les nouvelles, on constate le même genre de profil que celui dont nous venons de parler. Les réseaux qui offrent surtout des émissions à contenu canadien (Radio-Canada, CBC et TVA) ne changent pas leurs politiques de programmation tandis que les réseaux qui offraient de faibles pourcentages de productions canadiennes (CTV, Global) voient décroître ces mêmes pourcentages. On le remarque tout particulièrement dans le cas du réseau Global dont le contenu canadien passe de cinquante pour cent à trent-et-un pour cent, exclusion faite des nouvelles.

La programmation de télévision diffusée dans la région d'Ottawa pendant les deux périodes de l'année qui font l'objet de notre étude (automne 1975, printemps 1976) est caractérisée par différents profils d'émissions, lesquels sont reliés, en grande partie, aux facteurs culturel, économique et linguistique.

Ottawa

B) Les cotes d'écoute en fonction de l'auditoire

Dans cette partie de notre étude, nous nous intéressons aux types de programmations les plus regardées, d'après les rapports que nous avons obtenus de BBM, sur les cotes d'écoute. Pour plus de détails sur la façon dont cette information a été recueillie et sur les définitions méthodologiques utilisées, voir les commentaires préliminaires de ce chapitre et les remarques inscrites dans les premiers paragraphes de l'analyse du marché de Montréal. Nous présenterons nos résultats de la façon suivante:

Automne 1975
    Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population

Région centrale seulement
    Les trente émissions les plus regardées, selon les catégories, par l'ensemble de la population

Printemps 1976
    Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population.

Région centrale et territoire total de diffusion
    Les trente émissions les plus regardées selon les catégories, par l'ensemble de la population

Territoire total de diffusion seulement

    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (dix-huit ans et plus)

    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les femmes

    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les hommes

    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adolescents

    Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les enfants

Région centrale (automne 1975)

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région centrale d'Ottawa, à l'automne 1975, sont présentées au tableau 41.
    En consultant ces données, on observe tout d'abord que cinq des émissions les plus regardées sont diffusées simultanément par deux réseaux, l'un canadien et l'autre américain. CTV, en tant que réseau, détient la plus grande proportion avec douze émissions (dont deux sont présentées concurremment avec WWNY). Les catégories les plus regardées du réseau CTV étaient dans l'ordre; dessins animés (N=4), comédies (N=2), nouvelles (N=2), variétés (N=2), séries policières (N=1), émissions d'aventures (N=1). WWNY est le réseau qui se classe en deuxième position pour le nombre d'émissions avec huit émissions (dont quatre

sont des comédies). Ensuite, CBC, avec un total de huit émissions (dont six sont des comédies), Radio-Canada avec deux émissions (un téléroman, un film), et TVA avec un émission (une comédie). Dans l'ensemble, sur trente émissions les plus regardées vingt-deux sont présentées uniquement par les réseaux canadiens, trois ne sont présentées que par les réseaux américains et cinq émissions sont offertes concurremment par les réseaux canadiens et américains.
    Nous constatons qu'à l'exception de CTV où l'auditoire choisit une certaine diversité de catégories d'émissions, la plupart des autres réseaux sont surtout regardés pour leurs émissions de type comédie.
    On doit également prendre note du fait que dix pour cent (N = 3) des émissions les plus regardées à Ottawa, sont diffusées en français, y compris la deuxième émission la plus regardée de la liste (*Rue des Pignons*). Enfin, on remarque également que seulement cinq des trente émissions sont des productions canadiennes. Parmi celles-ci, on trouve deux émissions de nouvelles et une émission de jeu diffusées par des réseaux de langue anglaise ainsi qu'un téléroman et une comédie diffusés par des réseaux de langue française.
    Nous avons synthétisé nos données en termes de catégorie d'émission pour mieux en évaluer l'importance. Le tableau 42 présente cette information en termes d'unités/minutes et d'unités/émissions. Comme on pouvait le deviner, ce sont les comédies qui dominent (trente pour cent) en tant que catégorie d'émission la plus regardée par les téléspectateurs d'Ottawa. Les films (seize pour cent) et les variétés (seize pour cent) se classaient au deuxième rang des genres de divertissement les plus demandés. Il faut ajouter que lorsqu'il s'agit de films on parle tout particulièrement de "*Le docteur Jivago*", film à grand succès présenté par Radio-Canada. Les dessins animés (douze pour cent), probablement à cause de l'approche des fêtes de Noël, venaient en troisième position, de même que les séries policières (douze pour cent). Suivent les nouvelles (cinq pour cent), les émissions d'aventures (cinq pour cent), les téléromans (deux pour cent) et les émissions de jeu (deux pour cent).

Tableau 41

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région d'Ottawa*

Râgion centrale
Population estimée à 650,700 personnes

	Nom d'émission	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC-WWNY)	U.S.	Comédie	117,126
2.	*Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Téléroman	97,605
3.	*Flip Wilson* (CTV-WWNY)	U.S.	Variétés	84,591
4.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	84,591
5.	*Good Times* (CTV-WWNY)	U.S.	Comédie	84,591
6.	*Remarkable Rocket* (CTV)	U.S.	Dessins animés	84,591
7.	*Rhoda* (CBC-WWNY)	U.S.	Comédie	84,591
8.	*Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	78,084
9.	*Cannon* (WWNY)	U.S.	Série policière	78,084
10.	*Rudolph Red Nose* (WWNY)	U.S.	Dessins animés	78,084
11.	*Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variétés	71,577
12.	*Little Mermaid* (CTV)	U.S.	Dessins animés	71,577
13.	*Odd Couple* (Global)	U.S.	Comédie	71,577
14.	*Odd Couple* (Global)	U.S.	Comédie	71,577
15.	*Grinch Christmas* (CTV)	U.S.	Dessins animés	71,577
16.	*Christmas Messenger* (CTV)	U.S.	Dessins animés	71,577
17.	*Bing Crosby* (WWNY)	U.S.	Variétés	71,577
18.	*Invisible Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	71,577
19.	*Maude* (GLOBAL-WWNY)	U.S.	Comédie	65,070
20.	*Adam-12* (GLOBAL)	U.S.	Série policière	65,070
21.	*When Things Were Rotten* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	65,070
22.	*Bobby Vinton* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	65,070
23.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	58,563
24.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	58,563
25.	*Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comédie	58,563
26.	*Le docteur Jivago* (R-C)	U.S.	Film	58,563
27.	*Switch* (CTV)	U.S.	Série policière	52,056
28.	*Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Emission de jeu	52,056
29.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	52,056
30.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	52,056

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoire de la région centrale (automne 1975).

** WWNY en la station qui diffuse les programmes des trois principaux réseaux américains, à savoir: ABC. NBC et CBS.

Tableau 42

Les trente émissions classées par catégorie les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région de Ottawa*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 650,700 personnes

Catégorie d'émission	Unités émissions	Catégorie d'émission	Unités minutes
Comédie	40%	Comédie	30%
Dessins animés	17%	Films	16%
Variétés	14%	Variétés	16%
Série policière	10%	Dessins animés	12%
Nouvelles	7%	Série policière	12%
Aventure	3%	Nouvelles	5%
Téléroman	3%	Aventure	5%
Emission de jeu	3%	Téléroman	2%
Films	3%	Emission de jeu	2%

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoires de la région centrale (automne 1975).

Région centrale (printemps 1976)

Le tableau 43 présente les trente émissions les plus regardées, au printemps, par l'ensemble de la population de la région centrale d'Ottawa. Nos résultats révèlent un certain nombre de différences quant au réseau le plus regardé par rapport aux données de l'automne. La première de ces différences tient au fait qu'au printemps trois réseaux (CBC, CTV, et Global) se partagent maintenant plus ou moins également la faveur des téléspectateurs d'Ottawa. On attribue au réseau Global dix émissions sur les trente les plus regardées dont cinq séries policières, quatre comédies et un film. On remarque aussi que deux des émissions (*Odd Couple* and *Adam-12*) qu'il diffuse chaque jour de la semaine, constituent sept de leurs dix émissions les plus regardées. Le réseau CTV obtient la deuxième place en termes de popularité avec neuf émissions dont deux émissions d'aventures, deux comédies, deux séries policières, une émission de variétés, un film et une émission "autre" (*Miss Teen Canada*). Au troisième rang, nous trouvons CBC, avec huit émissions (dont six comédies). Enfin, WWNY avec une série policière et une comédie; Radio-Canada avec un téléroman et TVA, avec un comédie sont en dernière position. Au printemps, la

grande majorité des émissions les plus regardées (vingt-huit émissions sur trente) étaient diffusées uniquement par des réseaux canadiens; une émission était diffusée à la fois par des réseaux canadiens et américaines et une autre émission n'était diffusée que par un réseau américain.

La prédominance des émissions américaines sur la liste s'avérait constante au printemps. En effet, vingt-six émissions sur trente étaient américaines. Sur les quatre autres émissions qui étaient canadiennes, deux étaient diffusées par les réseaux de langue française et deux (dont une émission spéciale) étaient diffusées par des réseaux de langue anglaise.

Comme nous l'avons constaté à l'automne, les comédies (trente-et-un pour cent) étaient encore une fois prédominantes. La proportion des films (dix-huit pour cent), émissions de variétés (quatorze pour cent), aventure (neuf pour cent) et téléromans (deux pour cent) demeurait à peu près la même par rapport aux données de l'automne. D'autre part, la vogue des séries policières augmentait au printemps (printemps, dix-huit pour cent; automne douze pour cent). Quant aux catégories d'émissions de jeu et les nouvelles, on les voyait disparaître de la liste pour être remplacées par des émissions classées "autre".

Tableau 43

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région d'Ottawa*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 650,700 personnes

Nom d'émission	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1. *All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	143,154
2. *Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	123,633
3. *Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	117,126
4. *Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autre	104,112
5. *Wayne and Shuster* (CBC)	Can.	Variétés	91,098
6. *Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	84,591
7. *Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	84,591
8. *Switch* (CTV-WWNY)**	U.S.	Série policière	78,084
9. *M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	78,084
10. *M*A*S*H* (WWNY)**	U.S.	Comédie	78,084
11. *Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Téléroman	78,084
12. *Symphorien* (VTA)	Can.	Comédie	78,084
13. *Rich Little Show* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	78,084
14. *Adam-12* (lundi)(Global)	U.S.	Série policière	78,084
15. *Adam-12* (mardi)(Global)	U.S.	Série policière	78,084
16. *Friday Mystery Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Film	78,084
17. *Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	71,577
18. *Laverne and Shirley* (Global)	U.S.	Comédie	71,577
19. *Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	71,577
20. *Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variétés	71,577
21. *Odd Couple* (Global)	U.S.	Comédie	71,577
22. *Rhoda* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	65,070
23. *Jeffersons* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	65,070
24. *Blue Knight* (Global)	U.S.	Série policière	65,070
25. *Odd Couple* (mercredi)(Global)	U.S.	Comédie	65,070
26. *Odd Couple* (lundi) (Global)	U.S.	Comédie	65,070
27. *Adam-12* (mercredi)(Global)	U.S.	Série policière	65,070
28. *Adam-12* (Th.) (Global)	U.S.	Série policière	65,070
29. *Joe Forrester* (CTV)	U.S.	Série policière	65,070
30. *Movie* (Global)	U.S.	Film	65,070

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoire de la région centrale (printemps 1976).

** WWNY en la station qui diffuse les programmes des trois principaux réseaux américains, à savoir: ABC. NBC et CBS.

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Tableau 44

Les trente émissions, classées par catégorie, les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région d'Ottawa*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 650,700 personnes

Catégorie d'émission	Unités émissions	Catégorie d'émission	Unités minutes
Comédie	47%	Comédie	31%
Série policière	23%	Film	18%
Variétés	10%	Série policière	18%
Aventure	7%	Variétés	14%
Film	7%	Aventure	9%
Téléroman	3%	Autre	8%
Autre	3%	Téléroman	2%

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoires de la région centrale (printemps 1976).

Ainsi donc au printemps, on regardait surtout les réseaux canadiens, bien que les émissions diffusées par ces mêmes réseaux soient pour la plupart des productions américaines. Les téléspectateurs d'Ottawa préfèrent le genre comédie (trente-et-un pour cent), ensuite les films (dix-huit pour cent) et les séries policières (dix-huit pour cent). La programmation des réseaux de langue française n'était que peu représentée (N=2) sur la liste des trente émissions les plus regardées. (Voir tableau 44).

Térritoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Si on examine les cotes d'écoute en fonction de l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion, on note que les trente émissions les plus regardées ne sont semblables qu'en partie à celles de la région centrale. Comme nous l'avons fait remarquer plus tôt, les différences entre la région centrale et le territoire total de diffusion sont minimes pour les grands marchés comme ceux de Montréal et Toronto, mais beaucoup plus appréciables pour les marchés de moindre importance Tableau 45. Ainsi que nous le montre le tableau 45, mises à part les variations dans l'ordre de classement de certains émissions, on remarque un certain nombre de nouvelles émissions, parmi lesquelles se trouvent certainement les cinq émissions de nouvelles. On compte également quatre comédies, deux séries policières, une émission de

variétés, un film, une émission de jeu et une émission de musique.

L'une des plus importantes différences entre le territoire total de diffusion et la région centrale est due au fait qu'il n'y a que deux réseaux sur la liste des trente émissions les plus regardées. Le réseau CTV avec vingt-trois émissions sur trente domine cette liste. La répartition des types d'émissions que les téléspectateurs préfèrent regarder à CTV s'établit comme suit: comédies (N=5), nouvelles (N=5), séries policières (N=4), films (N=2), aventure (N=2) émission de jeu (N=1), musique (N=1), et "autre" (N=1). Pour sa part, le réseau CBC enregistre six comédies et une émission de variétés sur la liste. Presque le tiers des trente émissions (soit neuf émissions sur trente) de cette liste sont des productions canadiennes. Cela est dû, pour une grande part, à la très populaire émission *Newsline* de CTV.

Tableau 45

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région d'Ottawa*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 1,087,570 personnes

	Nom d'émission	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	265,900
2.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	258,900
3.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	226,000
4.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	211,500
5.	*Rich Little Show* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	207,000
6.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autre	197,000
7.	*Jeffersons* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	184,100
8.	*Newsline* (lundi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	178,200
9.	*Bobby Vinton* (mardi) (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	167,600
10.	*Joe Forrester* (Mon.) (CTV)	U.S.	Série policière	141,300
11.	*Newsline* (mardi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	164,700
12.	*Newsline* (mercredi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	161,800
13.	*The Rookies* (CTV)	U.S.	Série policière	157,200
14.	*Friday Mystery Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Film	155,200
15.	*Newsline* (jeudi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	154,500
16.	*Newsline* (vendredi) (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	152,200
17.	*Sanford and Son* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	151,100
18.	*Streets of San Francisco* (CTV)	U.S.	Série policière	141,200
19.	*Grady* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	140,100
20.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	137,500
21.	*Wed. Night Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Film	140,000
22.	*Wayne and Shuster* (CBC)	Can.	Variétés	136,400
23.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	135,200
24.	*Headline Hunters* (CTV)	Can.	Emission de jeu	126,400
25.	*Country Way* (CTV)	Can.	Emission de musique	125,900
26.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	125,300
27.	*Good Heavens* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	124,000
28.	*Switch* (CTV)	U.S.	Série policière	121,400
29.	*Rhoda* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	120,100
30.	*Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	117,000

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976).

Tableau 46

Les trente émissions, classées par catégorie, les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région d'Ottawa*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 1,087,570 personnes

Catégorie d'émission	Unités émissions	Catégorie d'émission	Unités minutes
Comédie	37%	Comédie	23%
Nouvelles	17%	Film	19%
Série policière	13%	Série policière	17%
Variétés	10%	Nouvelles	11%
Aventure	7%	Variétés	11%
Film	7%	Aventure	8%
Emission de jeu	3%	Autre	7%
Musique	3%	Emission de jeu	2%
Autre	3%	Musique	2%

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoires du territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976).

La répartition des catégories d'émissions préférées est plus diversifiée dans le territoire total de diffusion que dans la région centrale. En effet, le tableau 46 nous montre neuf types de catégories d'émissions dans le territoire total de diffusion contre sept types d'émissions pour la région centrale. Les comédies (vingt-trois pour cent) dominent toujours mais sont suivies de plus près par les films (dix-neuf pour cent) et les séries policières (dix-sept pour cent). Suivent les nouvelles (onze pour cent) qui apparaissent pour la première fois en tant que catégorie et les variétés (onze pour cent). Enfin, les émissions d'aventures (huit pour cent), les émissions de musique (deux pour cent) (une nouvelle catégorie) complètent la liste. Dans l'ensemble, sauf dans le cas des nouvelles et des comédies, l'importance relative des différentes catégories d'émissions reste à peu près la même que celle de la région centrale.

Les groupes selon le sexe

Nous avons analysé nos données en termes de programmation préférée par les groupes selon l'âge et le sexe.

Pour les groupes selon le sexe, nous avons compilé, d'après les rapports de BBM, les dix émissions les plus regardées par les hommes et les femmes du territoire total de diffusion, au printemps. Comme le montre le tableau 47, ces listes prouvent que les hommes et les femmes n'ont que quatre émissions en commun parmi les dix émissions de leurs listes. Il s'agit de deux émissions d'aventures, d'une comédie, et d'une émission de nouvelles. Il semble que les femmes préfèrent, pour leur part, les émissions de comédie alors que les hommes choisissent plus d'émissions de nouvelles. C'est est une des raisons pour lesquelles les hommes ont cinq productions canadiennes sur leur liste alors que les femmes n'en ont que deux. Mise à part l'émission *All in the Family*, on peut dire que l'importance de l'auditoire est à peu près la même pour les hommes et pour les femmes.

Les groupes selon l'âge

Nous avons subdivisé nos données en trois groupes d'âge. Les adultes, dix-huit ans et plus, les adolescents de douze à dix-sept ans et les enfants de deux à onze ans. On doit se rappeler que les listes des émissions les plus regardées par les trois groupes d'âge ne comprennent que les émissions diffusées entre 18 heures et 23 heures.

On constate que trois groupes d'âge ont quatre émissions en commun (deux émissions d'aventures, une comédie et une émission de variétés). En comparant les listes, on remarque que les enfants et les adolescents ont six émissions préférées en commun. Ce sont les quatre émissions mentionnées plus haut, plus une comédie et une émission de variétés. Les adultes et les adolescents partagent également six choix communs dont la série *All in the Family* et le reportage *Miss Teen Canada*. Dans l'ensemble, on pourrait dire que la liste des adultes se distingue par un certain nombre d'émissions de nouvelles alors que les adolescents et les enfants préfèrent particulièrement les comédies. Quant au réseau le plus regardé, on peut dire que CTV est de très loin le premier sur les trois listes. A l'exception des nouvelles, du reportage *Miss Teen Canada* et d'une comédie *Symphorien*, toutes les émissions qui figurent sur les trois listes sont des productions américaines. Il est intéressant de noter que cette comédie *Symphorien* est la seule émission qui soit diffusée par un réseau de langue française. Pour plus de détails, voir le tableau 48.

Tableau 47

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (femmes, dix-huit ans et plus) dans la région d'Ottawa*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 1,087,570 personnes

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	101,800
2.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	83,900
3.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	82,900
4.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autre	75,000
5.	*Jeffersons* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	72,600
6.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	71,000
7.	*Bobby Vinton* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	69,600
8.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	68,500
9.	*Wed. Night Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Film	67,600
10.	*Streets of San Francisco* (CTV)	U.S.	Série policière	66,000

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (hommes, dix-huit ans et plus) dans la région d'Ottawa*

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	85,400
2.	*All in the Family* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	83,600
3.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	79,600
4.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	79,500
5.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	78,600
6.	*Joe Forrester* (CTV)	U.S.	Série policière	74,500
7.	*Rich Little Show* (CTV)	U.S.	Variété	72,100
8.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	71,500
9.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	71,400
10.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	70,100

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976).

Tableau 48

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (dix-huit ans et plus) dans la région d'Ottawa*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 1,087,570 personnes

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	185,400
2.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	162,500
3.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	155,300

Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
4. *Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	153,900
5. *Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	142,500
6. *Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	142,300
7. *Rich Little Show* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	135,600
8. *Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	135,000
9. *Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	Nouvelles	133,900
10. *Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autre	132,900

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adolescents (de douze à dix-sept ans) de la région d'Ottawa*

Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1. *Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autre	49,325
2. *Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	45,400
3. *Rich Little Show* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	41,800
4. *Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	40,900
5. *Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	33,500
6. *Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	29,300
7. *Jeffersons* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	26,900
8. *The Rookies* (CTV)	U.S.	Série policière	25,650
9. *All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	24,800
10. *Bobby Vinton* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	21,700
Grady (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	21,700

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les enfants (de deux à onze ans) de la région d'Ottawa*

Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1. *Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	65,200
2. *Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	55,500
3. *Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	47,200
4. *Rich Little Show* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	29,600
5. *Jeffersons* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	28,900
6. *Good Heavens* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	27,900
7. *Bobby Vinton* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	26,700
8. *Sanford and Son* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	23,200
9. *Friday Night Mystery Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Film	22,000
10. *Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comédie	20,800

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976).

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Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay

A) Programmation de télévision offerte

Caractéristiques démographiques[11]

Etant donné que les caractéristiques locales de chacune de ces régions sont quelque peu différentes les unes des autres, nous allons d'abord présenter les informations sur le recensement de chaque région séparément.

A) Sudbury: Au recensement de 1971, la population de la région métropolitaine de Sudbury était de 155,425 personnes dont 80,435 hommes et 74,990 femmes. Les familles comptaient en moyenne 3.9 personnes et 1.9 enfants. Le revenu familial moyen était de $11,739. 84,475 personnes déclaraient être de langue maternelle anglaise, 49,570 de langue maternelle française et 21,375 mentionnaient d'autres langues. 120,675 personnes disaient parler l'anglais à la maison, 41,055 personnes disaient parler le français, 4,495 personnes l'italien, 1,315 personnes l'ukrainien, 815 personnes le polonais, 590 personnes l'allemand et 40 personnes le néerlandais.

Les groupes ethniques se répartissaient comme suit dans la région métropolitaine de Sudbury: 58,080 Français, 56,985 Britanniques, 10,335 Italiens, 5,625 Ukrainiens, 5,005 Allemands, 2,900 Polonais, 1,285 Scandinaves, 1,210 Asiatiques, 385 Hongrois et 130 Russes.

B) Timmins: Au recensement de 1971, la population de la région de Timmins était de 28,542 personnes dont 14,550 hommes et 13,990 femmes. 13,070 personnes déclaraient être de langue maternelle française, 13,265 personnes de langue maternelle anglaise et 3,200 personnes mentionnaient d'autres langues. 15,495 personnes déclaraient parler l'anglais à la maison, 11,310 personnes le français, 1,690 personnes mentionnaient d'autres langues. Les groupes ethniques se répartissaient comme suit dans la région de Timmins: 14,145 Français, 8,470 Britanniques et 5,860 personnes provenant d'autres origines.[12]

C) North Bay: Au recensement de 1971, la population de la région de North Bay était de 49,187 personnes dont 24,440 hommes et 24,750 femmes. 37,875 personnes se disaient de langue maternelle anglaise, 8,535 de langue maternelle française et 2,780 mentionnaient d'autres langues. 42,370 personnes déclaraient parler l'anglais à la maison, 5,400 le français et 1,405 spécifiaient d'autres langues. Les groupes ethniques de la région de North Bay se répartissaient comme suit: 28,185 Britanniques, 12,580 Français et 8,415 personnes provenant d'autres origines. Comme on peut le voir, ces trois régions sont quelque peu différentes quant à la taille des populations et à la répartition des groupes culturels qui les composent. A Timmins, par exemple, un grand nombre de personnes parlent soit le français ou l'anglais à la maison. C'est pourquoi, nous avions d'abord cru que les émissions les plus regardées d'après les rapports de BBM ne seraient pas les mêmes d'une

région à l'autre. Nous avons donc analysé les données de chaque région séparément. Nous avons toutefois decouvert qu'il n'y avait que des variations minimes relativement aux émissions les plus regardées. Nous avons donc décidé, pour notre présentation de résultats, d'associer les trois régions: Sudbury, Timmins et North Bay pour former un seul grand marché plutôt que trois marchés différents.[12]

Caractéristiques de la télédiffusion

Trois réseaux importants se partagent la plus grande partie de l'auditoire de ce marché. Il y a d'abord le réseau d'état affilié (MCTVS-9) et son pendant de langue française, Radio-Canada (CBFST-9) et enfin le réseau privé de langue anglaise CTV (CKSO-5).

D'après les rapports de BBM, on évalue le pourcentage des foyers bénéficiant de la diffusion par câble à vingt-quatre pour cent dans la région urbaine de North Bay. Il n'y a pas de statistiques à cet égard pour les régions de Timmins et de Sudbury. Pour les trois régions, on évalue à soixante-huit pour cent le nombre de foyers possédant un téléviseur en couleur. La programmation de télévision de la région Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay est caractérisée par plusieurs facteurs particuliers. Soulignons entre autres l'importance des films dans la programmation en début de soirée. Un autre facteur important à souligner est la diffusion des nouvelles, très tôt dans la soirée à 17.30 heures, par certains réseaux. En conséquence, les émissions de nouvelles pour ces réseaux ne feront pas partie de notre analyse qui ne porte que sur la programmation de 18 heures à 23 heures. Le lecteur devra donc en tenir compte lors de l'interprétation des résultats. Enfin, du fait que cette région n'est desservie par aucun réseau américain, on devrait noter des différences particulières par rapport aux autres marchés déjà étudiés.

Catégories générales (automne 1975)

On peut observer, au tableau 49, les principales caractéristiques de la programmation des réseaux pour la région Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay. Les catégories principales (unités/minutes) d'émissions, pour chaque réseau à l'automne 75, apparaissent également au tableau 49.

Si on compile les listes des catégories principales d'émissions, on obtient sept catégories d'émissions offertes au téléspectateur moyen de cette région. Les films constituent une part importante de la programmation pour tous les réseaux. CTV (trente-et-un pour cent) et CBC (trente pour cent) détiennent les plus hauts pourcentages. CTV présente le plus souvent des films genre policier alors que CBC offre surtout des films de type dramatique. Contrairement à ce que nous avons constaté pour les autres marchés, les émissions de nouvelles ne constituent pas une catégorie importante de la programmation, sauf dans le cas du réseau de langue française Radio-Canada. On peut expliquer ce

Tableau 49

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale

Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
Nouvelles	29%	Films (surtout des policiers)	31%	Films (surtout des drames)	30%
Films (surtout des drames)	20%	Séries policières	17%	Comédie	20%
Documentaires	10%	Comédie	12%	Variétés	11%
		Aventure	10%		

phénomène en partie à cause du fait que certains postes affiliés diffusent les nouvelles à 17.30 heures en début de soirée, dans certaines régions. Il faut cependant conclure que les nouvelles n'en sont pas moins exclues de la programmation des "heures de grande écoute" pour les téléspectateurs anglophones de cette région.

Dans le cas de CTV, les séries policières (dix-sept pour cent), comédies (douze pour cent) et les aventures (dix pour cent) suivent les films en importance. Le réseau CBC offre surtout aux téléspectateurs de cette région des comédies (vingt pour cent), variétés (onze pour cent) et des émissions de musique (neuf pour cent). Radio-Canada, pour sa part, préfère offrir surtout des documentaires (dix pour cent) et des émissions d'affaires publiques (neuf pour cent). Pour plus de détails sur l'importance de chaque catégorie pour chaque réseau, voir le tableau 19 de l'annexe.

Langue de diffusion (automne 1975)

Les différences qui semblent les plus évidentes, de prime abord, sont dues au facteur linguistique. Nous avons synthétisé nos données en ces termes. Les catégories principales d'émissions selon la langue de diffusion, offertes aux téléspectateurs de la région Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay à l'automne 75 sont présentées au tableau 50.

Sauf dans le cas des films qui représentent une proportion importante de la programmation pour les deux types de réseaux, soit de langue anglaise (trente point cinq pour cent) soit de langue française (vingt pour cent), il semble y avoir des différences qui ont trait à la langue de diffusion dans la programmation offerte aux téléspectateurs de ce marché. D'une part, les réseaux de langue française offrent surtout des nouvelles (vingt-neuf pour cent), des documentaires (dix pour cent) et des émissions d'affaires publiques (neuf pour cent); d'autre part, les réseaux de langue anglaise offrent des comédies (seize pour cent), des émissions de musique (huit point cinq pour cent), des émissions de variétés (huit point cinq pour cent) et des séries policières (huit point cinq pour cent). Voir le tableau 20 de l'annexe.

On peut donc en conclure qu'à l'exception des films, les réseaux de langue française et de langue anglaise ont à leur horaire un genre de programmation presque totalement opposé.

Les réseaux d'état et les réseaux privés

Nous avons également synthétisé nos données en termes de régime de réseaux, soit réseaux d'état canadiens et réseaux privés canadiens. Le tableau 51 présente ces données.

Tableau 50

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Réseaux de langue anglaise		Réseaux de langue française	
Films (surtout des drames et des policiers)	30.5%	Nouvelles	29%
Comédie	16%	Films (surtout des drames)	20%
		Documentaire	10%

Tableau 51

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon les réseaux

D'état canadiens		Privés canadiens	
Films (surtout des drames	25%	Films (surtout des policiers)	31%
Nouvelles	14.5%	Série policière	17%
Comédie	13%	Comédie	12%
		Aventure	10%

Si on étudie les catégories principales d'émissions offertes par les réseaux d'état et par les réseaux privés à l'automne 75, on constate que les deux types de réseaux offrent à peu près les mêmes pourcentages de films et de comédies. Le type de films diffère toutefois selon le régime des réseaux. Les réseaux d'état présentent surtout des films de type dramatique alors que les réseaux privés offrent surtout des policiers. D'autres différences évidentes ont trait à l'importance des séries policières sur le réseau privé (dix-sept pour cent) et des nouvelles aux réseaux d'état (quatorze point cinq pour cent). Nous savons quand même que cette dernière catégorie (nouvelles) est due presque entièrement à la programmation du réseau de langue française. La programmation de type émissions de violence semble donc être la caractéristique du réseau privé alors que les émissions d'information sont offertes plus fréquemment sur les réseaux d'état.

Pour plus de détails, voir le tableau 21 de l'annexe.

Contenu canadien (automne 1975)

Nous avons également analysé nos données sur la programmation offerte dans la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay en termes de contenu canadien. On trouve au tableau 52 les proportions de productions canadiennes (basées en unités/ minutes), américaines ainsi que les productions d'autres pays (c.-à-d. des pays européens).

Le réseau de langue française détient le plus haut pourcentage de productions canadiennes (soixante-neuf pour cent). D'autre part, les deux autres réseaux (CTV et CBC) utilisent plutôt des productions américaines pour leur programmation aux heures de grande écoute.

Si l'on exclut les nouvelles (voir la 2ème colonne du tableau 52) comme nous l'avons fait pour les autres marchés, on découvre que les statistiques de Radio-Canada sont les seules à être affectées puisque ce réseau est le seul à offrir une quantité substantielle d'émissions de nouvelles. La programmation reste en majorité canadienne pour ce réseau.

Catégories générales (printemps 1976)

Le tableau récapitulatif 53 reflète les principales caractéristiques de la programmation des réseaux pour la région Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay. En termes de catégorie principale (unités/minutes) au printemps 1976, on obtient le tableau suivant:

On constate certaines différences entre l'horaire de l'automne et celui du printemps. Bien que les films demeurent relativement aussi importants pour les trois réseaux, on constate néanmoins que le pourcentage a diminué entre l'automne (vingt pour cent) et le printemps (treize pour cent) dans le cas de Radio-Canada. On se rend compte également que les films du genre policier sont présentés un plus souvent par ce réseau. On doit toutefois interpréter ces données dans

Tableau 52

Pourcentage de productions canadiennes par réseaux

Réseaux Pays d'origine	Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
Canada	69%	(57%)	31%	(30%)	31%	(31%)
U.S.	23%	(33%)	69%	(70%)	65%	(65%)
Autre	8%	(10%)	0%		4%	(4%)

Tableau 53

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale

Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
Nouvelles	30%	Films (surtout des policiers)	29%	Films (surtout des drames)	29%
Films (surtout des policiers)	13%	Série policière	19%	Comédie	16%
		Comédie	19%		
		Aventure	11%		

leur contexte et constater que sur treize pour cent de temps accordé aux films au printemps, six pour cent seulement était consacré aux films policiers. Au printemps, les émissions de type variétés (automne, onze pour cent; printemps, huit pour cent) ne font plus partie des catégories principales diffusées par le réseau CBC. Le même phénomène se reproduit dans le cas des documentaires (automne, dix pour cent; printemps, cinq pour cent) sur le réseau Radio-Canada. Le pourcentage des affaires publiques à Radio-Canada pour sa part reste constant (automne, neuf pour cent; printemps, neuf pour cent). Enfin, les séries policières (dix-neuf pour cent) et les émissions d'aventures (onze pour cent) sont les caractéristiques particulières du réseau CTV au printemps comme à l'automne.

Dans l'ensemble, on note que les réseaux offrent moins de catégories différentes d'émissions au printemps (N = 5) qu'à l'automne (N = 7). Pour plus de détails, voir le tableau XXI de l'annexe.

Langue de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Si l'on synthétise nos données sur la programmation de télévision au printemps 1976 en termes de langue de diffusion, on obtient les résultats du tableau 54.

Tableau 54

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Réseaux de langue anglaise		Réseaux de langue française	
Films (surtout des drames)	29%	Nouvelles	30%
Comédie	17.5%	Films (surtout des policiers)	13%
Série policière	12%		

Les données du printemps reflètent des profils de programmation très différents, que ce soit pour les réseaux de langue anglaise ou pour les réseaux de langue française. Les téléspectateurs qui choisissent les émissions offertes par les réseaux de langue anglaise regardent surtout des films (vingt-neuf pour cent), des comédies (dix-sept point cinq pour cent) et des séries policières (douze pour cent). D'autre part, les téléspectateurs des réseaux de langue française regardent des émissions de nouvelles (trente pour cent), des films (treize pour cent) et des émissions d'affaires publiques (neuf pour cent). Si l'on fait la comparaison avec les données de l'automne, on remarque une augmentation de la proportion des séries policières (automne, huit point cinq pour cent; printemps, douze pour cent) aux réseaux de langue anglaise et un diminution de la proportion des films (printemps, treize pour cent;

automne, vingt pour cent) et des documentaires (printemps, cinq pour cent; automne, dix pour cent) sur les réseaux de langue française. Pour plus de détails, voir le tableau XXIII de l'annexe.

Les réseaux d'état et les réseaux privés (printemps 1976)

Nous avons synthétisé nos données en termes de régimes des réseaux, soit réseaux d'état canadiens et réseaux privés canadiens. (Voir tableau 55.)

Tableau 55

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

Réseaux d'état canadiens		Réseaux privés canadiens	
Films (surtout des drames)	21%	Films (surtout des policiers)	29%
Nouvelles	15%	Série policière	19%
Comédie	11%	Comédie	19%
		Aventure	11%

Au printemps 1976, on trouve presque la même concentration de catégories d'émissions que celle dont nous avons parlé dans les données de l'automne. Toutefois, l'augmentation de la proportion des comédies sur les réseaux privés canadiens (printemps, dix-neuf pour cent; automne, douze pour cent) constitue une exception. Pour plus de détails, voir le tableau XXIV de l'annexe.

Si l'on examine les deux groupes de données concernant à la langue de diffusion et le facteur économique, il semble que les différences entre les genres de programmation de télévision sont beaucoup plus rattachées au facteur linguistique qu'au facteur économique pour ce marché.

Contenu canadien (printemps 1976)

Nous avons également analysé les données en termes de proportions des productions canadiennes pour les réseaux canadiens au printemps. (Voir tableau 56.)

On trouve, au printemps, une augmentation importante de la proportion des productions canadiennes au réseau d'état de langue française (printemps soixante-dix-huit pour cent, automne soixante-neuf pour cent). Par ailleurs, CTV diminuait sa proportion de contenu canadien au printemps (printemps, vingt-trois pour cent, automne trente-et-un pour cent) alors que le poste affilié à CBC conservait les mêmes chiffres (printemps, trente-deux pour cent; automne, trente-et-un pour cent).

Radio-Canada était seul, en définitive, à offrir une certaine diversité de productions étrangères non améri-

Tableau 56

Pourcentage de productions canadiennes selon les réseaux
(à l'exclusion des nouvelles)

Réseaux Pays d'origine	Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
Canada	78%	(68%)	23%	(23%)	32%	(32%)
U.S.	13%	(19%)	77%	(77%)	64%	(64%)
Autre	9%	(13%)	0%	(0%)	4%	(4%)

caines avec un pourcentage de neuf pour cent d'émissions européennes.

Si on exclut les nouvelles, on retrouve les profils semblables à ceux dont nous venons de parler. La proportion de productions canadiennes de Radio-Canada est la seule à baisser lorsqu'on exclut les nouvelles. On ne remarque aucun changement pour les autres réseaux puisqu'ils n'offrent pas ce genre de programmation.

Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay

B) Les cotes d'écoute en fonction de l'auditoire

Dans cette partie, nous nous intéressons aux programmations les plus regardées d'après les rapports que nous avons obtenus de BBM sur les cotes d'écoute. Pour plus de détails sur la façon dont nous avons recueilli les informations et sur les définitions méthodologiques dont nous nous sommes servi, il serait indiqué de prendre connaissance des commentaires du début de ce chapitre et des remarques faites dans les premiers paragraphes de l'analyse du marché de Montréal.

Il faut préciser néanmoins qu'il n'y a eu aucun rapport de cote d'écoute pour la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay, à l'automne 1975. Cette situation est due en grande partie à la grève postale qui a sévi à cette époque. Nous avons donc fait une comparaison entre les rapports de l'hiver et ceux du printemps. On ne constate que des variations mineures qui pour la plupart concernent l'ordre de classement des émissions. Nos résultats sont donc présentés dans les termes suivants:

Printemps 1976

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population

Région centrale et territoire total de diffusion

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population, selon les catégories

Territoire total de diffusion seulement

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes de 18 ans et plus

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les femmes
Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les hommes
Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adolescents

Région centrale (printemps 1976)

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) au printemps 1976 sont présentées au tableau 57.

Les deux postes CBC (N = 14) et CTV (N = 16) se partagent plus ou moins également les émissions de la liste. Les téléspectateurs préfèrent regarder le réseau CTV pour sa présentation de films (N = 4), de comédies (N = 4), ses émissions d'aventure (N = 4) de variétés (N = 1), les documentaires (N = 1), les séries policières (N = 1) et ses émissions classées "autre" (N = 1). De leur côté, les téléspectateurs de CBC choisissent de regarder ce réseau pour sa présentation de comédies (N = 7), variétés (N = 3), films (N = 1), émissions de jeu (N = 1), émissions de musique (N = 1), et ses émissions classées "autre" (N = 1). Les émissions de cette liste sont pour la plupart des émissions américaines (vingt-quatre sur trente). On remarque enfin qu'aucune émission du réseau de langue française, Radio-Canada ne figure sur cette liste.

Nous avons synthétisé nos données en ces termes pour mieux évaluer l'importance des catégories d'émissions. Le tableau 58 présente ces données en termes d'unité d'émissions et d'unités/minutes. On peut imaginer que les films (trente-cinq pour cent) et les comédies (vingt-et-un pour cent) sont les catégories les plus regardées par les téléspectateurs de cette région. Les émissions de variétés (quatorze pour cent), aventures (dix pour cent) et la catégorie d'émission "autre" (huit pour cent) sont les catégories qui recueillent ensuite la faveur des téléspectateurs de cette région. Les séries policières obtiennent (trois pour cent), les émissions de musique (trois pour cent), documentaires (trois pour cent) et les émissions de jeu (trois pour cent). Exception faite des séries policières qui sont représentées de façon modérée sur la liste, il semble que les catégories d'émissions offertes le plus souvent par les réseaux aux téléspectateurs (c.-à-d. film et comédie) soient également les plus regardées, ce qui n'était pas toujours le cas pour les autres marchés que nous avons étudiés.

Tableau 57

Les trente émissions les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région de Sudbury*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 242,690 personnes

Non d'émission	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1. *Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	97,076
2. *Wintario* (CBC)	Can.	Autre	80,087
3. *Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	80,087
4. *Dean Martin* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	80,087
5. *All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	77,660
6. *Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	72,807
7. *Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autre	65,526
8. *M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	63,099
9. *Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	63,099
10. *Movie* (mardi) (CTV)	U.S.	Film	60,672
11. *Rhoda* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	60,672
12. *Movie* (mercredi) (CTV)	U.S.	Film	60,671
13. *Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	58,245
14. *Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variétés	58,245
15. *Salty* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	58,245
16. *That's Entertainment* (CBC)	U.S.	Film	58,245
17. *Sharks* (CTV)	U.S.	Documentaire	55,818
18. *Littlest Hobo* (CTV)	Can.	Aventure	55,818
19. *Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Jeu	53,391
20. *Rockford Files* (CTV)	U.S.	Série pol.	53,391
21. *Maude* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	53,391
22. *Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	53,391
23. *Wayne and Shuster* (CBC)	Can.	Variétés	50,964
24. *Tommy Hunter* (CBC)	Can.	Musique	48,538
25. *Bob Newhart* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	48,538
26. *Mary Hartman* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	48,538
27. *Tom Jones* (CBC)	U.S.	Variétés	48,538
28. *Sanford and Son* (CTV	U.S.	Comédie	48,538
29. *Movie* (jeudi) (CTV)	U.S.	Film	46,111
30. *Movie* (lundi) (CTV)	U.S.	Film	46,111

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoire de la région centrale (Printemps 1976).

Tableau 58

Les trente émissions par catégorie, les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) dans la région de Sudbury*

Région centrale
Population estimée à 242,690 personnes

Catégorie d'émission	Unités émissions	Catégorie d'émission	Unités minutes
Comédie	37%	Film	35%
Film	17%	Comédie	31%
Aventure	13.5%	Variétés	14%
Variétés	13.5%	Aventure	10%
Autre	7%	Autre	8%
Documentaire	3%	Documentaire	3%
Emission de jeu	3%	Emission de jeu	3%
Série policière	3%	Série policière	3%
Musique	3%	Musique	3%

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoire de la région centrale (printemps 1976).

Territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Les cotes d'écoute en fonction de l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion pour les trente émissions les plus regardées au printemps sont en définitive, semblables à celles de la région centrale. On ne constate que des variations mineures se rapportant, pour la plupart, à l'ordre de classement des émissions. On remarque toutefois quatre nouvelles émissions vers la fin de la liste (une émission de variétés à CBC; une série policière à CBC; une émission de musique à CBC et un film également à CBC).

Bien qu'il ne s'agisse pas de changements importants, ces quatre émissions offertes par CBC font passer à dix-sept le nombre des émissions choisies par l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion de ce réseau. (Voir tableau 59).

Les catégories d'émissions du territoire total de diffusion sont aussi diversifiées que celles de la région centrale. Comme on peut le voir, il s'agit des neuf mêmes catégories distinctes. On remarque les différences suivantes: augmentation de la proportion des films (région centrale, trente-cinq pour cent; territoire total de diffusion, trente-huit pour cent) et des séries policières (territoire total de diffusion, six pour cent; région centrale, trois pour cent) et une diminution de la proportion des comédies (territoire total de diffusion, quatorze pour cent; région centrale, vingt-et-un pour cent). Pour plus de détails, voir le tableau 60.

Tableau 59

Les trente émissions de télévision les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) de la région de Sudbury*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 615,970 personnes

	Nom d'émission	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	172,500
2.	*Wintario* (CBC)	Can.	Autre	164,500
3.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	163,700
4.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	157,400
5.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	145,800
6.	*Dean Martin* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	143,800
7	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	126,100
8.	*Good times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	120,000
9.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	119,900
10.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autre	122,700
11.	*Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Film	121,000
12.	*Tom Jones* (CBC)	U.S.	Variétés	119,400

Nom d'émission	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
13. *Sharks* (CTV)	U.S.	Documentaire	116,900
14. *Tommy Hunter* (CBC)	Can.	Musique	114,300
15. *Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variétés	113,100
16. *Salty* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	112,000
17. *Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Film	111,400
18. *Rhoda* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	111,100
19. *Rockford Files* (CTV)	U.S.	Série policière	110,400
20. *Littlest Hobo* (CTV)	Can.	Aventure	109,000
21. *Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Jeu	107,300
22. *Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	104,400
23. *Hee-Haw* (CBC)	U.S.	Variété	102,600
24. *Wayne and Shuster* (CBC)	Can.	Variétés	99,500
25. *Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Film	97,700
26. *Movie* (CBC)	U.S.	Film	95,100
27. *Lawrence Welk Show* (CBC)	U.S.	Musique	94,000
28. *Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Film	93,600
29. *Starsky and Hutch* (CBC)	U.S.	Série policière	92,100
30. *Maude* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	90,900

* Estimation de BBM pour l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976).

Tableau 60

Les trente émissions de télévision les plus regardées par l'ensemble de la population (deux ans et plus) dans la région de Sudbury* par catégorie

Région total de diffusion
Population estimée à 615,970 personnes

Catégorie d'émission	Unités emissions	Catégorie d'émission	Unités minutes
Comédie	27%	Film	38%
Film	20%	Variétés	16%
Variétés	17%	Comédie	14%
Aventure	13%	Aventure	10%
Série policière	7%	Autre	7%
Autre	7%	Série policière	6%
Documentaire	3%	Documentaire	3%
Musique	3%	Musique	3%
Jeu	3%	Jeu	3%

* Estimation de BBM pour l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976).

Les groupes selon le sexe

Nous avons complété nos données en termes de préférence des groupes selon l'âge et le sexe pour compléter notre analyse.

Nous avons compilé, d'après les rapports de BBM, les dix émissions les plus regardées par les hommes et par les femmes du territoire total de diffusion, au printemps 1976. Comme on le voit au tableau 61, les hommes et les femmes ont, dans une certaine mesure, les mêmes goûts. Six des dix émissions les plus regardées étaient les mêmes pour les deux groupes, même en tenant compte des légères variations dans leur ordre de classement. Les deux groupes choisissaient surtout des comédies. En ce qui concerne contenu canadien, les deux groupes choisissaient sept productions américaines et trois productions canadiennes. La taille de l'auditoire était à peu près la même.

Les groupes selon l'âge

Nous avons divisé nos données en trois groupes selon l'âge. Les adultes, dix-huit ans et plus, les adolescents de douze à dix-sept ans et les enfants de deux à onze ans. Il faut tenir compte du fait que les dix émissions les plus regardées par les trois groupes d'âge ne sont diffusées qu'entre 18 heures et 23 heures en semaine.

Il n'y a que deux émissions choisies par les trois groupes: à savoir une comédie (*Happy Days*) et une émission d'aventures (*Bionic Woman*). La différence fondamentale entre d'une part, les adultes, et d'autre part les adolescents et les enfants, est la préférence

Tableau 61

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (femmes dix-huit ans et plus) dans la région de Sudbury*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 615,970 personnes

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Wintario* (CBC)	Can.	Autre	69,000
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	58,900
3.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autre	58,600
4.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	55,400
5.	*Tom Jones* (CBC)	U.S.	Variétés	48,000
6.	*Movie* (Wed.) (CTV)	U.S.	Film	48,000
7.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	46,000
8.	*Rhoda* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	46,000
9.	*Tommy Hunter* (CBC)	Can.	Musique	45,100
10.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	44,700

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (hommes dix-huit ans et plus) dans la région de Sudbury*

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Wintario* (CBC)	Can.	Autre	72,200
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	60,500
3.	*Dean Martin* (CTV)	U.S.	Variétés	58,000
4.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	52,600
5.	*Movie* (Wed.) (CTV)	U.S.	Film	52,600
6.	*Tommy Hunter* (CBC)	Can.	Musique	48,700
7.	*Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Jeu	46,100
8.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	43,400
9.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	43,100
10.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	41,600

* Estimation de BBM de l'auditoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976).

marquée que ces derniers accordent aux émissions d'aventures. Néanmoins, les trois groupes accordent clairement leur préférence aux comédies, bien que ce ne soit pas nécessairement les mêmes émissions pour chaque groupe d'âge. Ce sont les listes des enfants et des adolescents qui ont le plus d'émissions en commun, soit six. Enfin, compte tenu de la préférence des adultes pour des émissions telles que *Miss Teen Canada*, *Wintario*, les émissions de jeu et de musique, ils sont, parmi les trois groupes, les seuls à choisir un nombre important de productions canadiennes (quatre sur dix). Pour plus de détails, voir le tableau 62.

Tableau 62

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adultes (dix-huit ans et plus) de la région de Sudbury*

Territoire total de diffusion
Population estimée à 615,970 habitants

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Wintario* (CBC)	Can.	Autre	141,200
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	119,400
3.	*Dean Martin* (CTV)	U.S.	Variété	101,700
4.	*Movie* (mercredi) (CTV)	U.S.	Film	100,600
5.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	99,700
6.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	98,500
7.	*Tommy Hunter* (CBC)	Can.	Musique	93,800
8.	*Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Jeu	89,400
9.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Autre	89,400
10.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	81,300

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les enfants (2-11 ans) dans la région de Sudbury*

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	54,400
2.	*Littlest Hobo* (CTV)	Can.	Aventure	37,500
3.	*Salty* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	36,000
4.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	35,300
5.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	35,100
6.	*Tom Jones* (CBC)	U.S.	Variétés	25,500
7.	*Movie* (jeudi) (CTV)	U.S.	Film	23,600
8.	*Sanford and Son* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	21,800
9.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	21,600
10.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	21,100

Les dix émissions les plus regardées par les adolescents (de douze à dix-sept ans) de la région de Sudbury*

	Nom d'émission (réseau)	Pays d'origine	Catégorie	Cote d'écoute
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	38,900
2.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	31,925
3.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	29,200
4.	*Salty* (CTV)	U.S.	Aventure	25,800
5.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comédie	24,900
6.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	24,200
7.	*Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variétés	19,500
8.	*Movie* (jeudi) (CTV)	U.S.	Film	19,400
9.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	19,100
10.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comédie	18,900
	Rich Little (CTV)	U.S.	Variété	18,900

* Evaluation de BBM de l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976).

Sommaire

Le sommaire des résultats de la section I est divisé en deux parties:

1. Un survol de la programmation offerte dans les marchés étudiés (c.-à-d. Montréal, Ottawa, Toronto et Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay)

2. Un résumé de nos résultats relatifs à la programmation préférée par les téléspectateurs de chacun des quatre marchés.

A) La programmation des réseaux

Puisque nous avons déjà présenté les données spécifiques de chacun des marchés, nous allons maintenant comparer les quatre marchés de façon à définir les profils généraux qui se dégagent de notre analyse. Comme nous l'avons fait pour chacun des marchés, nous allons d'abord étudier les données ayant trait aux catégories générales d'émissions, ensuite les facteurs linguistique et économique et enfin le contenu canadien.

Que ce soit au printemps ou à l'automne, il semble que les catégories principales d'émissions offertes dans les quatre marchés soient des émissions de nouvelles, des séries policières, des films et des comédies.

Les nouvelles (automne 1975)

Nous avons constaté que le pourcentage moyen du temps de diffusion aux heures de grande écoute accordé à cette catégorie est de vingt-deux pour cent (unités/minutes) pour les régions de Montréal, Toronto et Ottawa. La seule exception est la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay où l'on ne consacre que dix pour cent de la totalité du temps de diffusion et ce, presque uniquement sur le réseau de Radio-Canada (voir les tableaux 1, 7, 8 et 19 de l'annexe).

Les films (automne 1975)

Dans l'ensemble, les films (quinze pour cent) constituent la deuxième catégorie la plus importante pour les quatre régions. Il y a toutefois des variations selon les marchés. Par exemple, le plus haut pourcentage est accordé à la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay (vingt-sept pour cent) et le plus bas à la région de

Montréal (douze pour cent) (Voir les tableaux 1, 7, 13 et 19 de l'annexe).

Les séries policières (automne 1975)

Pour trois des quatre marchés, on trouve fréquemment des séries policières (Montréal, Toronto, Ottawa). En moyenne, les quatre régions consacrent treize point quatre pour cent de toute leur programmation à ce genre d'émission. Le pourcentage le plus élevé est retrouvé à Toronto (seize pour cent) et le plus bas dans la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay (cinq point six pour cent). (Voir les tableaux 1, 7, 13 et 19 de l'annexe).

Les comédies (automne 1975)

Les comédies, se classant comme la quatrième catégorie la plus importante, représentent dans l'ensemble onze pour cent du temps de diffusion aux heures de grande écoute pour les quatre marchés. La plus grande quantité de comédies est diffusée dans la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay (treize pour cent) et la plus faible dans la région de Montréal (neuf point cinq pour cent). (Voir les tableaux 1, 7, 13 et 19 de l'annexe).

Puisqu'à première vue la programmation d'au moins trois des quatre marchés s'avère assez homogène, il est nécessaire d'étudier les données en termes de langue de diffusion, de facteurs économiques et de contenu canadien, afin de déterminer les caractéristiques de chaque région.

Pour simplifier la présentation, nous n'avons conservé que les données ayant trait aux catégories principales (c.-à-d. les catégories qui représentent en unité/minutes au moins dix pour cent de la programmation totale).

Langue de diffusion (automne 1975)

Si on analyse les données en termes de langue de diffusion, les catégories qui prédominent pour les quatre marchés sont les suivantes:

Ce tableau démontre certaines différences importantes entre les réseaux de langue anglaise et de langue française. On remarque, entre autres, un pourcentage élevé d'émissions d'information (nouvelles, affaires publiques, documentaires) et de films sur les réseaux de

Tableau 63

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes selon la langue de diffusion

Marchés	Montréal		Toronto		Ottawa		Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay	
Langue de diffusion								
Français	Nouvelles	25%	Nouvelles	29%	Films	22%	Nouvelles	29%
	Film	21%	Film	22%	Nouvelles	19.5%	Film	20%
	Interviews	10.5%	Documentaire	12%	Affaires publiques	15.5%	Documentaire	10%
			Affaires publiques	11.5%	Interviews	10%		
Anglais	Nouvelles	20%	Série policière	20%	Nouvelles	23%	Films	30.5%
	Série policière	16%	Nouvelles	17%	Série policière	17%	Comédie	16%
	Comédie	14.5%	Comédie	12%	Comédie	16%		
	Musique	10.5%	Film	11%	Film	10%		
Americain	Nouvelles	25%	Nouvelles	24%	Nouvelles	20%		
	Série policière	22%	Série policière	15%	Comédie	15%		
	Film	11.5%	Sports	14%	Film	14%		
			Film	12%	Série policière	10%		
					Série dramatique	10%		
					Variétés	10%		

langue française pour les quatre marchés. D'autre part, les réseaux de langue anglaise, bien qu'ils offrent, mais dans une moins large mesure, un certain nombre d'émissions de nouvelles et des films, présentent aussi un nombre considérable de séries policières et de comédies dans leurs programmations.

La programmation des réseaux américains accordant aussi une part importante aux séries policières, a beaucoup plus de similarité avec la programmation des réseaux de langue anglaise qu'avec celle des réseaux de

Tableau 64

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes selon le régime des réseaux

Marchés Type de régime	Montréal		Toronto		Ottawa		Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay	
D'état	Nouvelles	25%	Nouvelles	24.5%	Aff. pub.	20%	Film	25%
Canadien	Comédie	11.5%	Comédie	11.5%	Nouvelles	19.5%	Nouvelles	14.5%
	Film	9.5%	Film	11%	Comédie	11%	Comédie	13%
			Aff. pub.	10%	Film	10%		
Privé	Sér. pol.	20%	Sér. pol.	26%	Nouvelles	23%	Film	31%
Canadien	Nouvelles	20%	Nouvelles	16%	Sér. pol.	21%	Sér. pol.	17%
	Film	15%	Film	14%	Film	18%	Comédie	12%
	Interviews	10.5%	Comédie	10%	Comédie	10%	Aventure	10%
Privé	Nouvelles	25%	Nouvelles	24%	Nouvelles	20%		
Americain	Sér. pol.	22%	Sér. pol.	15%	Comédie	16%		
	Film	11.5%	Sports	14%	Film	14%		
			Film	12%	Sér. pol.	10%		
					Sér. dram.	10%		
					Variétés	10%		

langue française. Ainsi, on constate d'importantes divergences dans la programmation des quatre marchés selon qu'elle est diffusée en français ou en anglais.

Régimes des réseaux (automne 1975).

Comme on le voit au tableau 64, les réseaux d'état et les réseaux canadiens ainsi que les réseaux privés américains sont assez constants, à quelques écarts près, pour trois ou quatre marchés dans le type des catégories d'émissions qu'ils diffusent. Cela n'a rien d'étonnant puisqu'il s'agit des même réseaux, dans chacune des régions. Par contre, le type de programmation à l'intérieur d'un marché varie considérablement selon qu'il est offert par un réseau d'état (canadien) ou un réseau privé (canadien). En effet, les émissions d'informations (nouvelles et émissions d'affaires publiques) les films et les comédies constituent l'élément majeur des réseaux d'état canadiens. D'autre part, les réseaux privés canadiens, en plus d'une certaine quantité de nouvelles,

films et comédies, offrent dans la plupart des marchés une quantité substantielle de séries policières à leur programmation des "heures de grande écoute". Les quatre marchés accusent les mêmes tendances.

Les réseaux privés américains offrent une programmation semblable à celle des réseaux privés canadiens.

Le contenu canadien (automne 1975)

Le tableau 65 présente les données sur la proportion de contenu canadien.

Il faut se rappeler d'une part que les nouvelles (qui sont toujours des productions canadiennes) font partie de ces statistiques, et d'autre part que les réseaux américains sont exclus de cette partie de l'analyse bien que leur programmation soit très importante dans la région de Toronto. On constate que le pourcentage de productions canadiennes atteint cinquante-huit point cinq

pour cent dans la région de Montréal, cinquante-sept pour cent dans la région d'Ottawa, cinquante pour cent à Toronto et quarante-trois point six pour cent dans la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay. Le réseau d'état de langue française, Radio-Canada, est celui qui présente la plus grande proportion de contenu canadien pour les quatre marchés. CBC, réseau d'état de langue anglaise, se classe au second rang en ce qui concerne le contenu canadien, sauf dans le cas du marché de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay.

A l'exception du réseau privé de langue française TVA, tous les réseau privés offrent en majorité des productions américains à leurs téléspectateurs. Les réseaux CTV et Global sont les meilleurs exemples de cette pratique. Leurs pourcentages de productions canadiennes ne dépassent jamais quarante-et-un pour cent et ce pour tous les marchés où ils offrent une programmation de télévision.

Quant aux productions importées ailleurs que des Etats-Unis, le marché de Montréal est le seul à offrir

Tableau 65

Pourcentage de productions canadiennes selon les réseaux

	Réseaux	Origine des productions		
Montréal		Can.	U.S.	Autre
	Radio-Canada (d'etat, français)	70%	23%	7%
	CBC (d'état, anglais)	65%	24%	11%
	TVA (privé, français	59%	31%	10%
	CTV (privé, anglais)	40%	59%	1%
Toronto				
	Radio-Canada (d'etat, français)	67.5%	25%	7.5%
	CBC	(d'état, anglais)	66%	28%
	CTV (privé, anglais)	37%	60%	3%
	Ind. (privé, anglais)	38%	62%	0%
	Global (privé, anglais)	39.5%	60.5%	0%
Ottawa				
	Radio-Canada (d'etat, français)	75%	17.5%	7.5%
	CBC (d'état, anglais)	67%	28%	5%
	CTV (privé, anglais)	40.5%	54%	5.5%
	TVA (privé, français)	61%	37%	2%
	Global (privé, anglais)	41%	57%	2%
Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay				
	Radio-Canada (d'état, français)	69%	23%	8%
	CBC (d'état, anglais)	31%	65%	4%
	CTV (privé, anglais)	31%	69%	0%

une programmation assez variée comportant sept pour cent d'importations autres qu'américaines.

Il semble donc au départ, qu'un téléspectateur vivant dans une région desservie par au moins un réseau d'état et un réseau privé de langue française a un plus grand choix de programmes et de productions canadiennes, de productions étrangères autres qu'américaines.

Au printemps, les quatre mêmes catégories (nouvelles, séries policières, films et comédies) marquaient encore une nette avance dans la programmation des réseaux. Leur ordre d'importance s'était modifié par rapport aux données de l'automne.

Les nouvelles (printemps 1976)

En moyenne vingt-deux pour cent (unités/minutes) de la programmation pendant les heures de grande écoute sont consacrés aux nouvelles dans les régions de Montréal, Toronto et Ottawa. La région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay fait encore exception comme à l'automne et seul le réseau Radio-Canada dans ce marché diffuse une quantité appréciable de nouvelles au cours ces heures de grande écoute. (Voir les tableaux 4, 10, 16 et 22 de l'annexe).

Séries policières (printemps 1976)

Les séries policières, qui venaient au troisième rang à l'automne, passent au printemps au deuxième rang des catégories pour la programmation des quatre marchés; on trouve dans la programmation une moyenne de quinze pour cent du genre policier. Montréal et Toronto détiennent les plus hauts pourcentages, chacune avec seize pour cent et le plus faible est détenu par Sudbury (dix pour cent). (Voir les tableaux 4, 10, 16 et 22 de l'annexe).

Comédies (printemps 1976)

Les comédies représentent douze pour cent de la programmation des "heures de grande écoute" pour les quatre marchés; la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay ayant le plus haut pourcentage avec quatorze pour cent et la région de Toronto le plus bas avec onze pour cent. (Voir les tableaux 4, 10, 16 et 22 de l'annexe).

Les films (printemps 1976)

Les films suivent de près en quatrième place avec onze pour cent de la programmation pour les quatre marchés. On remarque une baisse de quatre pour cent par rapport à l'automne. Il y a toutefois de grands écarts entre les marchés, du moins dans la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay qui accorde vingt-quatre pour cent de son temps de diffusion aux films. Les trois autres marchés, Montréal, Toronto et Ottawa accordent approximativement neuf pour cent de leur programmation à cette catégorie. (Voir les tableaux 4, 10, 16 et 22 de l'annexe).

A première vue, le type de programmation offert au printemps semble aussi homogène que celui qu'on offrait à l'automne pour au moins trois des quatre marchés. Nous devons donc pousser plus loin notre analyse pour voir si cela reflète fidèlement le contexte. Si seule la programmation de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay semble se distinguer des autres marchés, nous remarquons que les facteurs économique, linguistique et culturel, peuvent aussi être un élément de différenciation entre les autres marchés. Ceci ne devrait cependant pas surprendre ceux qui ont déjà pris connaissance de l'analyse de chacun des marchés. Le tableau 66 présente les différences qui existent entre les marchés. Pour simplifier la présentation, nous n'avons conservé que les données des catégories principales, comme nous l'avons fait pour les données de l'automne.

Langue de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Voici les catégories qui dominaient pour les quatre marchés, selon la langue de la diffusion.

Ce tableau montre clairement les divergences ayant trait à la langue de diffusion. Selon que les téléspectateurs sont fidèles au réseau de langue française ou au réseau de langue anglaise, il est fort probable qu'ils consommeront des types très différents de programmation. Les réseaux de langue française se caractérisent par la diffusion d'une grande quantité d'émissions d'informations (c-à-d. nouvelles et affaires publiques) et de films dans le cadre des quatre marchés. D'autre part, les réseaux de langue anglaise qui offrent également une quantité appréciable de nouvelles, mais dans une moins large mesure que les réseaux de langue française, se distinguent surtout par la présentation des séries policières et des comédies. Pour les quatre marchés dont nous venons de parler, les réseaux de langue anglaise consacrent la plupart de la programmation des heures de grande écoute aux séries policières dans la région de Toronto et aux comédies dans la région de Montréal.

Les réseaux américains offrent des profils très similaires à ceux des réseaux anglais (ou vice-versa) bien qu'ils présentent également une plus grande quantité de films.

Il est intéressant de noter à quel point la langue de diffusion peut avoir de l'importance relativement à ce qui est offert aux téléspectateurs. Cela dépend toutefois des composantes ethnolinguistiques des marchés. Il serait utopique de croire, par exemple, que la programmation de langue française puisse être une alternative dans un marché comme celui de Toronto où très peu de téléspectateurs comprennent le français. Par contre, d'après les données du recensement, les téléspectateurs de la région d'Ottawa ont davantage la possibilité de faire un choix basé sur la langue.

Un autre facteur dont il faut tenir compte, c'est le nombre relativement peu élevé de réseaux pour les différents marchés. Bien que nous fassions la distinction entre les réseaux de langue anglaise et les réseaux américains, on pourrait très bien les associer, particulièrement si l'on tient compte des similarités dans leurs program-

Table 66

Pourcentage d'unités/minutes selon la langue de diffusion

Marchés	Montréal		Toronto		Ottawa		Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay	
Langue de diffusion								
Français	Nouvelles	25%	Nouvelles	30%	Nouvelles	20%	Nouvelles	30%
	Films	17.5%	Film	19%	Film	18.5%	Film	13%
	Interviews	10%	Aff. pub.	14%	Aff. pub.	15%		
					Interview	10%		
Anglais	Comédie	20%	Sér. pol.	20%	Nouvelles	22%	Film	29%
	Nouvelles	20%	Nouvelles	17%	Sér. pol.	19%	Comédie	17.5%
	Sér. pol.	18.5%	Comédie	13%	Comédie	15%	Sér. pol.	12%
Américain	Nouvelles	25%	Nouvelles	24%	Nouvelles	20%		
	Sér. pol.	24.5%	Sér. pol.	15%	Sér. pol.	19%		
	Comédie	11%	Sports	12%	Comédie	16%		
			Film	11%	Film	10%		
			Comédie	10%				

mations. Pour un marché comme celui d'Ottawa, on parle donc de quatre réseaux de langue anglaise contre deux de langue française. A moins que les téléspectateurs n'aient un très fort penchant pour leur langue et leur culture, il y a de grandes chances pour qu'ils se tournent vers la programmation de langue anglaise.

Ce genre d'implication sera encore plus évident lorsque nous étudierons ce que les téléspectateurs regardent.

Le facteur économique (Printemps 1976)

Dans l'ensemble, les réseaux offrent des profils de programmation assez semblables quant aux catégories qu'ils diffusent sur les quatre marchés. Le type d'émission que chaque réseau (d'état canadien, privé canadien et américain) offre, est à peu près semblable d'un marché à l'autre. Il y a toutefois certains écarts dans les pourcentages de catégories.

Les réseaux d'état canadiens présentent surtout des émissions d'informations (nouvelles et affaires publiques) et des comédies à leurs téléspectateurs. En plus des nouvelles les réseaux privés canadiens présentent en revanche une plus grande quantité de séries policières que leurs voisins du Sud.

Les comédies et les films constituent également, mais dans une moindre mesure, une partie importante de leur programmation. Les réseaux américains offrent le même type de programmation.

Lors, si nous faisons exception des nouvelles, les téléspectateurs ont dans l'ensemble le choix entre une programmation de violence aux réseaux privés canadiens ou américains et des comédies aux réseaux d'état. Laquelle choisissent-ils? Préfèrent-ils d'autres types d'émissions? Nous tenterons de répondre à ces questions dans la deuxième partie de notre sommaire.

Le contenu canadien (printemps 1976)

Tout en tenant compte du fait que les émissions de nouvelles font partie de ces statistiques et que les réseaux américains en sont exclus (même si ces derniers sont particulièrement importants pour le marché de Toronto), nos données démontrent que le pourcentage

le plus élevé de productions canadiennes est dans les régions d'Ottawa et de Montréal (soixante-deux pour cent) et le plus bas, dans la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay (quarante-quatre pour cent). Le réseau de langue française, Radio-Canada, est de nouveau le détenteur du plus fort pourcentage de contenu canadien pour les quatre marchés. Si on fait exception de la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay, on constate que les réseaux d'état de langue française et anglaise offrent la plus grande proportion de productions canadiennes. Le seul réseau privé qui ait une politique semblable est le réseau de langue française TVA qui diffuse en majorité des productions canadiennes (plus de soixante pour cent) vers les marchés de Montréal et d'Ottawa. Le réseau privé de langue anglaise Global a un contenu canadien de presque cinquante pour cent en grande partie à cause de ses émissions de nouvelles et de sport. CTV offre une majorité de productions américaines bien que le pourcentage varie selon le marché. Le réseau privé indépendant de langue anglaise CHCH offre une quantité substantielle de productions américaines.

Enfin, il semble, d'après cette étude, que les marchés où l'on retrouve un groupe appréciable de culture française auront non seulement un plus fort pourcentage de productions canadiennes mais encore un plus grand nombre de productions importées de pays différents.

B) Les préférences des auditoires

Une analyse de la programmation de télévision en termes d'émissions les plus importantes diffusées par les réseaux ne serait par complète sans un étude des préférences des téléspectateurs, afin de vérifier s'il existe une corrélation entre les deux. Quelles sont les ressemblances et les divergences entre ces deux aspects de la programmation (c.-à-d. qu'offre-t-on et que regarde-t-on ?

Dans cette partie de notre étude, nous ne faisons état que des données du printemps. Les problèmes méthodologiques auxquels BBM a dû faire face pour compiler ses données en vue du rapport spécial d'automne en sont la principale raison. Cele ne constituerait donc pas une base solide pour effectuer notre étude comparative des

Tableau 67

Pourcentage d'unité/minutes selon le régime des réseaux

Marchés:	Montréal		Toronto		Ottawa		Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay
Régime							
D'état Canadien	Nouvelles	25%	Nouvelles	25%	Aff. pub.	21.5%	Film
	Comédie	15.5%	Comédie	12%	Nouvelles	20%	Nouvelles
	Aff. pub.	10%	Aff. pub.	12%	Comédie	10.5%	Comédie
			Film	10%			
Privé Canadien	Sér. pol.	20.5%	Sér. pol.	25%	Nouvelles	22%	Film
	Nouvelles	20%	Nouvelles	16%	Sér. pol.	20%	Sér. pol.
	Film	12.5%	Comédie	11%	Film	11.5%	Comédie
	Interviews	10%			Comédie	11%	Aventure
Privé Americain	Nouvelles	25%	Nouvelles	24%	Nouvelles	20%	
	Sér. pol.	24.5%	Sér. pol.	15%	Sér. pol.	19%	
	Comédie	11%	Sports	12%	Comédie	16%	
			Film	11%	Film	10%	
			Comédie	10%			

marchés. Cela est surtout dû à l'absence de données en ce qui concerne la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay pour la période d'automne. Nous maintiendrons toutefois la distinction entre l'auditoire du territoire total et celui de la région centrale pour les données du printemps, puisque des différences sont apparues dans le cas de certains marchés. Nous tenterons, tout au long de notre présentation de faire la comparaison de façon systématique entre ce qu'on a offert aux téléspectateurs et ce qu'on a regardé.

Que préfèrent les téléspectateurs montréalais?

Région centrale (printemps 1976)
D'après les trente émissions les plus regardées par les téléspectateurs de la région centrale de Montréal au printemps, on peut dire que malgré les six réseaux qui diffusent vers ce marché, il n'y en a que deux (ceux de langue française) qui diffusent des émissions figurant sur la liste des émissions préférées. Le réseau le plus important pour ce marché est TVA qui, à lui seul, diffuse vingt des trente émissions les plus populaires.

Table 68

Pourcentage de production canadiennes par réseau

	Réseaux	Origine des productions		
Montréal	Can.	U.S.	Autre	
	Radio-Canada (d'état, français)	78%	12%	10%
	CBC (d'état, anglais)	63%	32%	5%
	TVA (privé, français)	61%	29%	10%
	CTV (privé, anglais)	44%	55%	1%
Toronto				
	Radio-Canada (d'état, français)	72.5%	15%	12.5%
	CBC (d'état, anglais)	66.5%	28.5%	5%
	CTV (privé, anglais)	47.5%	50.5%	2%
	Ind. (privé, anglais)	39.5%	60.5%	0%
	Global (privé, anglais)	49%	50%	1%
Ottawa				
	Radio-Canada (d'état, français)	84%	6%	10%
	CBC (d'état, anglais)	70%	23%	7%
	CTV (privé, anglais)	42%	51%	7%
	TVA (privé, français)	63%	30%	7%
	Global (privé, anglais)	50%	49%	1%
Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay				
	Radio-Canada (d'état, français)	78%	13%	9%
	CBC (d'état, anglais)	32%	64%	4%
	CTV (privé, anglais)	23%	77%	0%

Les Montréalais ont manifesté leurs préférences pour plus de quinze types d'émissions distinctes, ce qui constitue le choix le plus varié de tous les marchés. Ceci se compare aux neuf catégories distinctes d'émissions que nous avions trouvées à la compilation des listes des catégories principales diffusées par tous les réseaux de cette région. En termes de pourcentage/minutes, on trouve également deux catégories d'émissions (films, vingt-et-un pour cent; interviews, dix-neuf pour cent) offertes régulièrement et très regardées. Bien que les téléspectateurs choisissent également des émissions de nouvelles, d'affaires publiques et des séries policières, on constate néanmoins que l'offre est beaucoup grande que la demande. (Voir les tableaux 11 et 12).

D'autres émissions telles que les comédies, séries dramatiques à sujet médical, émissions de musique, téléromans, aventures, dessins animés, jeux, séries dramatiques ainsi que les émissions classées "autre", demeurent très en demande par les téléspectateurs bien qu'elles soient offertes moins souvent par les réseaux en question (c.-à-d. R.-C. et TVA). Ainsi, bien que les téléspectateurs montréalais préfèrent regarder certaines émissions offertes fréquemment, ils expriment également des préférences marquées pour d'autres types de programmation. Il suffit de consulter la liste des dix émissions les plus regardées pour se rendre compte que les téléromans et les comédies qui ne constituent qu'un faible pourcentage du temps de diffusion aux heures de grande écoute, sont d'autre part les divertissements les plus appréciés par les téléspectateurs montréalais.

On peut également remarquer que la majorité des émissions les plus regardées sont des productions canadiennes (vingt-quatre émissions sur trente). Cela ne fait que confirmer le fait que c'est Montréal qui a le plus haut pourcentage de productions canadiennes. Il nous faut préciser que le marché de Montréal est le seul, parmi ceux que nous avons étudiés, où les téléspectateurs ont exprimé une aussi forte préférence pour les productions canadiennes. Nous étudierons ce phénomène en détail dans la section II.

Territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Pour le territoire total de diffusion on trouve à Montréal en matière de choix, un profil assez semblable à celui de l'auditoire de la région centrale. Les trente émissions les plus regardées n'étaient encore une fois diffusées que par les réseaux de langue française. Le réseau privé TVA maintenait encore une fois la plus forte avance avec vingt des trente émissions de la liste. On remarque également que la grande majorité des émissions préférées (vingt-trois émissions sur trente) par la population de la région centrale étaient des productions canadiennes, comme c'était le cas pour le territoire total de diffusion. L'auditoire maintenait encore une fois sa préférence pour les catégories d'émissions interviews et films qui constituent une part importante de la programmation offerte. La diversité des préférences est toujours présente pour l'auditoire du territoire total de

diffusion. En effet, quatorze catégories d'émissions de leur choix figurent sur la liste des trente émissions les plus regardées. Cela, comme nous l'avons mentionné plus haut, comparé aux neuf catégories principales offertes par tous les réseaux, montre encore que les téléspectateurs sont très sélectifs et choisissent des émissions qui ne font pas nécessairement partie des principales catégories offertes. (Voir les tableaux 13 et 14).

Enfin, si on analyse les données sur les choix exprimés par les groupes selon le sexe, on constate que les hommes et les femmes de la région de Montréal partagent sept des dix émissions les plus regardées. Les femmes ont choisi uniquement des productions canadiennes (dix émissions sur dix) alors que les hommes ont choisi des émissions canadiennes dans le cas de huit des dix émissions les plus regardées. (Voir tableau 15).

On ne trouve que peu de similarité entre les groupes d'adultes, d'adolescents et d'enfants, quant à leurs choix d'émissions (trois émissions sur dix). Si l'on ne compare que les enfants et les adolescents, on remarque que ceux-ci manifestent plus de choix communs avec huit des dix émissions. Les enfants choisissent sept productions canadiennes sur dix, les adolescents huit sur dix et les adultes dix productions canadiennes sur dix. L'un des aspects les plus intéressants à remarquer tient du fait que les adolescents (sept émissions sur dix) et les enfants (huit émissions sur dix) choisissent leurs émissions surtout sur le réseau d'état de langue française, alors que les adultes choisissent les leurs sur le réseau privé de langue française (sept émissions sur dix). (Voir le tableau 16).

Le marché de Montréal s'avère donc différent des autres. En effet, les productions américaines n'arrivent pas à faire concurrence aux productions canadiennes ou plutôt québécoises de type téléromans et comédies préférés par son auditoire, malgré l'attrait qu'elles peuvent présenter lorsqu'elles sont traduites et diffusées en langue française.

Ces données nous donnent à penser que la culture s'avère un facteur important dans la programmation de la région de Montréal, bien que ce ne soit pourtant pas le cas pour les autres marchés.

Que regardent les téléspectateurs torontois?

Région centrale (printemps 1976)
Si l'on considère les trente émissions les plus regardées dans la région centrale de Toronto au printemps, six des huit principaux réseaux de ce marché, tous de langue anglaise, diffusent des émissions qui figurent sur cette liste. Aussi étonnant que cela puisse paraître, c'est un réseau américain ABC qui détient le plus grand nombre d'émissions (onze émissions sur trente) sur cette liste. L'un des phénomènes intéressants du marché de Toronto réside dans le fait que certaines émissions sont diffusées simultanément par un réseau canadien et un réseau américain. Compte tenu de ce fait, on constate

que les Torontois choisissent parmi les trente émissions les plus regardées, onze émissions diffusées par les réseaux canadiens, dix émissions diffusées par les réseaux canadiens et américains. Cela signifie non seulement que les téléspectateurs torontois rejettent le contenu canadien, comme nous le verrons plus tard, mais que dans bien des cas, ils préfèrent les réseaux américains aux réseaux canadiens, même si la programmation est similaire.

Bien qu'il y ait davantage de réseaux pour le marché de Toronto (N = 8) que pour le marché de Montréal (N = 6), le nombre de catégories d'émissions offertes à Toronto est plus faible (huit catégories). Les téléspectateurs n'accordent leurs préférences qu'à dix catégories, par rapport à d'autres marchés comme celui de Montréal où la sélection est de quinze catégories.

Si on étudie les catégories d'émissions, on constate qu'il y a un certain écart entre ce qui est choisi et ce qui est offert. En effet, les catégories les plus regardées en termes d'unités/minutes sont les émissions de variétés (dix-neuf pour cent) sports (quinze pour cent) et les séries dramatiques (douze pour cent). Et pourtant, ces trois catégories ont une fréquence de diffusion assez faible dans les horaires des réseaux. D'autres catégories importantes telles que les comédies (quatorze pour cent), séries policières (treize pour cent) et les films (douze pour cent) obtiennent un succès proportionnel à leur fréquence de diffusion. On peut dire que les productions américaines obtiennent de façon très nette la faveur du public (cinq émissions seulement sur trente sont canadiennes). (Voir tableaux 27 et 28).

Territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Comme nous l'avons vu pour le marché de Montréal, on ne trouve que peu de divergences entre les préférences de l'auditoire de la région centrale et celles de l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion. C'est un réseau américain (ABC) qui domine encore la liste et la plupart des émissions sont américaines (vingt-sept émissions sur trente), qu'elles soient offertes par des réseaux américains ou canadiens.

On trouve au total dix catégories qui se classent à peu près de la même manière que pour la région centrale. (Voir tableaux 29 et 30).

Les téléspectateurs torontois, exception faite des sports et des émissions spéciales, préfèrent non seulement la programmation et le contenu américain, mais encore ils ont de plus en plus tendance à regarder ces émissions sur les réseaux américains. Il est difficile d'évaluer le rôle de la violence dans cette liste des trente émissions les plus regardées. On peut dire toutefois que les séries policières, dont le contenu de violence est très évident, sont choisies en aussi grande proportion qu'elles sont offertes. Sans tenir compte des émissions de nouvelles qui figurent sur la liste, la plupart des réseaux du marché de Toronto accordent aux séries policières le plus fort pourcentage de temps de diffusion. D'autre part, on constate que les téléspectateurs de

Toronto aiment également les émissions de variétés, les séries dramatiques et les sports, lesquelles n'occupent pourtant pas une part aussi importante de la programmation.

On trouve moins d'affinités entre les choix des hommes et des femmes dans le marché de Toronto que dans le marché de Montréal.

Ces deux groupes partagent cinq des dix émissions les plus regardées. Contrairement à ce que nous avons observé dans le marché de Montréal, les téléspectateurs ne choisissent pratiquement pas de productions canadiennes (hommes, une production canadienne), (femmes, aucune production canadienne).

Analysant nos données en termes de groupes d'âge on trouve que les trois groupes choisissent en commun trois émissions; par contre les adolescents et les enfants en ont six en commun; on ne trouve pratiquement pas de productions canadiennes sur ces listes. (Voir le tableau 32).

Que regardent les téléspectateurs de la région d'Ottawa
Région centrale (printemps 1976)

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, les téléspectateurs de la région d'Ottawa ont à leur disposition six réseaux principaux. Chacun des réseaux diffuse au moins une émission figurant sur la liste des émissions les plus regardées. En ce qui concerne la région centrale, deux réseaux privés et un réseau d'état (tous deux de langue anglaise) se partagent au printemps, le marché en parts plus ou moins égales. Le marché d'Ottawa est d'ailleurs, après celui de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay, celui où le réseau d'état de langue anglaise concurrence le plus fortement les autres réseaux. Il nous semble que dans ce marché (Ottawa), les réseaux américains, du fait qu'ils ne peuvent disposer que d'un seul canal pour diffuser, aient fait moins d'incursions et soient une moins grande menace pour les autres réseaux canadiens qu'ils ne le sont par exemple pour le marché de Toronto. Il est rare que dans ce marché, on trouve des émissions offertes simultanément par des réseaux canadiens et américains.

En ce qui concerne les catégories principales d'émissions, nous avons trouvé sept catégories distinctes offertes par les réseaux. Les téléspectateurs expriment d'autre part leur préférence pour sept catégories différentes d'émissions. A première vue ceci pourrait paraître étonnant puisque le marché d'Ottawa dispose des mêmes "types" de réseaux que le marché de Montréal où l'on trouvait quinze catégories différentes d'émissions choisier par les téléspectateurs. Cela peut s'expliquer cependant par le fait que deux émissions seulement des réseaux de langue française figurent sur la liste trente émissions les plus regardées alors que les trente émissions choisier à Montréal étaient diffusées par ces réseaux.

Ottawa révèle un plus grand écart que Toronto entre ce qui est choisi et ce qui est offert. La catégorie série policière est la seule (dix-huit pour cent) qui soit choisie dans la même mesure où elle est offerte. D'autres

catégories telles que les comédies (trente-et-un pour cent), les films (dix-huit pour cent) et les émissions de variétés (quatorze pour cent) sont beaucoup plus en demande que pourrait le laisser croire le pourcentage de temps de programmation accordé par les réseaux. Les comédies en sont le meilleur exemple. Si l'on étudie bien la région d'Ottawa, il est évident que cette catégorie, bien qu'elle ne constitue que douze pour cent du temps de diffusion, représente malgré tout trente-et-un pour cent de ce qui est le plus regardé. Ce qui signifie que quatorze des trente émissions les plus regardées sont de ce type. Nous pouvons donc conclure que les réseaux, dans la région d'Ottawa, sous-estiment la popularité de certaines catégories d'émissions auprès des téléspectateurs.

On constate la même absence de contenu canadien pour la région d'Ottawa que pour celle de Toronto. En effet, les productions américaines sont prépondérantes (vingt-six émissions sur trente). (Voir les tableaux 43 et 44).

Territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Des quatre marchés, celui d'Ottawa est le seul où l'on trouve une grande différence entre le territoire total de diffusion et la région centrale quant aux préférences de l'auditoire. Bien que nous ayons été avertis par BBM que de tels écarts soient fréquents pour les marchés de faible importance nous ne pouvons donner d'explication satisfaisante, d'autant plus que nous n'avons pas trouvé un écart semblable pour la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay.

La liste du territoire total de diffusion montre d'abord la prédominance de deux réseaux sur le marché, CTV avec vingt-trois émissions sur trente et CBC avec sept émissions.

On peut expliquer en partie l'absence de Global, en tenant compte du fait que plusieurs de ses émissions (dont *Adam-12* et *Odd Couple*) ne figurent dans le rapport de BBM, que pour la région centrale et non pour le territoire total de diffusion. En éliminant ces émissions, CTV arrive donc à placer un plus grand nombre de ses émissions de nouvelles dans la liste des préférées; lesquelles émissions de nouvelles n'arrivaient pas à figurer parmi les trente premières pour la région centrale.

Cela change non seulement la distribution pour les réseaux, mais également la proportion de contenu canadien. On constate maintenant que neuf émissions sur trente sont canadiennes.

On remarque également une augmentation du nombre de catégories d'émissions (N = 9) choisies par les téléspectateurs par rapport aux données de la région centrale. Bien que les comédies soient encore les plus regardées (vingt-trois pour cent) en termes d'unités/minutes, leur pourcentage diminue pour laisser la place à de nouvelles catégories telles que les nouvelles télévisées, les émissions de jeu et les émissions de musique. Les autres catégories conservent à peu près les

mêmes positions que celles dont il a été question pour la région centrale.

En ce qui concerne les groupes selon le sexe, les hommes et les femmes se partagent quatre des dix émissions qui figurent sur la liste des préférées. Deux émissions sur dix de la liste des femmes et cinq émissions sur dix de la liste des hommes sont des productions canadiennes.

Ce nombre "impressionnant" de productions canadiennes est le plus fort que nous ayons enregistré pour tous les marchés autres que celui de Montréal.

En ce qui concerne les groupes selon l'âge, les adultes, adolescents et enfants se partagent quatre des dix émissions préférées. Il semble donc qu'il y ait une plus grande unanimité entre les groupes selon l'âge dans la région d'Ottawa. Les adultes et les adolescents se partagent six émissions, les adolescents et les enfants en ont également six en commun. (Voir tableau 48.)

Le plus grand écart entre ces groupes est créé par la présence des émissions de nouvelles sur la liste des adultes (N = 4). Cela explique également le fait que cinq des dix émissions de la liste des adultes soient des productions canadiennes. D'autre part, les adolescents et les enfants choisissent surtout des productions américaines (neuf émissions sur dix).

En résumé, on découvre un profil différent selon qu'on étudie la région centrale d'Ottawa ou son territoire total de diffusion. On remarque un profil beaucoup plus canadien pour cette dernière région. Si toutefois on compare dans l'ensemble les différents marchés entre eux, le marché d'Ottawa serait probablement beaucoup plus près de celui de Toronto que de celui de Montréal quant à son profil de programmation.

Que regardent les téléspectateurs de la région de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay?

Région centrale: (printemps 1976)

Bien que l'on trouve trois réseaux dans cette région, il s'agit en fait d'un marché à deux réseaux (c.-à-d. CTV et CBC). Le réseau de langue française, Radio-Canada, ne fait pas de concurrence bien qu'il y ait une grande population d'origine française dans la région de Timmins. Il est intéressant de noter que c'est dans ce marché que le réseau d'état CBC se différencie le plus quant à ses catégories d'émissions par rapport aux autres régions. On remarque également que c'est dans ce marché que CBC bénéficie de la grande majorité de l'auditoire. En effet, seize des trente émissions les plus regardées sont diffusées par son intermédiaire. Il faut toutefois tenir compte du fait qu'aucun réseau américain ne diffuse dans cette région. C'est un facteur à prendre en considération.

Bien qu'il s'agisse d'un petit marché limité à deux réseaux n'ayant à leur crédit que cinq catégories d'émissions principales, il est étonnant de constater que les téléspectateurs choisissent neuf catégories d'émissions distinctes parmi les trente émissions les plus regardées.

Cela ne peut que surprendre si l'on compare ce marché à celui de Toronto, lequel dispose de presque trois fois plus de réseaux. (Voir les tableaux 57 et 58). Cela illustre parfaitement et à plusieurs égards notre propos, à savoir qu'un grand nombre de réseaux n'assurent pas nécessairement une plus grande variété d'émissions offertes, ni une plus grande variété d'émissions choisies par les téléspectateurs. On remarque un certain rapport entre la fréquence de diffusion et le choix des téléspectateurs pour des catégories comme les films, les comédies et les émissions d'aventure, de même que pour un éventail d'émissions diffusées moins fréquemment. Il s'agit des catégories variétés, documentaires, émissions de jeu, séries policières et les émissions classées "autre". Remarquons également l'absence totale de programme de nouvelles et le faible pourcentage, toutes proportions gardées, de séries policières qui, nous l'avons montré, représentent une catégorie importante pour au moins l'un des principaux réseaux. Le marché de Sudbury ressemble au marché d'Ottawa et de Toronto par la prédominance des productions américaines (vingt-quatre émissions sur trente) sur la liste des émissions préférées. Il est intéressant de noter que les émissions canadiennes de la liste ne sont ni des émissions de nouvelles, ni des émissions de sport, comme c'était le cas pour les autres marchés anglophones, mais plutôt des émissions canadiennes de variétés, des émissions de jeu et de musique.

Territoire total de diffusion (printemps 1976)

Les données sur l'auditoire du territoire total de diffusion semblent être à peu de chose près, la réplique des données sur l'auditoire de la région centrale de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay. (Voir les tableaux 59 et 60).

On trouve sur la liste des trente émissions les plus regardées neuf catégories distinctes qui s'avèrent les mêmes. Elles sont en général classées dans le même ordre et une fois encore, vingt-quatre émissions sur trente sont des productions américaines. Le seul petit changement tient du fait que le réseau privé CTV prend une légère avance (dix-sept émissions sur trente) sur le réseau d'état CBC

En ce qui concerne les groupes selon le sexe, les femmes et les hommes de la région Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay se partagent six de leurs dix émissions les plus regardées (surtout des comédies). Trois émissions sur dix sont des productions canadiennes pour les deux groupes. (Voir le tableau 61).

Il n'y a que deux émissions communes aux adultes, adolescents et enfants. Quant aux productions canadiennes, elles se répartissent comme suit: quatre des dix émissions de la liste des adultes, aucune émission de la liste des adolescents et une seule émission de la liste des enfants. (Voir le tableau 62).

En fait on s'aperçoit que le facteur économique (réseau d'état contre réseau privé) ne joue pas un rôle aussi important pour ce marché que pour les autres.

Quant à l'origine du contenu, on constate que le marché de Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay est le seul des trois marchés anglophones où les téléspectateurs choisissent des émissions canadiennes autres que les émissions spéciales, les nouvelles ou les reportages sportifs. Enfin, il semble évident que la diversité des préférences exprimées ne dépend pas du nombre de réseaux.

En résumé, il semble donc que les facteurs culturel et linguistique modèlent les différents profils télévisuels. Dans le marché de Montréal, par exemple, il est possible d'atteindre une part importante de la population avec des émissions très populaires, à contenu culturel pertinent et produites à un coût relativement peu élevé. Le réseau privé de langue française TVA, l'un des plus rentables au Canada, montre bien cette possibilité, en produisant un certain nombre de téléromans et de comédies avec des budgets modérés, productions dans lesquelles on peut le mieux exploiter les thèmes culturels. Le réseau d'état de langue française, Radio-Canada, conserve aussi en partie cette approche.

D'autre part, les réseaux de langue anglaise, de pratiquement tous les marchés, ayant choisi d'offrir plutôt des émissions de types série policière/aventure,se sont imposés une politique d'importation de productions américaines, étant donné le coût relativement élevé des productions de ce genre. Il en résulte donc une plus grande proportion d'émissions à contenu de violence sur les réseaux de langue anglaise. Et là encore, bien qu'une telle programmation soit très populaire dans certains marchés, l'offre est souvent plus grande que la demande.

Enfin, il y a une autre distinction importante entre les marchés différents au point de vue culturel. Les réseaux de langue française importent un plus grand nombre d'émissions de pays autres que les Etats-Unis, alors que les réseaux de langue anglaise, au contraire, importent moins d'émissions étrangères non américaines.

Analyse d'épisodes de téléromans de langue française

Cette section est une analyse de contenu d'un certain nombre d'épisodes de téléromans diffusés par la télévision française. Notre choix d'émissions s'est arrêté sur les téléromans québécois qui nous paraissaient d'une part les plus représentatifs de la programmation de télévision, et d'autre part les plus regardés par les téléspectateurs de Montréal. Cette section sur les téléromans québécois ne prétend pas être une étude ou une analyse en profondeur des images et messages transmis par le contenu de ces émissions, mais plutôt un aperçu général de certains thèmes sociaux développés par ces mêmes téléromans au sein de la communauté québécoise. Ces principaux thèmes sont: la famille, l'amitié, l'amour, la sexualité, le travail, le rôle de la femme.

Sans aucun doute, le téléroman est un phénomène unique au Québec, datant des débuts mêmes de la programmation de télévision. Ce genre d'émissions était en vogue non seulement aux débuts de la télévision, mais a toujours captivé un auditoire très nombreux.

Parmi les quelques d'études mineures effectuées sur le contenu du téléroman au cours des dernières années, il n'y en a qu'une seule qui traite en détail les principaux thèmes de ces séries. Line Ross, dans son étude sur le téléroman de 1960 à 1971, a livré un nombre d'observations pertinentes à propos des réalités et des valeurs transmises dans ce type d'émissions. Si l'échantillonnage d'émissions qu'elle a étudié ne correspond pas à la période 1975-1976 du téléroman, qui fait l'objet de notre recherche, néanmoins il y a là un certain nombre de thèmes qui peuvent nous servir. En guise d'introduction à ce chapitre, nous allons donc citer brièvement certaines observations que Line Ross a mentionnées:

Que cela soit voulu ou non par leurs auteurs, les téléromans nous transmettent donc sous des dehors de description réaliste de la vie quotidienne de divers milieux sociaux une vision de la société très conservatrice et apte à renforcer l'idéologie dominante.

Il serait injuste d'affirmer que tous les téléromans sont sans valeur – certains sont fort bien écrits et mis en scène; il le serait également de prétendre que l'univers qu'ils nous présentent ne correspond en rien à celui du leurs téléspectateurs. Malgré un nombre exagéré de catastrophes, de solutions-miracles, de coïncidences exagérées, les téléromans traduisent une réalité. Ils ne sont pas un miroir des structures sociales mais ils reflètent sans doute la société telle qu'elle est vécue par bien des citoyens. De la vie quotidienne, ils reproduisent la banalité, le rythme lent, les conversations anodines, la centralité des relations primaires. Surtout si on les compare à d'autres contenus de fiction, que ne dépeignent qu'héroïsme, aventure, violence, exotisme, on doit reconnaître qu'ils sont relativement proches de la vie de leur public. Là sans doute réside la clé de leur succès et, également de leur influence. On ne peut déduire directement d'un contenu ses fonctions ni ses effets, mais on peut supposer que la vision édulcorée des rapports sociaux et des situations sociales, le privilège accordé à la tradition et au conservatisme, l'interprétation privatisante des problèmes collectifs qui caractérisent les téléromans emportent d'autant plus l'adhésion des téléspectateurs qu'ils sont proposés à travers des intrigues apparemment réalistes, "pseudo-réalistes".[13]

Méthode

Les téléromans que nous avons retenus pour notre d'étude dans le cadre de la programmation française de Radio-Canada et TVA, se rangent parmi les dix émissions les plus populaires au Québec. Au total, ces émissions rejoignent approximativement entre 698,800 et 1,423,800 téléspectateurs par semaine dans la région métropolitaine de Montréal. (Ces statisques proviennent des rapports de BBM printemps 1976).Cet auditoire circonscrit un vaste éventail de la société comprenant des hommes, des femmes et des enfants de tous âges. Contrairement aux téléromans d'expression anglaise diffusés dans l'après-midi, tous les téléromans québécois sont diffusés en soirée. De plus, ils sont produits au Québec et plus spécifiquement à Montréal. Ainsi, ils reflètent sensiblement les caractéristiques locales.

Les téléromans que nous avons analysés sont les suivants: *Rue des Pignons, Les Berger, La P'tite Semaine, Y'a pas de problème, Symphorien, Avec le Temps, Quelle famille.*

Notre échantillonnage comprend donc un épisode de trente minutes de chaque série. Sauf dans deux cas, tous les téléromans étudiés ont été diffusés durant la même semaine du 4 au 10 octobre à l'automne 1976. Deux épisodes proviennent cependant de la programmation du printemps 1976 dont un de *Quelle famille* parce qu'on avait interrompu cette série, et l'autre de la série *Avec le temps* parce que c'était le seul disponible.

Afin de mieux cerner le sujet de recherche, une définition du téléroman d'impose. A cet effet, on pourrait choisir celle que Line Ross a utilisée dans son étude, c'est-à-dire:

Un téléroman est une émission de télévision à caractère fictif comportant une série d'épisodes en continuité les uns avec les autres et diffusés à périodicité fixe (habituellement hebdomadaire) racontant une ou des histoires traitées dans un style réaliste.

Au sens pur de la définition, cinq des sept émissions choisies seraient classées comme comédie ou drame, parce qu'elles offrent les caractéristiques mentionnées plus haut, à l'exception de la continuité. Mais compte tenu de de l'étiquette "téléroman" utilisée pour ces séries, par l'industrie et le public, nous conserverons donc cette appellation.

Notre analyse se divise en deux parties: la première (A) décrit chaque épisode du téléroman par rapport aux éléments principaux de l'émission.

1. Lieux de l'action
2. Personnages principaux
3. Relations interpersonnelles
4. Types de conflits qui surgissent et résolutions
5. Messages fondamentaux

La deuxième (B) présente sous forme d'exposé une vision du monde particulier décrit dans les téléromans.

Il faut prendre en considération que nous travaillons avec un échantillonnage très limité et que dans un épisode, on ne peut tenir compte de tous les personnages et événements qui forment le contexte habituel de l'ensemble des émissions. La présentation de nos résultats est donc plus qualitative que quantitative.

Pour bien comprendre le contexte général de chacun des sept téléromans et afin de mieux cerner leur évolution nous présentons un résumé succinct provenant du personnel préposé à la promotion des réseaux de Radio-Canada et TVA. Suivra un résumé de l'épisode étudié[14] et une analyse des différents éléments de l'émission considérée.

Partie A

Analyse d'épisodes individuels extraits des téléromans

Rue des Pignons

(Radio-Canada) Diffusé à 21 heures, le mardi; trente minutes

Taille de l'auditoire: 1,153,800 personnes.

Analyse de la série

Comme on l'a dit de la Place Pigalle, Rue des Pignons c'est une rue, c'est une place, c'est même tout un quartier. Au tout début, c'était un coin de la ville où les gens tiraient le diable par la queue, l'un de ces quartiers d'où on veut sortir à tout prix. D'ailleurs, deux des héroïnes principales, deux des filles Jarry en sont sorties comme elles ont pu, l'une en épousant un médecin, l'autre, Jeannine en se laissant épouser par un millionnaire qu'elle n'aimait pas. Avec les années, l'orientation de l'intrigue de Rue des Pignons a pris une autre direction. Les conditions de vie s'étant nettement améliorées, leurs façons de penser et de vivre s'en ressentent.

L'épisode que nous analysons a été diffusé le mardi 5 octobre, 1976.

Résumé de l'épisode

Hélène doit visiter un notaire qui est entré en rapport avec elle à propos du testament de son beau-père. Micheline et Joachim sont à leur ferme en train de recevoir Philippe et sa nouvelle femme pour souper. Henri souffre d'arthrite chronique et son médecin lui a avoué qu'il n'y avait pas grand chose à faire pour améliorer son état.

Lieux de l'action

L'action a lieu principalement dans le quartier de *Rue des Pignons* et dans une ferme non loin de Montréal. En termes de scènes spécifiques, quatre sur huit se passent dans des lieux de travail (c.-à-d. la ferme, le bureau du médecin et le magasin du coin). Les autres scènes ont lieu ou bien dans la salle de séjour, ou bien à l'extérieur à la campagne.

Personnages

Un total de dix personnages dont sept hommes et trois femmes. Tous adultes, sauf un adolescent. Cinq sont mariés, deux sont veufs, un est célibataire et trois n'ont aucun statut particulier. Même en tenant compte qu'aucun enfant ne participe à cet épisode, nous savons qu'au moins quatre personnages ont des enfants et un couple attend son premier.

Statuts selon les fonctions exercées:

Hommes	*Femmes*
trois médecins	deux ménagères
un fermier	une secrétaire
un petit commerçant	
un détective	
un étudiant	

Trois des dix personnages (le médecin, le fermier et le propriétaire de magasin) ont été présentés à leur lieux de travail. En termes de classe sociale, on pourrait considérer que cinq des dix personnages comme appartiennent à la classe privilégiée, un est employé de bureau, trois sont ouvriers et un est étudiant.

Certains personnages de *Rue des Pignons* ont eu des problèmes de santé dans le passé. Dans cet épisode particulier, seul Henri, médecin retraité dont l'état de santé est précaire souffre d'arthrite. Durant les autres épisodes, nous sommes mis au courant de certains maux physiques et psychologiques tels que dépression, alcoolisme etc . . . dont souffrent certains personnages.

Relations interpersonnelles

Dans cet épisode, toutes les interactions des personnages étaient sympathiques et amicales. Chaque interaction exprimait le bonheur à travers un évènement ou montrait le soutien apporté à ceux qui s'engageaient dans une période difficile. Les conseils et les confidences constituaient les thèmes principaux de ces interactions.

On ne pouvait identifier aucune rencontre conflictuelle dans cet épisode.

Message fondamentals

La famille et l'amitié apparaissent comme les thèmes primoridiaux de cet épisode. D'une part, on assiste au bonheur et à la joie de certains couples qui viennent de se marier ou qui vont bientôt avoir leur premier enfant et d'autre part, on est témoin de la maladie et de la solitude de certains autres personnages. Ces derniers peuvent toutefois compter sur leurs amis ou la famille. La patience et l'amour soulagent en quelque sorte pareille souffrance et pareil destin.

Même si cet épisode ne s'assortit d'aucun conflit, des conditions exceptionnelles ont conduit à des crimes dans le passé. Ces délits commis pour la plupart par les étrangers, ne constituent pas les temps forts de la série, mais ils sont plutôt un prétexte nous permettant d'apprécier une fois de plus la compassion exprimée par la famille et les amis de la victime. Ainsi les principales intrigues se jouent presque toujours au niveau des relations interpersonnelles de la famille et des amis.

Les Berger

(TVA) Diffusé à 19.30 heures le mardi; trente minutes

Taille de l'auditoire: 1,423,800 personnes

Analyse de la série

Les aventures sentimentales, professionelles et sociales, parfois cocasses mais souvent dramatiques, d'une famille de classe moyenne évoluant dans une société aux prises avec les problèmes de l'heure.

L'épisode a été diffusé le lundi 5 octobre 1976.

Résumé de l'épisode

Après un long séjour à l'étranger, M. Beaulieu, industriel, décide de revenir vers sa femme et ses enfants

mariés. Il est aujourd'hui un homme neuf, plein de bonne volonté qui veut profiter de la vie et oublier ses mauvaises habitudes de vieux bourreau de travail. Tout le monde est bien content de le revoir. Son fils désapprouve néanmoins le fait qu'il abandonne les affaires. M. Beaulieu, père, apprend également au cours de cet épisode que sa fille adoptive attend un enfant et qu'elle est très malheureuse. Cette dernière informe son beau-père que son mari n'est pas le père de l'enfant.

Lieux de l'action
Dans cet épisode, l'action se passe de nouveau à Montréal, bien qu'il y ait peu de vues de la ville. Les cinq scènes se déroulent dans la salle de séjour, dans les familles respectives, ou chez des amis. Pour la plupart, ces intérieurs sont modernes et confortables.

Personnages
Par rapport à d'autres "téléromans", on trouve un plus grand nombre de femmes (N = 6) que d'hommes (N = 3), dans cet épisode. C'est surtout un monde d'adultes, mise à part la petite fille de M. Beaulieu. La majorité des personnages sont mariés (N = 6); un couple vit en union libre; on trouve un célibataire et un enfant. Il semble qu'il y ait un enfant ou deux par famille, mais on ne les voit qu'occasionnellement.

Statuts selon les fonctions exercées:

Hommes	Femmes
deux hommes d'affaires (un retraité)	une femme d'affaire
un professeur	une domestique
	trois ménagères
	une sans occupation
	une enfant

Dans cet épisode, on voit peu de femmes travaillant à l'extérieur de la maison.

Tous les personnages sont en bonne santé, sauf M. Beaulieu qui a déjà eu une crise cardiaque.

Relations interpersonnelles
De même que dans le "téléroman" précédent, interaction se joue toujours au niveau personnel, c'est-à-dire entre les membres de la famille. Il y a dans cet épisode une atmosphère de réjouissance et de bonheur.

Interaction conflictuelle
Sur cinq scènes, on en trouve une seule qui offre des éléments conflictuels. Dans cette scène, le fils Beaulieu remet en question la décision de son père d'abandonner la direction de l'entreprise familiale. Il élève la voix pour déclarer à son père qu'il ne comprend pas une décision aussi "folle". Le père lui répond qu'il désire profiter de la vie et que son fils n'a d'autre alternative que d'accepter ou refuser sa décision. Le père souhaite

bonne chance à son fils et se retire.

Ce genre conflit se déroule dans le cadre d'une interaction père-fils. L'objet du conflit implique une décision unilatérale de la part d'un des participants. Le dénouement survient lorsque l'un des deux participants cesse de discuter pour se retirer. Néanmoins, on ne perçoit pas de sentiments de méfiance ou de vengeance entre les deux parties; la décision du père reste tout simplement sans recours.

Message fondamental
Le thème principal de cet épisode porte surtout sur la structure familiale où l'on perçoit au moins deux composantes: d'une part la relation homme-femmes et d'autre part, les affaires traitées par la famille. On assiste en effet à des conversations où il est plus ou moins question d'affaires, lesquelles ne sont traitées dans aucune scène. L'idéal "bourgeois" qui associe le travail, l'argent et le bonheur est également un thème sous-jacent. Par exemple, même si Beaulieu change d'orientation et se joue envie de profiter pleinement de la vie, il appartient au fils et à la fille de prendre la relève des affaires de la famille.

Cet épisode n'aborde la sexualité qu'avec réserve. Cet aspect de la vie semble secondaire pour certains personnages; pour d'autres, il s'avère vital et directement associé à l'amour. La maîtresse et la fille adoptive de M. Beaulieu en témoignent chacune à leur manière. La fille adoptive, par exemple, a jugé bon de faire l'amour avec un garçon qu'elle connaissait à peine parce qu'elle croyait à son amour. Il semble qu'on veuille punir ceux qui considèrent la sexualité comme un aspect important de la vie. La maîtresse est souvent seule et la jeune femme est enceinte sans l'avoir vraiment prémédité.

Dans bien des cas, on trouve le stéréotype féminin traditionnel: la mère et l'épouse aimante. Mais on trouve aussi des femmes d'un nouveau type, plus engagées dans l'initiative et qui dirigent les entreprises familiales. Ce sont des femmes calmes, logiques, souvent égocentriques; néanmoins, leurs responsabilités leurs sont toujours léguées par leur mari ou leur père. Cette série, nous semble donc centrée sur le mariage, la famille et la morale du travail. Le contexte familial se prête bien aux interactions émotives sans lesquelles ces histoires ne pourraient exister. Il est intéressant de souligner que les femmes sont les instigatrices de la plupart des intrigues.

Enfin, même s'il y a une certaine constance dans les thèmes, d'autres thèmes de facture différente apparaissent occasionnellement. Dans d'autres scénarios, par exemple, la famille Berger qui n'était pas en vedette dans l'épisode que nous avons analysé est aux prises avec un problème très contemporain: déménager leur bureau d'agence de voyage à cause de la construction d'une voie rapide. Dans un autre épisode, on assiste à l'enlèvement de la petite fille de M. Beaulieu. Cet acte criminel est commis par deux jeunes

étrangers. Ils sont néanmoins appréhendés au cours des deux ou trois épisodes suivants et la victime est rendue saine et sauve à ses parents. Cet événement exprime, de fait, une certaine violence qui n'est pas habituelle dans la série. Mais il n'y a ni blessure, ni sang, ni même de rançon à payer.

L'auteur de cette série semble vouloir aborder un nombre de problèmes qui sont plutôt d'ordre social et il tente, jusqu'à un certain point, de déstéréotyper certains rôles sociaux.

La P'tite semaine

(Radio-Canada) – Diffusé le lundi, 17 heures; trente minutes
Taille de l'auditoire: 735,400 personnes

Analyse de la série

Traiter légèrement les sujets les plus sérieux; prendre avec un grain de sel les problèmes de notre époque; faire sourire au lieu de faire pleurer . . . tel est le propos de la P'tite semaine. Par le truchement des quatre personnages principaux de la P'tite semaine, les téléspectateurs ont pu voir comment des gens simples, les citoyens moyens, ceux qui font partie de la majorité silencieuse, réagissent aux excès de la publicité, à la vogue des cures d'amaigrissement, à l'amour libre chez les jeunes, aux frictions entre propriétaires et locataires, aux relations entre Français et Québécois, au coût exorbitant des réparations de garage et à bien d'autres sujets de souci, de stress, d'angoisse sinon de franche rigolade.

L'épisode analysé a été diffusé le lundi 4 octobre, 1976.

Résumé de l'épisode

Nicole, fille mariée des Lajoie, décide d'aider une de ses amies qui a des problèmes maritaux. Elle invite donc, cette amie pour la nuit au grand désespoir de son mari et de ses parents. L'amie s'impose avec ses deux enfants et la vie devient intenable. Finalement tout finit par s'arranger à la satisfaction de tout le monde, sauf pour le mari de l'amie de Nicole qui doit reprendre sa femme et ses enfants.

Lieux de l'action

Tout se passe encore à Montréal. Sur dix scènes, on compte (N = 5) scènes se passant dans la salle de séjour et (N = 3) scènes se passant dans la salle à manger. On change de décors pour deux autres scènes dont l'une se passe dans la cuisine et l'autre dans le magasin de "variétés".

Personnages

Un nombre égal d'hommes (N = 4) et de femmes (N = 4) composent ce monde à majorité d'adultes. Au cours de cet épisode, on se trouve cependant en présence de deux enfants, ce qui est plutôt rare. A l'exception des enfants, tous les personnages sont mariés. Les statuts selon les fonctions exercées sont les suivants:

Homme	Femme
un propriétaire de petite entreprise	une partage l'entreprise de son mari
un psychiatre	une travaille dans un centre audio-visuel
un inclassable	une (cherche du travail)
un enfant	un enfant

Si l'on considère le niveau social de chacun, on peut classer le psychiatre et sa femme au sommet de l'échelle sociale; les autres personnages sont plutôt de la classe bourgeoise. Les personnages sont généralement en bonne santé.

Relations interpersonnelles

La famille et les amis entretiennent pour la plupart, des bonnes relations. Chacun essaie d'être compréhensif et consent à offrir sa collaboration selon les circonstances. Le temps aidant, les interactions deviennent peut-être un peu plus tendues, mais, grâce à l'élément comique, les ressentiments arrivent à se dissiper.

Interactions conflictuelles

Dans cet épisode, quatre scènes sur dix comportent des éléments conflictuels mineurs.

1) La première rencontre met en scène le père qui désire intervenir auprès de sa fille. Celle-ci a l'intention d'inviter sa copine mariée à dormir chez-elle. Le père dit alors à sa fille qu'on ne fait pas ce genre de choses. Sa fille répond que ce sont là de vieux principes qui n'ont plus cours. Elle lui souhaite bonne nuit en l'embrassant et retourne à son appartement. Le père réalise d'une part, que sa fille est devenue adulte, et d'autre part, qu'il est dépassé. Ce genre de conflit est basé sur une question de principe entre le père et la fille qui se définit dans une conversation sans éclat et se résorbe dans l'attitude résignée de l'un des deux participants (le père). Aucune acrimonie ne subsiste.

2) La seconde rencontre met en scène le mari et son épouse. Au cours de cette scène, Lucien, (propriétaire de magasin), a une discussion avec sa femme à propos de son droit d'intervenir auprès de sa fille. Sa femme lui répond que ce n'est pas de son affaire et que Nicole (leur fille) devrait pouvoir décider toute seule de sa vie. Le père n'est pas de cet avis et dit à sa femme qu'il va de ce pas parler à sa fille. Comme il s'apprête à quitter la cuisine, sa femme lui demande s'il veut bien lui éplucher des pommes de terre. Il accepte en réalisant tout à coup que sa chère femme a encore une fois le dernier mot. Ce type de conflit a lieu au cours d'une discussion entre le mari et la femme. La mésentente se résorbe lorsqu'un des deux participants lâche prise.

3) La troisième rencontre conflictuelle a lieu alors que Christian (mari de Nicole) réalise que la copine de sa femme déménage avec ses enfants et qu'il leur faudra

dormir avec les deux femmes dans la salle de séjour. Il exprime sa contrariété à cet égard. Nicole répond qu'il n'a aucune raison de se plaindre et qu'il n'y a aucun mal à dormir tous les trois ensemble, pour autant que lui-même se conduise bien. La scène se termine sur un échange de blagues entre les deux conjoints.

Ce genre de conflit apparaît également au cours d'une discussion entre le mari et la femme, à propos d'une question de principe. Le problème se résorbe un peu à la manière de première scène, c'est-à-dire que l'un des deux participants s'en remet à la décision de l'autre.

4) Le quatrième et dernier conflit tourne autour d'une discussion entre le mari de Nicole (psychiâtre) et la copine de Nicole. L'un prétend qu'elle n'utilise pas la bonne terminologie dans la description qu'elle fait de son mari. Ce genre de discussion entre amis se termine par l'arbitrage de Nicole qui leur suggère de laisser tomber la discussion.

Message fondamental

Les thèmes principaux de cet épisode évoluent autour de la famille et des amis. On y sent le souci d'aider ceux qui en ont besoin. Entre les conjoints, les problèmes ne sont jamais insurmontables et on finit toujours par en arriver à une solution acceptable pour tous. On y fait allusion au travail, mais sans insister, lorsqu'on aperçoit les Lajoie dans leur magasin. Les femmes semblent jouer un rôle de médiateur dans les situations conflictuelles. Bien que l'un des personnages est originaire de France, on ne pourrait pratiquement pas faire la différence avec un Québécois si ce n'était son léger accent. Le fait que les personnages boivent toujours du vin à table demeure cependant un fait assez intéressant à souligner.

On constate que les personnages types de "La P'tite semaine" réagissent aux problèmes de la vie avec une touche d'humour. Dans d'autres scénarios on retrouve les Lajoie en désaccord avec leurs voisins, puis en voyage pour rendre visite à leurs enfants qui poursuivent leurs études en Europe. Cette année, on offre de nouveau cette même série qui d'ailleurs a été vendue sur le marché français.

Y'a pas de problème

(Radio-Canada) Diffusé le lundi à 20 heures; trente minutes,
Taille de l'auditoire: 994,900 personnes

Analyse de la série

Conçue comme une comédie de situation, la série "Y'a pas de Problème" de Réginald Boisvert a pour cadre une petite ville de province où résident les membres de la famille Brunelle: des gens ordinaires, à revenus modestes mais qui ne manquent de rien.

Hervé Brunelle, le père, est routier de métier. Les Brunelle ont trois enfants: Isabelle, 20 ans, technicienne de laboratoire; Odile, 19 ans, étudiante de CEGEP et André, 17 ans, beau gars, très fier de lui.

Autour des Brunelle, évoluent des parents, des amis qu'on apprendra à connaître au cours de la saison. On verra tour à tour Charley, un routier ami d'Hervé; Charmaine Gamache, la belle-soeur d'Hervé, bagarreuse dont la personnalité fait contraste avec celle de son mari et enfin avec la sympathique serveuse de restaurant des routiers où Hervé s'arrête pour casser la croûte et se reposer.

L'épisode analysé fut diffusé le lundi 4 octobre 1976.

Résumé de l'épisode

Hervé et "Charly", deux routiers, rencontrent au dépôt de la compagnie un collègue routier accompagné d'une magnifique blonde qu'il leur présente comme son épouse.

Le jour suivant, les deux mêmes collègues rencontrent Henri dans un restaurant de Chicoutimi, mais cette fois, avec une jolie brunette qu'il présente aussi comme son épouse. L'après-midi suivant, Charly commence à flirter avec le femme blonde d'Henri alors qu'elle l'attendait au dépôt de camions. Henri les surprend et invite Charly dans la remise. Il lui donne alors un coup de poing dans l'oeil (hors champ de la caméra). Au cours de la scène qui suit, Henri demande pardon et supplie Charly de l'aider pour que ses deux "épouses" ne se rencontrent pas à l'occasion d'une prochaine exposition de camions. Charly accepte, mais il sabote la situation et les deux "épouses" quittent Henri (ni l'une ni l'autre n'étaient d'ailleurs mariées avec lui). A la fin, tout le monde reste en bons termes. Charly et Henri sont encore amis.

Lieux de l'action

Contrairement aux autres "téléromans", l'action se passe dans une petite ville de province et non à Montréal, sur la route et dans différentes parties de la province. Comme on peut le supposer, presque tout se passe au cours de cet épisode, dans le lieu de travail principal des personnages (N = 4), c'est-à-dire le dépôt de camions et leurs camions. Les autres scènes se passent au restaurant (N = 4), au motel (N = 3) et dans la salle à manger d'Hervé (N = 1). Lorsqu'ils roulent, nos routiers se rencontrent très fréquemment au restaurant, ce qui est à beaucoup d'égards un prolongement de leur salle à manger à la maison.

Personnages

Un plus grand nombre d'hommes (N = 7) participent à cette série. On y voit quatre femmes mais pas d'enfant. En termes de situation maritale, nous avons trois personnages mariés, trois en union libre, deux célibataires et trois inclassables. Un couple, les Brunelle, a trois enfants, mais on ne les voit pas dans cet épisode. En termes de statut selon les fonctions exercées, nous avons:

Hommes	Femmes
six routiers	deux compagnes
un répartiteur	une ménagère
des camions	une serveuse

Nos personnages sont pour la plupart des ouvriers. Dans cet épisode, tous les personnages sont en bonne santé.

Relations interpersonnelles

C'est principalement une atmosphère de camaraderie entre collègues de travail que l'on trouve dans cet épisode. Une certaine compétition en vue de gagner la compagne de l'autre existe aussi dans ce milieu. Bien que certains échanges entre les personnages pourraient être qualifiés de violents, l'agresseur et la victime finissent toujours par se réconcilier. On peut toujours compter sur les amis.

Interactions conflictuelles

Sur douze scènes qui composent cet épisode, quatre comportent des éléments conflictuels. Toute forme d'agression physique se trouve néanmoins hors du champ de la caméra.

1) La première interaction du genre implique Charly, le routier, flirtant avec la blonde d'Henri. Charly est pris en flagrant délit et se dirige vers une remise qui se trouve tout près pour s'expliquer avec Henri. On entend du bruit et on voit ensuite la victime, Charly, avec un oeil au beurre noir.

La nature du conflit tient de la rivalité. Pour résoudre le problème, l'un des deux hommes agresse l'autre (hors du champ de la caméra et sans effusion de sang). Dans l'interaction suivante, les deux mêmes personnages se comportent comme si de rien n'était.

2) La seconde interaction conflictuelle n'a rien de physique. Il s'agit d'Henri et de ses deux compagnes qui, comprenant soudain qu'elles ont été dupées lui demandent une explication. Ce conflit se déroule au cours d'une discussion entre les amants; il se résorbe du fait que deux des trois participants (les deux compagnes) mettent un terme à leurs relations avec le troisième participant (Henri).

3) La troisième interaction conflictuelle est une répétition de la première. Henri, fâché de ce que Charly n'a pu réussir à éloigner les deux femmes l'une de l'autre, lui demande une fois de plus de le suivre tout près dans la remise, pour s'expliquer. Et de nouveau, (hors champ), il lui assène un coup provoquant un second oeil au beurre noir.

Dans ce type de conflit la victime est punie pour avoir laissé tomber un ami. On procède à la résolution du conflit par une agression physique et la victime trouve presque normal de recevoir sa punition. Dans la séquence suivante, l'agresseur et la victime se réconcilient et sont prêts à tout oublier.

4) L'interaction finale est la réplique fidèle la première, sauf qu'elle implique un personnage autre que Charly. Dans cette situation, il s'agit d'un autre routier qui se vante d'avoir rencontré une jolie petite rousse à Ottawa, laquelle est également la nouvelle amie d'Henri. Les deux hommes vont s'expliquer dans la salle de toilette du restaurant et l'un d'eux revient avec un oeil au beurre noir.

Ce type de conflit tient toujours de la rivalité. L'agression physique tient lieu de solution. Une fois de plus, l'acte violent se passe hors du champ de la caméra et sans effusion de sang.

Message fondamental

Les principaux thèmes de ces épisodes sont la rivalité, les hommes au travail et l'amitié. Les problèmes ne sont jamais très dramatiques et se règlent assez facilement. Bien qu'on ne voie que très rarement les personnages au travail, mais plutôt en fin de journée ou pendant leurs repas. Compte tenu de leur métier, nos personnages sont plus souvent sur la route qu'à la maison. Cela peut sembler dur pour la famille, mais il faut qu'un homme subvienne aux besoins de sa famille en faisant le travail qu'il aime. Il y a un certain nombre de références à la sexualité, surtout dans le cas de Charly, le célibataire Don Juan, mais il parle beaucoup plus qu'il n'agit, ce dont tout le monde s'amuse. Les femmes semblent très stéréotypées, en tant qu'épouses fidèles ou maîtresses dupées. On trouve aussi la jeune serveuse qui doit supporter les quolibets et allusions habituelles des routiers.

Chaque scène, qu'elle soit sérieuse ou drôle, se termine toujours d'une manière comique. Dans d'autres émissions de cette série, qui nous montre le "vol" d'une caisse de cidre, on voit des personnages gagnant une loterie, on assiste à une frayeur à l'occasion d'une épidémie de ce que tout le monde pensait être la grippe "porcine" et finalement, il y a une rencontre avec un groupe de motocyclistes. Toutes ces interactions sont du genre non violent et les agressions physiques sont plutôt rares. *Y'a pas de problème* garde un caractère humoristique avec des thèmes traités un peu à la légère.

Symphorien

(TVA) Diffusé le mardi à 19.00 heures; 30 minutes.
Taille de l'auditoire: 1,308,300 personnes.

Analyse de la série

De la réalité au loufoque, il n'y a qu'un pas et Symphorien, concierge d'une maison de pension n'hésite pas à le franchir chaque semaine. D'une ingénuité impayable, il a le don de se mettre les pieds dans les plats chaque fois qu'il veut rendre service ou venir en aide aux locataires de Madame Sylvain. Tous les mardis, des comédiens renommés entrent dans le jeu pour faire vivre des personnages qui tentent de se sortir de situations hilarantes, pendant que le téléspectateur rigole.

L'épisode que nous avons analysé a été diffusé le mardi 5 octobre 1976.

Résumé de l'épisode

Symphorien présente quelques-uns de ses amis à un vendeur d'assurances. Chacun d'eux décide alors, pour

des raisons personnelles, d'acheter de l'assurance soit parce qu'ils pensent que le jeune vendeur séduisant va les inviter à dîner, dans le cas du policier, soit parce qu'il aimerait recouvrer $ 1,000. pour un nez cassé, etc. Finalement, tous décident d'annuler leur assurance en ayant soin de jeter le blâme sur Symphorien pour avoir commencé toute l'affaire.

Lieux de l'action

L'action se passe dans un quartier de l'est de Montréal. Il y a un nombre à peu près égal de scènes au travail (N = 4), et à la pension plus précisément. Dans la salle à manger (N = 3) et le hall d'entrée (N = 3). Deux autres scènes ont lieu à l'extérieur.

Personnages

Dans cet épisode, il y a huit hommes et trois femmes. La plupart de nos personnages sont célibataires (N = 6). Parmi les autres, trois sont mariés, un est veuf et un autre est inclassable.

Bien qu'on ne voie aucun enfant au cours de cet épisode, les couples mariés ont en général, entre un et trois enfants. Exception faite de Symphorien qui en a quatorze. Cependant, on les voit très rarement dans la série. Les statuts selon les fonctions exercées sont les suivants:

Hommes	Femmes
deux agents de police	deux retraitées
un directeur de salon funéraire	un inclassable
un concierge	
un chômeur	
un inclassable	
deux agents d'assurances	

Nos personnages, pour la plupart, appartiennent à tous les échelons de la classe moyenne. Ils sont tous en excellente santé.

Relations interpersonnelles

Dans cet épisode, l'accent est mis sur les interactions entre Symphorien et ses amis. Le climat est amical et drôle, malgré quelques éclats à l'occasion. Symphorien est souvent pris à partie parce qu'il est le bouc émissaire classique pour toutes les infortunes; mais tout cela est traité à la légère. A la fin de chaque épisode, les problèmes qu'on vient de régler, font rire tout le monde.

Interactions conflictuelles

Nous avons constaté, à l'analyse, que sept scènes sur les treize présentées comportaient des éléments conflictuels. Il s'agit pour la plupart d'éléments conflictuels mineurs.

1) La première interaction conflictuelle nous montre l'amoureux de l'un des personnages principaux prendre Symphorien au collet et le secouer avec violence. Il faut dire que le malheureux Symphorien avait eu l'idée malvenue de présenter un agent d'assurance à cette personne. L'objet de ce conflit était la jalousie et impliquait non pas l'autre partenaire de la relation amoureuse mais une tierce personne. Le conflit se manifeste par une agression physique modérée de la part d'un des deux amoureux et le conflit se résoud lorsque l'agresseur, finit par laisser tomber la question et se retire.

2) La seconde interaction implique un sergent de police avec l'un de ses officiers subalternes. Le problème surgit lorsque le sergent décide de changer le jour de congé de l'officier, empêchant celui-ci d'aller jouer au golf.

Le litige est causé par un conflit d'intérêt entre un supérieur et un subalterne. Le problème se règle lorsque l'officier accepte la décision de son supérieur.

3) La troisième scène présente trois femmes célibataires attendant leur compagnon pour aller jouer au golf mais elles finissent par apprendre qu'on ne permet pas aux dames de jouer dans l'après-midi au club où l'agent d'assurance, voulait les emmener.

L'objet du conflit est centré sur la déception des dames qui ne peuvent réaliser leur désir. L'une d'elles, se voyant forcée d'accepter la situation, se venge en annulant son assurance. Voilà un des rares moments où l'on voit une victime recourir à la vengeance.

4) Dans la quatrième situation, l'agent de police arrête un conducteur pour un délit mineur et s'efforce de provoquer de une échauffourée de manière à recouvrer l'argent de l'assurance pour un nez cassé. Il en arrive même à supplier le chauffeur de le frapper.

L'un des protagonistes espère obtenir un dédommagement tandis que son adversaire refuse de jouer le jeu, d'où le conflit. Les deux personnages ne se connaissent pas. Le dénouement survient lorsqu'un personnage abandonne et laisse partir l'autre.

5) Cette rencontre conflictuelle est pratiquement semblable à la première que nous avons analysée. Symphorien sert de bouc émissaire. L'agent de police, mécontent de n'avoir pu recouvrer l'argent de son assurance, prend Symphorien au collet au moment où le sergent apparaît. Il s'agit d'un conflit engendré par une frustration qui se manifeste sous forme d'action physique au détriment de l'interlocuteur.

Le problème est réglé par une troisième partie qui représente l'autorité.

6) La sixième rencontre conflictuelle est probablement la plus sérieuse de toutes. L'agent de police qui avait insulté le chauffeur se retrouve, sans son uniforme, dans une ruelle où son antagoniste le frappe sur le nez. L'objet du conflit est une revanche entre deux personnes étrangères l'une à l'autre. Bien que l'on assiste à l'action physique, il n'est fait usage d'aucune arme et les conséquences n'étaient pas dramatiques.

7) La dernière rencontre met en scène le même agent de police, le nez pansé, en train de s'en prendre à Symphorien pour ce qui venait de se passer.

Le conflit prend l'allure d'une revanche entre amis. Le dénouement survient lorsque Symphorien, se sentant un peut trop malmené, se glisse hors de son manteau et s'échappe en courant.

Tous les conflits sont traités sur le mode comique. Il n'en est pas moins évident que l'agent de police est souvent présenté comme un individu agressif. Symphorien, la principale victime, s'en sort toujours indemne.

Message fondamental

Les thèmes principaux de cet épisode portent sur l'amitié et la satisfaction personnelle. Bien que ces éléments ne soient pas du tout conciliables, l'amitié l'emporte sur la cupidité excessive. D'autant plus que cet épisode offre des caractéristiques de la famille au sens strict du terme, même si l'on n'a pas affaire à une famille de ce genre. Ainsi, cinq personnes vivent sous le même toit et leurs joies sont celles qu'on partage habituellement autour de la table familiale.

Quelques scènes nous montrent les personnages sur leurs lieux de travail. Ceci est particulièrement vrai de l'agent de police, sans commune mesure cependant avec Kojak. Les femmes ne travaillent pas, semblent oisives, passant leur temps à imaginer des moyens de se faire inviter à dîner. Elles sont bavardes, ridicules et quelque peu hystériques. Il faut dire que les hommes n'ont pas l'air d'être beaucoup mieux.

Cette série est composée d'intrigues loufoques et superficielles qui n'ont pas d'autre but que d'amuser.

Avec le temps

(Radio-Canada) Diffusé le lundi à 20 heures; 30 minutes
Taille de l'auditoire: 792,700 personnes

Analyse de la série

Comme son titre l'indique, ce téléroman est un peu l'histoire d'un groupe de jeunes aux prises avec le temps. Des jeunes qui veulent vivre en accord avec leurs idéaux mais qui n'oublient pas la réalité bien quotidienne des trois repas. Des jeunes qui se cherchent et qui, grâce à un projet, vont pouvoir s'identifier et faire ce qu'ils aiment, tout en venant en aide à la communauté. Les jeunes "d'Avec le Temps" décident de refuser certaines normes de la société mais pas dans la passivité. "Drop-out" peut-être, mais certainement pas dans l'oisiveté.

Résumé de l'épisode

Julie découvre le monde fascinant des champignons, grâce à une amie, experte dans ce domaine. Elle persuade alors son enfant et son amoureux d'aller à la cueillette avec elle. A la fin, elle est tellement enthousiasmée qu'elle ne veut plus faire cuire autre chose que des champignons. Son amoureux et son enfant sont saturés et les discussions s'enveniment. Finalement, son amoureux tombe malade et elle promet de ne plus apprêter de champignons.

Lieux de l'action

L'action se passe encore dans la région de Montréal. La plupart des scènes ont lieu ou bien dans l'appartement de Julie, ou bien au centre communautaire. On compte plus précisément quatre scènes dans la salle de séjour, deux dans la salle à manger, cinq au centre communautaire et une à l'extérieur.

Même si ces personnages se trouvent souvent sur un lieu de travail, au centre communautaire, un seul travaille réellement.

Personnages

Un total de cinq personnages dont quatre jeunes adultes et un enfant sont mis en scène dans cet épisode. Contrairement à tous nos autres "téléromans", aucun personnage n'est marié. Ils sont tous célibataires, sauf Julie que est divorcée et qui a un fils. Bien que Julie et son amoureux aient des relations intimes pendant plusieurs épisodes, on les verra se marier plus tard. Le téléspectateur est amené à penser qu'une telle situation est tolérable dans la mesure où elle évolue vers des normes plus acceptables. Les statuts selon les fonctions exercées sont les suivants:

Hommes	Femmes
un etudiant en psychologie	une secrétaire
un enfant	un professeur
	une inclassable

Bien que les personnages soient des "drop out", ils ne donnent pas l'impression d'avoir de gros problèmes financiers. Ils travaillent davantage pour s'occuper que par besoin pécuniaire. Tous les personnages ont généralement une bonne santé, sauf un qui souffre d'un empoisonnement au cours de cet épisode.

Relations interpersonnelles

On trouve ici une variété de relations: entre la mère et l'enfant, entre les amoureux, entre frère et soeur et finalement entre gens du même milieu. Bien que les membres de la famille (au sens restreint du terme) soient absents, il nous semble que certains personnages jouent des rôles que l'on attribue ordinairement à tous les membres d'une famille. L'amoureux de Julie, par exemple, joue le rôle du père pour son fils. Les interactions de François et Danielle sont fraternelles. D'une façon générale, les interactions se déroulent entre amis et personnes d'une même famille très concernés les uns vis-à-vis des autres.

Interactions conflictuelles

Sur douze scènes présentées dans cet épisode, il y en a cinq à contenu conflictuel. Une seule néanmoins s'avère assez sérieuse.

1) Dans la première interaction deux de nos personnages, lassés de cueillir des champignons préfèrent

retourner à la maison. Le troisième est enthousiasmé par la cueillette et pense que tout le groupe devrait rester. L'amoureux décide quand même de partir. L'objet du conflit tourne autour d'un petit désaccord sur le choix à faire, à savoir continuer la cueillette ou partir. Il s'ensuit une discussion entre les amoureux, l'enfant prenant parti pour l'homme contre sa mère. L'homme et l'enfant règlent la question en se retirant. Mais aucun des personnages ne semble guère s'en préoccuper.

2) La deuxième interaction met en scène la mère et son fils. Ce dernier, saturé de champignons ne peut plus en manger. Sa mère menace de le mettre au lit s'il ne termine pas son repas. L'enfant préfère le lit.

L'origine du conflit est une relation de pouvoir entre la mère et son enfant. L'autorité parentale a le dernier mot lorsque l'enfant accepte la seule alternative qu'on lui offre.

3) La troisième interaction conflictuelle et les précédentes sont pratiquement identiques. L'enfant est au centre communautaire lorsque sa mère lui demande de revenir dîner. Lorsqu'on lui dit qu'il y a des champignons au menu, il se réfugie dans une boîte et refuse d'en sortir. Après quoi il fait des grimaces à sa mère. Elle le prend par le bras et le ramène à la maison.

L'objet du conflit est de nouveau une relation de pouvoir entre la mère et son enfant. L'autorité parentale fait encore loi mais assortie cette fois de la force physique.

4) Le quatrième conflit met en scène l'enfant qui doit manger des champignons pour le souper. Il s'en tire en déposant son repas dans un pot à fleurs pendant que sa mère a le dos tourné.

La relation de pouvoir est encore une fois à l'origine du conflit entre la mère et l'enfant. L'enfant s'en tire avec une action subversive.

5) La dernière rencontre conflictuelle a lieu entre les amoureux. Elle est alimentée par le même désaccord analysé antérieurement. François décide que c'est assez et qu'il ne veut plus jamais revoir un champignon dans son assiette. Il essaie d'informer Julie de sa décision d'une manière douce, mais sans succès. Ils commencent à crier tous les deux et elle lui demande de partir.

L'objet du conflit est de nouveau une relation de pouvoir entre deux personnes. Il s'agit là d'une altercation entre amoureux qui se termine lorsque l'un d'eux demande à l'autre de partir, ce qu'il fait d'ailleurs.

Dans la scène suivante, les deux amoureux tentent de résoudre leur différend de façon plus constructive. François essaie de montrer à Julie ce que son attitude a d'exagéré. A la fin, le problème se règle grâce à une intervention extérieure, soit l'empoisonnement de François et Julie réalise à quel point son comportement était abusif.

Message fondamental

L'amitié et le désaccord entre amoureux ainsi que dans

les relations parent-enfant sont les principaux thèmes de cet épisode. Ils sont présentés dans le contexte d'un groupe de jeunes adultes occupés à réaliser un projet collectif. Le message principal semble se définir dans la difficulté de ne pas s'opposer aux désirs de quelqu'un surtout quand ces désirs sont en contradiction avec un comportement normal.

Bien qu'il soit question d'activités connexes au travail dans cette série, ces activités ne sont pas indispensables à l'indépendance financière du groupe. Les femmes jouent plusieurs rôles dans cet épisode. D'une part, Julie nous semble assez tributaire de son fils et de son amoureux; d'autre part, Danielle travaille au centre et donne l'impression d'être plus indépendante. En somme, l'amour et le compagnonnage sont des valeurs vécues par cette génération avide de plaisirs, d'aventure et de liberté. Mais ils ne perdent pas de vue pour autant les réalités de la vie. Les jeunes issus de milieux privilégiés ou plus modestes semblent avoir des relations interpersonnelles sans problème.

Dans cette série nous trouvons toujours le même genre d'histoire. Les relations interpersonnelles des jeunes, préoccupés par la drogue, l'amour et le compagnonnage sont les thèmes habituels. Les problèmes des uns et des autres se règlent toujours de la même façon. Lorsqu'un membre du groupe est en difficulté, un de ses amis vient lui offrir son aide juste au bon moment.

Les jeunes gens commettent un certain nombre d'actions jugées "répréhensibles" par certains. Ils prennent des risques mais ils en subissent rarement les conséquences.

Quelle famille

(Radio-Canada) Diffusé le lundi à 19.00 heures; 30 minutes
Taille de l'auditoire: 698,800 personnes

Analyse de la série

"Quelle famille", c'est l'histoire d'une famille de chez nous comme il en existe encore des milliers. Cette famille, c'est celle des Tremblay, une famille qui jouit d'une modeste aisance, qui habite le rez-de-chaussée d'une maison très confortable et joliment décorée dans le quartier de Rosemont à Montréal. Chez les Tremblay, le père comptable est bien rémunéré mais pas assez pour satisfaire les appétits de ses cinq enfants.

"Quelle famille", c'est une vie empreinte d'optimisme et d'humour, mais aussi ponctuée d'événements, de soucis, de chagrins comme en connaissent toutes les familles depuis que les hommes et les femmes fondent un foyer et élèvent des enfants. Ces problèmes n'ont rien d'abstrait. C'est selon l'actualité la plus brûlante que "Quelle Famille' vit dans ses membres les affres de la contestation, de la drogue, de l'alcool, des amours adolescentes, etc.

Résumé de l'épisode

L'épisode que nous analysons à été diffusé le 3 mai, 1976.
Nous trouvons la famille Tremblay à la maison, un samedi matin. Le père a apporté du travail à la maison

pour la fin de semaine et il est occupé à faire ce travail dans la cuisine. La mère prépare les repas. Pendant la journée, elle constate que sa fille et son fils aînés sont un peu trop compromis avec des amis du sexe opposé. Le samedi soir a lieu dans le sous-sol une fête organisée par ses trois aînés. La mère les surprend lumières éteintes et elle demande au père d'intervenir. Le père s'y prête volontiers et tout se termine sur une note amusante.

Lieux de l'action

L'action se passe dans un quartier de Montréal. Toutes les scènes de cet épisode ont lieu chez les Tremblay. Ce téléroman fait exception avec ses nombreuses scènes dans la cuisine où maman fait les repas et papa travaille à sa comptabilité. Plus précisément, on compte cinq scènes dans la cuisine, quatre dans la salle de séjour, trois dans la salle de jeu, deux dans la salle à manger et une dans la chambre à coucher.

Personnages

Par rapport aux autres "téléromans", on trouve dans cette série un grand nombre d'adolescents et d'enfants. Au total, six adolescents, deux adultes et deux enfants. Tout le monde est donc célibataire sauf les deux adultes. Une famille de cinq enfants (trois filles et deux garçons) est plutôt rare dans ce genre d'émissions.

Les statuts selon les fonctions exercées sont les suivants:

Hommes	Femmes
un comptable	une épouse
quatre étudiants	quatre étudiants
un chien	

On y voit une illustration de la classe moyenne. Tous les personnages sont en bonne santé.

Relations interpersonnelles

Dans cet épisode, on assiste à des relations du genre compagnonnage, des relations de couple et des relations parents-enfants. Tous ces échanges amicaux et sympathiques ressemblent beaucoup à ceux qui sont décrits dans les séries du genre "Papa a raison", etc. Une mère un peu abusive (trop protectrice) qui ne peut s'empêcher de se mêler de la vie des enfants. Le père qui maintient son autorité et qui est toujours préoccupé par son travail. Les enfants, bien qu'il leur arrive de contester l'autorité parentale, finissent par se soumettre et on retrouve la grande famille heureuse.

Interactions conflictuelles

On peut dire que cinq des quinze scènes décrites dans cet épisode contiennent des éléments conflictuels.

1) Nous trouvons le même scénario dans quatre de ces interactions conflictuelles. Le conflit oppose l'un ou l'autre parent aux enfants. Les parents insistent pour que les enfants se comportent conformément aux normes sociales (éviter d'enlacer son ami du sexe opposé ou danser avec lui dans l'obscurité). Les enfants répondent qu'il n'y a rien de mal à cela et que les parents doivent leur faire confiance.

L'autorité des parents résoud en définitive le conflit et les enfants finissent par se soumettre.

2) La seule rencontre conflictuelle qui diffère de celles décrites précédemment implique les époux. La mère demande à son mari d'intervenir pour assumer ses responsabilités comme un bon père doit le faire. Il faut qu'il rebranche l'éclairage dans la salle de jeu. Il répond qu'il a eu une dure journée de travail et qu'il ne tient pas à être toujours celui qui impose la discipline. Elle finit aimablement par le persuader.

Dans ce conflit, il s'agit un désaccord à propos des responsabilités d'un des parents. Il met en cause les deux époux et tout s'arrange grâce à des négociations, et l'acceptation du point de vue de l'épouse par le mari.

Message fondamental

Les principaux thèmes portent sur les interactions au sein de la famille et dans les relations parents-enfants. Les critères traditionnels sont en exergue mais rarement remis en question. Cette série illustre le milieu où l'on trouve la mère traditionnelle qui soigne son mari et ses enfants en acceptant sans réserve ce rôle. Le mari est le type même de l'homme dur au travail, exerçant son autorité sur ses enfants. Les enfants acceptent volontiers les valeurs que les parents imposent. Les normes et les pressions sociales sont celles qui existent en réalité dans un milieu où une personne ne peut avoir qu'un comportement acceptable. On y traite de la sexualité plutôt indirectement et il semble qu'il s'agisse d'un sujet assez délicat. On comprend aussi qu'une grande famille est une source de grande satisfaction. Elle doit être acceptée de bonne grâce en dépit des tourments qu'elle impose.

La série *Quelle famille* diffusée pendant la saison 1975-76 étant une série répétée apparaît quelque peu dépassée. Nous tenons également à souligner que cette série a été vendue pour être diffusée en France.

Sommaire

51%	entre 21 et 40 ans
25%	entre 40 et 55 ans
12%	entre 12 et 22 ans
9%	entre 1 et 12 ans
3%	au-dessus de 55 ans

Santé

Tous les personnages de nos épisodes, sauf un personnage de *Rue des Pignons*, sont en bonne santé, du moins à l'époque de l'épisode étudié.

Statut marital

Le statut marital de nos personnages varie d'une série à l'autre. Dans six séries sur sept uncouple marié au moins occupe une place prépondérante. La série *Avec le temps* dont les personnages sont presque tous de jeunes adultes, est une exception. Au total trente-neuf pour cent (N = 25) de nos personnages sont mariés, vingt-et-un pour cent (sept hommes et sept femmes) sont célibataires, huit pour cent (N = 5) vivent en union libre, cinq pour cent (N = 3) sont en veuvage, vingt pour cent (N = 3) sont des étudiants ou des enfants et sept pour cent (N = 5) sont inclassables.

Nombre d'enfants

Sauf dans le cas de la série *Quelle famille* où il y a cinq enfants, on trouve un ou deux enfants par famille.

Statuts selon les fonctions exercées

La majorité des vingt-neuf femmes de nos séries ne travaillent pas à l'extérieur de la maison. Elles sont ou bien ménagères (soixante-seize pour cent) ou retraitées, ou étudiantes ou enfants. Parmi celles qui travaillent, vingt-quatre pour cent sont secrétaires (N = 2), domestiques (N = 1), enseignantes (N = 1), femmes d'affaires (N = 2), serveuses (N = 1) et une autre travaille dans un centre audio-visuel.

Les hommes travaillent, pour la plupart. Ils exercent les professions suivantes:

Le milieu dépeint dans les épisodes des "téléromans" que nous avons analysés antérieurement est habité surtout par des personnages sympathiques: des citadins et quelques banlieusards. Les personnages de la série *Y'a pas de Problème*, des routiers de profession qui circulent dans tout le Québec, sont les seules exceptions à la règle.

Lieux de l'action

En ce qui concerne les lieux de l'action, on a vu beaucoup de changements se produire au cours des dernières années. Dans les années cinquante et presque toutes les années soixante, les interactions de ces séries avaient toujours lieu autour de la table de la cuisine; aujourd'hui, beaucoup plus de scènes se passent dans la salle de séjour (vingt-cinq pour cent), dans la salle à manger (quinze pour cent), et au travail (vingt-trois pour cent). Les autres scènes ont lieu à l'extérieur dans les restaurants, motels et autres endroits de la maison, avec quelques variantes selon les séries.

Personnages

Notre étude porte au total sur soixante-cinq personnages (plus un chien). Ces chiffres comprennent tous les personnages de premier et second ordre (c.-à-d. tous ceux qui interagissent au moins une fois avec les principaux personnages.) La moyenne des personnages est de neuf par série.

Sexe

Les hommes (N = 36) sont en légère majorité par rapport aux femmes (N = 29). Les chiffres varient néanmoins d'une série à l'autre. On trouve en effet dans deux séries *La P'tite Semaine* et *Quelle famille* un nombre égal d'hommes (N = 9) et de femmes (N = 9).

Age

En termes d'âge, la majorité des personnages (N = 33) ont entre vingt-et-un et quarante ans. Vient ensuite le groupe de quarante à cinquante-quatre ans (N = 16), les adolescent (N = 8), les enfants (N = 6) et ceux qui ont plus de 55 ans (N = 2). Les pourcentages sont les suivants:

routier	(N = 6)
médecin	(N = 4)
agent de police	(N = 3)
propriétaire de petite entreprise	(N = 2)
agent d'assurance	(N = 2)
enseignant	(N = 1)
homme d'affaires	(N = 2)
comptable	(N = 1)
directeur de salon funéraire	(N = 1)
répartiteur de camions	(N = 1)
fermier	(N = 1)
concierge	(N = 1)
étudiant	(N = 8)
chômeur	(N = 1)
inclassable	(N = 2)

Nous tenons à souligner que la série (*Y'a pas de problème*) où l'on trouve des routiers, et celle qui met en scène des adolescents et des jeunes adultes (*Avec le temps*), déterminent en quelque sorte la distribution des occupations. A part ces deux exceptions, on peut assurer qu'en dépit d'une certaine diversité d'occupations celles d'un niveau supérieur prédominent.

Interactions conflictuelles

Parmi les quatre-vingt-cinq scènes que nous avons analysées, vingt-six comportaient des éléments conflictuels. Toutes les séries, sauf *Rue des Pignons*, reflètent certains éléments conflictuels, mais il n'y a que treize pour cent des scènes (onze sur quatre-vingt-cinq) qui présentent des éléments conflictuels sérieux. Parmi les scènes de conflits, soixante-treize pour cent (dix-neuf sur vingt-six) se présentent sous forme de discussions et conservent un caractère verbal. Vingt-sept pour cent (sept sur vingt-six) des conflits prennent un tour plus foncièrement physique, mais sur un fond comique. On se rend compte que ces affrontements plus sérieux ne constituent en vérité que huit pour cent (sept sur quatre-vingt-cinq) du total des scènes. Les blessures: trois victimes avec chacune un oeil au beurre noir, un nez cassé et trois situations où la victime est un peu houspillée; inutile de souligner que ces dernières scènes revêtent un caractère plus comique que violent. L'utilisation et la manipulation d'armes au cours de ces assauts criminels sont inexistantes et dans plusieurs situations, les scènes de violence se déroulent hors de champ de la caméra. On ne fait "qu'entendre" et deviner ce qui se passe. Pourtant, il y a dans ces séries des conflits d'intérêt, des échanges d'insultes mineures ou des humiliations. Mais tout cela garde une couleur humoristique. Il serait donc assez difficile de les qualifier de "violentes".

Sur les sept séries, quatre mettent en relief les conflits exprimés dans les relations parents-enfants. Il est toujours question d'un conflit d'intérêt mineur (laisser les lumières allumées pendant qu'on danse avec son amoureux, ou bien devoir manger des champignons pour avoir droit au dessert). Ces conflits sont d'ailleurs toujours réglés par les parents. Lorsque les parents sont en conflit avec leurs grands enfants (jeunes adultes), ces derniers ont souvent gain de cause. On ne peut déceler toutefois aucun désaccord ou séquelle de vengeance au fond du coeur.

Lorsque les conflits surviennent avec les amis ou les étrangers à l'extérieur du milieu familial, nous rencontrons plus souvent d'autres agressions physiques. Mais tout cela se passe habituellement d'une manière plutôt comique et se règle comme dans le milieu familial. Dans la scène suivante, tout le monde se réconcilie une fois de plus.

Il semble que dans chaque série, il y ait un profil défini d'interactions entre les personnages. Les interactions conflictuelles et les solutions semblent être toujours les mêmes et se répètent dans la série.

Cela ne veut pas dire qu'aucune série ne contient des situations conflictuelles sérieuses, mais dans ces épisodes de notre échantillonnage, la violence n'était pas manifeste en tant qu'élément important de l'histoire. Nous savons néanmoins, que dans deux (*Rue des Pignons*; *Les Berger*) des sept séries, on a présenté des évènements plus sérieux au cours d'épisodes diffusés en 1976. Ces évènements vont de l'enlèvement d'un enfant à l'attaque de quelqu'un avec une batte de baseball. Mais il est évident que dans le contexte "téléroman", de tels événements seraient *exceptionnels* et se prolongeraient sur plusieurs d'épisodes. Soulignons que lorsque ces événements conflictuels sérieux se matérialisent, c'est un étranger qui le plus souvent est l'auteur du crime et l'attention n'est pas centrée sur le crime en tant que tel mais plutôt sur les conséquences encourues par la victime et les répercussions de cette action sur la famille et les amis. Lorsque des crimes violents surviennent exceptionnellement, ils ne sont qu'un des éléments problématiques de l'épisode. Le crime est davantage un prétexte destiné créer des interactions entre les amis et la famille que le véritable centre d'intérêt.

Message fondamental

Ce n'est ni la violence ni le crime qui constituent les thèmes de premier plan des "téléromans", mais la famille et les amis. Ils présentent des milieux extrêmement favorables aux échanges et aux confidences très personnels. L'amitié est présentée sous un angle idéal exagéré. Il y a toujours un ami ou membre de la famille disponible, compréhensif et excellent confident. C'est en effet à travers ces échanges de confidences que l'auteur peut expliquer le comportement de chacun de ses personnages et développer les intrigues. On ne soulignera jamais assez l'importance dans le "téléroman" du double thème de "la famille et de l'amitié". L'absence de l'une ou l'autre engendre la tristesse et le plus grand de tous les maux, la solitude.

Le travail

C'est un thème qui apparaît de plus en plus fréquemment dans les récents "téléromans". Nous avons vu dans notre échantillonnage de la série *Quelle famille*, le père (comptable) qui apporte du travail à la maison pour la fin de semaine. Dans *Les Berger*, il est continuellement question de la fusion de compagnies et plusieurs discussions pour savoir qui des enfants entrera dans l'entreprise familiale. Dans *La P'tite semaine*, on voit souvent Lucien Lajoie dans un petit magasin de variétés. Dans *Rue des Pignons*, il y a au moins trois scènes se rapportant au travail; dans une scène, on voit un fermier sur son tracteur, dans une autre, un propriétaire dans son petit magasin de quartier et dans une

troisième, un médecin dans son bureau. L'agent de police au poste de police (*Symphorien*), le routier sur la route (*Y'a pas de problème*), les adolescents à leur centre communautaire dans la série (*Avec le temps*), tous sont au travail. Bien que ces scènes ne s'éternisent pas, elles nous semblent tout de même importantes. Le travail est considéré comme une condition préalable absolument indispensable au bonheur. Etre sans travail est une des choses les plus redoutables qui puisse arriver à un homme. Ceci s'applique évidemment et seulement aux hommes dont les absences sont habituellement justifiées et en rapport avec le travail.

Classes sociales

Bien que dans notre échantillonnage nous ayons rencontré des gens issus de milieux économiques différents qui avaient entre eux des relations très détendues, dans certaines séries il est fait référence aux classes sociales. Par exemple, chaque semaine, dans la série comédie *Symphorien* on fait allusion à un couple riche, archi-stéréotypé qui vit dans l'Ouest de la ville, de même qu'aux gens plus modestes qui vivent dans les quartiers de l'Est. Dans la série *Les Berger*, l'idéal "bourgeois", remis en question à l'occasion, est une réalité très importante de le milieu. On remarque cependant que ce thème, ainsi que l'avait souligné Line Ross [15] dans son étude, se caractérise, même dans les téléromans des années 70 par trois points principaux:

1. Les relations entre les personnages issus de milieux sociaux différents sont plus harmonieuses et pratiquement exemptes de conflits. Les personnages s'adaptent d'un milieu social à un autre avec beaucoup de facilité.

2. Grâce à une énorme possibilité de mobilité les personnages peuvent se hisser au sommet de l'échelle sociale – par le mariage par exemple.

3. Il y a d'autre part, un thème sous-jacent où il est question des riches qui vivent dans la solitude, avec des problèmes qu'ils ne peuvent résoudre, alors que les moins fortunés sont plus aptes à s'en sortir avec ce qu'ils ont et créer leur propre bonheur.

Remarquons aussi qu'il est rarement fait allusion aux problèmes d'argent on de crédit bien que dans certaines séries on voit un personnage favori gagner à la loterie du Québec (*Y'a pas de problème*, *Les Berger*).

Il y a une quasi-unanimité sur les valeurs fondamentales entre les groupes sociaux. La plupart des personnages ne tiennent par compte de leur rang dans leurs relations interpersonnelles. Les riches savent toujours quand et comment exprimer leur dépendance vis-à-vis leurs homologues moins fortunés qui, de leur côté, ont l'avantage d'être dotés de ces qualités morales exeptionnelles indispensables dans les moments difficiles.

Rôle de la femme

Ainsi que d'autres études nous l'ont déjà révélée[16-17], l'image traditionnelle de l'épouse et de la mère aimante

est toujours aussi éloquente dans ces "téléromans". La grande joie dans la vie est d'avoir des enfants et de les regarder grandir. Elle est le complément de l'homme sans toutefois être son égal. Elle est douce, émotive, intuitive, dépendante et irrationnelle. Il y a bien sûr des exceptions et certains indices annoncent un changement. On rencontre des femmes d'un certain âge témoignant de beaucoup de caractère et d'autorité, sans renoncer pour autant aux valeurs citées précédemment. Cela est manifeste dans *Les Berger* où deux femmes dirigent les entreprises familiales. Dans certains cas, la femme partage l'entreprise avec son mari. Ainsi, nous voyons dans *La P'tite semaine* le couple Lajoie travaillant dans leur magasin de variétés. Dans *Les Berger*, Monsieur et Madame Berger administrent tous les deux leur agence de voyage. Cependant ces occupations complémentaires ne sauraient se substituter au rôle traditionnel des femmes.

Rôle de l'homme

Quant aux hommes, ils sont tout aussi traditionnels. Ils doivent assumer leurs responsabilités de soutien de famille et leur travail est la toute première de leurs préoccupations. Il y a quand même de rares exceptions où les hommes partagent les tâches domestiques et assument des rôles moins traditionnels. Ils laissent généralement à leur femme la responsabilité d'élever les enfants pendant qu'ils travaillent, mais ils n'abandonnent pas pour autant leur ultime pouvoir de décision dans presque toutes les situations.

La jeune génération

Les personnages de cet âge se trouvent en nombre limité, sauf dans le cas des séries *Avec le temps* et *Quelle famille*. On rencontre toujours des adolescents dans un milieu familial. Ils sont un prétexte pour mettre en relief les activités familiales, sauf dans la série *Avec le temps* où les jeunes sont le véritable centre d'intérêt. Mais ordinairement, cette jeune génération est dépeinte pour illustrer les sentiments d'amour, d'amitié et d'affection. Une autre étude nous a déjà révélé[18] la préoccupation première des jeunes provenant de milieux modestes ou bourgeois à l'égard des liens affectifs. Ils sont tout à fait apolitiques et comme leurs parents, sont tout à fait dépourvu de conscience morale.

Un certain nombre de thèmes sont absents des séries que nous avons analysées:

1. La religion passe inaperçue surtout par rapport à ce que l'on a connu dans les téléromans des années 50 et 60. Dans les téléromans actuels, il est rare de voir des prêtres ou des activités religieuses autres que le bingo et les oeuvres de charité à l'époque de Noël. Sans avancer qu'il n'y a aucune référence religieuse car certains personnages continuent d'implorer le ciel, la religion n'a pas l'importance qu'elle avait autrefois.

2. Les problèmes économiques sont pour ainsi dire effleurés et relativement faciles à régler. Le crédit est une chose facile à obtenir. On mentionne rarement

l'inflation et le chômage.

3. L'identité culturelle, les controverses reliées à la politique et à la langue sont des problèmes qui sont rarement abordés dans ce monde-là.

4. La génération des gens âgés est complètement ignorée.

5. Bien qu'il y ait d'autres groupes ethniques de temps en temps, les Canadiens-Anglais ne sont jamais de ceux-là.

6. Les loisirs de masse ne sont pas très fréquents. La grande majorité des personnages par exemple, ne regarde ni ne fait allusion à la télévision.

7. On ne mentionne à peu près jamais la ville et ses dangers; le crime et la violence font exception à la règle. Il n'y a que dans *Symphorien* et *Rue des Pignons* où la police agit avec une certaine régularité, et où les représentants de l'ordre sont des amis intimes des principaux personnages.

8. Finalement, nous trouvons une communanté de gens qui se connaissent, où la famille et les amis sont mêlés à presque toutes les nouvelles situations ou en relation avec de nouveaux personnages.

Conclusion

Les téléromans nous présentent d'abord une image de l'homme moyen dans un milieu familial stable. Tous les gens se connaissent ou presque. Les personnages n'ont leurs raisons d'être qu'en fonction de leurs relations avec leur famille et leurs amis. Ainsi, la famille et les amis constituent le milieu idéal pour engendrer des événements heureux ou malheureux. En effet, ne sont heureux que les personnages entourés de leur famille et de leur amis. La solitude est le plus grand de tous les maux. Et cependant il s'agit là d'un monde idéaliste où la famille et les amis sont outrageusement compréhensifs et accessibles.

L'action se déroule presque toujours dans la routine quotidienne. Lorsque la tragédie éclate, nous sommes assurés que le problème sera réglé à plus ou moins brève échéance,c'est-à-dire au cours cet épisode ou du suivant. Bien que l'action se déroule vraisemblablement à Montréal, il en est rarement question. On insiste bien davantage sur la vie de quartier et les aspects familiaux.

Les rencontres conflictuelles sont verbales et de nature bénigne. Elles sont la plupart du temps le résultat de petits malentendus et se déroulent dans un contexte humoristique. Lorsque exceptionnellement, il y a une confrontation grave, on insiste sur la victime et les répercussions encourues par la famille et les amis plutôt que sur le forfait lui-même. Les agresseurs sont généralement des étrangers ou des connaissances indirectes.

Les messages fondamentaux les plus constants sont transmis par la famille et les amis. Si l'honnêteté et le travail ardu sont des messages fondamentaux, l'argent, néanmoins, ne s'apparente par toujours au bonheur. Tout le monde a sa chance de réussir dans la vie, et la plupart des séries que nous avons analysées sont conformes aux modèles très traditionnels de notre

société. Ce que nous découvrons en général, c'est donc une confirmation des valeurs sociales de la classe moyenne québécoise.

Cette année, les séries téléromans semblent montrer des signes de renouveau. L'une d'elles, *Grand-Papa*, a remplacé la très populaire série *Quelle famille* et met en scène une personne âgée. Elle développe certains thèmes tels que la vieillesse et la mort d'un conjoint avec qui on a vécu plusieurs années. Une autre série *Chère Isabelle* est plutôt de facture comique. Un cinéaste et sa femme sont les principaux personnages de cette série; cette dernière essaie constamment de s'affranchir. Nous faisons également la connaissance du voisin du cinéaste, un Canadien-Anglais qui a épousé une Canadienne-Française.

Une autre série *Du tac au tac* met aussi en scène le monde artistique. On y rencontre au moins un personnage féminin, une femme indépendante et intelligente qui n'a pas à se définir en fonction de ses relations avec sa famille.

On peut affirmer que le téléroman de Québec évolue progressivement. Et cependant, les producteurs savent bien qu'ils ne peuvent sous-estimer cette combinaison d'ingrédients magiques en qui se retrouvent les téléspectateurs québécois et qui assure au téléroman le succès énorme qu'il connaît à la télévision de Montréal et de Québec.

Remarques et références

1. "Notes sur les préférences du public . . . " Colloque sur la violence à la télévision. Conseil de la Radio-Télévision Canadienne. Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1975.

2. Vernone M. Sparkes, "The Canadian Television Audience: A Study of Viewing Preferences and Attitudes," (Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y., 1975.)

3. Malgré de longues recherches, quelques émissions se sont avérées impossibles à classer. Elles apparaissent dans nos tableaux sous le titre "inclassables" et comprennent les références à certaines mentions telles que TBA (*to be announced*). Cette catégorie n'a jamais dépassé cinqu pour cent de notre échantillonnage.

4. Statistiques Canada, Recensement du Canada 1971, Catalogue 95-704.

5. Rapport BBM, printemps 1976.

6. Les statistiques présentées dans cette étude relatives à la région centrale, proviennent d'une extrapolation basée sur l'estimation de la taille de la population de la région centrale telle qu'elle a été présentée dans les rapports de BBM 1975-76. Ces estimations de la population du territoire de diffusion seraient plutôt en deçà de la réalité.

7. Statistiques Canada, Recensement du Canada 1971, Catalogue 95-751.

8. Rapport BBM, printemps 1976.

9. Statistiques Canada, Recensement de 1971. Catalogue 95-75.

10. Bien que les organes courants tels que *TV Guide* désignent cette station en tant que réseau affilié, CFVO était en fait une station indépendante administrée coopérativement. Pour les besoins de notre étude nous continuerons toutefois à la désigner sous le nom de TVA étant donné qu'elle a reçu la plupart de sa programmation du réseau TVA. Elle a cessé de diffuser au mois de mars 1977.

11. Statistiques Canada, Recensement 1971, Catalogue 95-719.

12. Toute l'information du recensement pour les régions de Timmins et de North Bay (tel le revenu) n'était pas disponible.

13. Line Ross, "Les réprésentations du social dans les téléromans québécois," *Communication et information*, n. 3, automne 1976 - Pages 228-229.
    Voir aussi Line Ross, et Hélène Tardif. *Les valeurs dans le téléroman québécois*. (Laboratoire de recherches sociologiques, Université Laval, Québec, hanvier 1975).

14. Taille de l'auditoire évalué pour chaque épisode, selon un rapport de BBM sur le territoire commun de diffusion, printemps 1976.

15. Ross, op. cit.

16. Ibid.

17. Deslongchamps, Ginette. "Le rôle de la femme dans les téléromans." Dossier T.V. Quebec. *Relations*. (juillet-août 1973), pp. 203-205.

18. Dubé. Noël "Les jeunes adultes bien tranquilles de nos téléromans." Dossier T.V. Quebec. *Relations*, (juillet-août 1973). pp. 201-202.

Types d'émissions diffusées à l'automne 1975 dans la région de Montréal

Identification:

	CBFT		CBMT		CFTM		CFCF		WCAX		APTZ	
Lettres d'appel	CBFT		CBMT		CFTM		CFCF		WCAX		APTZ	
Canal	2		6		10		12		5		3	
Ville	Montréal		Montréal		Montréal		Montréal		Burlington		Plattsburg, N.Y.	
Langue	Français		Anglais		Français		Anglais		Anglais		Anglais	
Réseau	Radio-Canada		CBC		TVA		CTV		CBS		NBC	
Catégorie d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes
Aventure	7	6	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	1
Comédie	10	6	24	17	6	4	19	12	21	14	6	4
Série dramatique	3	2	11	11	0	0	2	1	5	6	6	9
Série policière	0	0	3	4	10	12	19	28	12	14	29	30
Ser. dram. méd.	3	4	1	2	3	4	0	0	3	4	3	4
Téléroman	3	2	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Variétés	0	0	3	6	3	2	7	7	5	7	3	4
Interviews	0	0	0	0	18	21	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emission de jeu	6	3	9	6	3	2	5	3	16	10	11	8
Musique	3	2	13	15	11	8	9	6	1	1	0	0
Film A) policier	2	5	0	0	3	5	0	0	1	2	1	4
B) drame	5	14	0	0	1	4	1	2	1	5	2	7
C) comédie	0	0	0	0	4	10	1	2	0	0	1	2
D) autre	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	3	1	3	0	0
Total des films	7	19	0	0	9	23	3	7	3	10	4	13
Sports: A) émission d'information	3	2	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B) reportage	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Documentaire	8	10	7	5	0	0	1	2	1	1	4	2
Nouvelles	31	30	14	20	31	20	16	20	31	30	29	20
Aff. publiques	12	10	8	8	0	0	10	6	1	2	1	1
Dessins animés	3	2	0	0	0	0	5	3	1	1	1	1
Autres	0	0	3	4	3	2	1	1	0	0	2	3
Inclassable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexe – Tableau II

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue

Région: Montréal
Saison: Automne

Réseaux	Langue anglaise		Langue française		Américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes
Aventure	1	1	3.5	3	.5	.5
Comédie	21.5	14.5	8	5	13.5	9
Série dramatique	6.5	6	1.5	1	5.5	7.5
Série policière	11	16	5	6	20.5	22
Ser. dram. méd.	.5	1	3	4	3	4
Téléroman	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variétés	5	6.5	1.5	1	4	5.5
Interviews	0	0	9	10.5	0	0
Emission de jeu	7	4.5	4.5	2.5	13.5	9
Musique	11	10.5	7	5	.5	.5
Film A) policier	0	0	2.5	5	1	3
B) drame	.5	1	3	9	1.5	6
C) comédie	.5	1	2	5	.5	1
D) autre	.5	1.5	.5	2	.5	1.5
Total des films	1.5	3.5	8	21	3.5	11.5
Sports: A) émission d'information	2	1	1.5	1	0	0
B) reportage	.5	1	.5	1	1	0
Documentaire	4	3.5	4	5	2.5	1.5
Nouvelles	15	20	31	25	30	25
Affaires publiques	9	7	6	5	1	1.5
Dessins animés	2.5	1.5	1.5	1	1	1
Autre	2	2.5	1.5	1	1	1.5
Inclassable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexe — Tableau III

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

Région: Montréal
Saison: Automne

Réseaux	D'état canadien		Privé canadien		Privé américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes
Aventure	3.5	3	1	1	.5	.5
Comédie	17	11.5	12.5	8	13.5	9
Série dramatique	7	6.5	1	.5	5.5	7.5
Série policière	1.5	2	14.5	20	20.5	22
Ser. dram. méd.	2	3	1.5	2	3	4
Téléroman	1.5	1	1.5	1	0	0
Variétés	1.5	3	5	4.5	4	5.5
Interviews	0	0	9	10.5	0	0
Emission de jeu	7.5	4.5	4	2.5	13.5	9
Musique	8	8.5	10	7	.5	.5
Film A) policier	1	2.5	1.5	2.5	1	3
B) drame	2.5	7	1	3	1.5	6
C) comédie	0	0	2.5	6	.5	1
D) autre	0	0	1	3.5	.5	1.5
Total des films	3.5	9.5	6	15	3.5	11.5
Sports: A) émission						
d'information	3.5	2	0	0	0	0
B) reportage	.5	1	.5	1	0	0
Documentaire	7.5	7.5	.5	1	2.5	1.5
Nouvelles	22.5	25	23.5	20	30	25
Affaires publiques	10	9	5	3	1	1.5
Dessins animés	1.5	1	2.5	1.5	1	1
Autre	1.5	2	2	1.5	1	1.5
Inclassable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Types d'émissions diffusées au printemps 1976 dans la région de Montréal

Identification:

Lettres d'appel	CBFT		CBMT		CFTM		CFCF		WCAX		WPTZ	
Canal	2		6		10		12		3		5	
Ville	Montréal		Montréal		Montréal		Montréal		Burlington		Plattsburg, N.Y.	
Langue	Français		Anglais		Français		Anglais		Anglais		Anglais	
Réseau	Radio-Canada		CBC		TVA		CTV		CBS		NBC	
Catégorie d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes
Aventure	5	6	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0
Comédie	9	6	32	25	6	4	26	15	22	14	13	8
Série dramatique	6	4	8	8	0	0	0	0	8	11	6	8
Série policière	1	1	5	7	8	11	23	30	12	16	30	33
Ser. dram. méd.	3	4	0	0	3	4	0	0	3	4	0	0
Téléroman	3	2	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Variétés	1	1	3	5	3	2	6	5	3	5	6	10
Interviews	0	0	0	0	16	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emission de jeu	6	4	5	4	3	2	3	2	15	10	11	8
Musique	3	2	9	8	13	9	9	5	0	0	0	0
Film A) policier	4	8	0	0	3	8	0	0	0	0	1	3
B) drame	2	5	1	1	2	6	0	0	0	0	2	8
C) comédie	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	1	2	0	0
D) autre	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	3	1	2	0	0
Total des films	6	13	1	1	8	22	1	3	2	4	3	11
Sports: A) infor.	3	2	5	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
B) report	3	7	0	0	0	0	3	8	1	2	0	0
Documentaire	4	5	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	3	2
Nouvelles	31	30	13	20	31	20	17	20	31	30	28	20
Affaires publiques	12	10	11	10	0	0	5	3	0	0	0	0
Dessins animés	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Autre	2	2	5	5	4	2	4	5	1	2	0	0
Inclassable	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Région: Montréal
Saison: Printemps

Réseaux	Langue anglaise		Langue française		Américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes
Aventure	1.5	2	2.5	3	0	0
Comédie	29	20	7.5	5	17.5	11
Série dramatique	4	4	3	2	7	9.5
Série policière	14	18.5	4.5	6	21	24.5
Ser. dram. méd.	0	0	3	4	1.5	2
Téléroman	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variétés	4.5	5	2	1.5	4.5	7.5
Interviews	0	0	8	10	0	0
Emission de jeu	4	3	4.5	3	13	9
Musique	9	6.5	8	5.5	0	0
Film A) policier	0	0	3.5	8	.5	1.5
B) drame	.5	.5	2	5.5	1	4
C) comédie	0	0	1	3	.5	1
D) autre	.5	1.5	.5	1	.5	1
Total des films	1	2	7	17.5	2.5	7.5
Sports: A) émission d'information	2.5	1.5	2	1.5	0	0
B) reportage	1.5	4	1.5	3.5	.5	1
Documentaire	.5	1	2.5	3	2	1.5
Nouvelles	15	20	31	25	29.5	25
Affaires publiques	8	6.5	6	5	0	0
Dessins animés	0	0	1	.5	.5	.5
Autre	4.5	5	3	2	.5	1
Inclassable	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

Région: Montréal
Saison: Printemps

Réseaux	D'état canadien		Privé canadien		Privé américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes
Aventure	2.5	3	1.5	2	0	0
Comédie	20.5	15.5	16	9.5	17.5	11
Série dramatique	7	6	0	0	7	9.5
Série policière	3	4	15.5	20.5	21	24.5
Ser. dram. méd.	1.5	2	1.5	2	1.5	2
Téléroman	1.5	1	1.5	1	0	0
Variétés	2	3	4.5	3.5	4.5	7.5
Interviews	0	0	8	10	0	0
Emission de jeu	5.5	4	3	2	13	9
Musique	6	5	11	7	0	0
Film A) policier	2	4	1.5	4	.5	1.5
B) drame	1.5	3	1	3	1	4
C) comédie	0	0	1	3	.5	1
D) autre	0	0	1	2.5	.5	1
Total des films	3.5	7	4.5	12.5	2.5	7.5
Sports: A) émission d'information	4	2.5	.5	.5	0	0
B) reportage	1.5	3.5	1.5	4	.5	1
Documentaire	2.5	3.5	.5	.5	2	1.5
Nouvelles	22	25	24	20	29.5	25
Affaires publiques	11.5	10	2.5	1.5	0	0
Dessins animés	1	.5	0	0	.5	.5
Autre	3.5	3.5	4	3.5	.5	1
Inclassable	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexe — Tableau VII

Types d'émissions diffusées a l'automne 1975 dans la région de Toronto

Identification:

	CBLT		CFTO-TV		CHCH-TV		CKGN-TV		CBLFT		WGR-TV		WBEN-TV		WKBW-TV	
Lettres d'appel	CBLT		CFTO-TV		CHCH-TV		CKGN-TV		CBLFT		WGR-TV		WBEN-TV		WKBW-TV	
Canal	5		9		11		22		25		2		4		7	
Ville	Toronto		Toronto		Toronto-Hamilton		Uxbridge		Toronto		Buffalo, N.Y.		Buffalo, N.Y.		Buffalo, N.Y.	
Langue	Anglais		Anglais		Anglais		Français		Français		Anglais		Anglais		Anglais	
Réseau	CBC		CTV		Indep.		Global		Radio-Canada		NBC		CBS		ABC	
Catégorie d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes
Aventure	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	0
Comédie	25	19	16	11	6	4	25	16	7	4	7	4	20	13	13	9
Série dramatique	7	8	0	0	2	3	1	2	3	2	6	10	2	2	1	1
Série policière	3	4	17	28	21	27	23	22	0	0	13	17	9	11	13	17
Ser. dram. méd.	1	2	2	3	2	3	0	0	3	4	2	3	2	3	1	2
Téléroman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Variétés	12	12	8	8	4	6	0	0	0	0	3	5	6	7	1	2
Interviews	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emission de jeu	5	4	19	13	18	12	0	0	6	3.5	9	6	0	0	29	19
Musique	10	13	9	7	17	11	3	3	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	3
Film A	0	0	.5	2	2	4	2	6	4	10	1	4	.5	2	1	2
B	0	0	2	6	2	7	3	10	4	12	4	11	2	5	.5	2
C	0	0	.5	2	0	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	.5	2	0	0
D	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	3	2	5	.5	2
Total des films	0	0	3	10	4	11	8	22	8	22	6	18	5	14	2	6
Sport A)	3	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B)	0	0	0	0	2	6	1	2	0	0	15	10	17	13	7	18
Documentaire	6	4	1	2	2	1	1	1	12	12	6	4	2	2	0	0
Nouvelles	13	20	14	10	16	10	34	29	31	29	31	21	33	31	30	20
Affaires publiques	8	8	3	2	3	4	2	1	15	1.5	0	0	2	2	0	0
Dessins animés	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Autres	4	3	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	.5	.5	1	2
Inclassable	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Région: Toronto
Saison: Automne

Réseaux	Langue anglaise		Langue française		Américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes
Aventure	1	1	3	4	0	0
Comédie	18	12	7	4	13	9
Série dramatique	2	3	3	2	3	4
Série policière	18	20	0	0	12	15
Ser. dram. méd.	1	2	3	4	2	3
Téléroman	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variétés	6	6	0	0	3	5
Interviews	1	1	0	0	0	0
Emission de jeu	10	7	6	3.5	13	8
Musique	9	8	3	2	1	1
Film A) policier	1	3	4	10	1	3
B) drame	2	6	4	12	2	6
C) comédie	1	2	0	0	0	0
D) autre	0	0	0	0	1	3
Total des films	4	11	8	22	4	12
Sports: A) émission d'information	1	1	3	2	0	0
B) reportage	1	2	0	0	13	14
Documentaire	2	2	12	12	2.5	2
Nouvelles	19	17	31	29	31	24
Affaires publiques	4	4	15	11.5	.5	1
Dessins animés	1	1	3	2	1	1
Autre	2	2	0	0	1	1
Inclassable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

Région: Toronto
Saison: Automne

Réseaux	D'état canadien		Privé canadien		Privé américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes
Aventure	3	3	0	0	0	0
Comédie	16	11.5	16	10	13	9
Série dramatique	5	5	1	2	3	4
Série policière	1.5	2	20	26	12	15
Ser. dram. méd.	2	3	1	2	2	3
Téléroman	1	1	0	0	0	0
Variétés	6	6	4	5	3	5
Interviews	0	0	1	1	0	0
Emission de jeu	5.5	4	12	8	13	8
Musique	6.5	7.5	9	7	1	1
Film A) policier	2	5	2	4	1	3
B) drame	2	6	3	8	2	6
C) comédie	0	0	1	2	0	0
D) autre	0	0	1	1	1	3
Total des films	4	11	7	15	4	12
Sports: A) émission d'information	3	1.5	1	1	0	0
B) reportage	0	0	1	1	13	14
Documentaire	9	8	1	1	2.5	2
Nouvelles	22	24.5	21	16	31	24
Affaires publiques	12.5	10	3	3	.5	1
Dessins animés	1	1	1	1	1	1
Autre	2	1	1	1	1	1
Inclassable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexe — Tableau X

Types d'émissions diffusées au printemps 1976 dans la région de Toronto

Identification:

	CBLT		CFTO-TV		CHCH-TV		CKGN-TV		CBLFT		WGR-TV		WBEN-TV		WKBW-TV	
Lettres d'appel	CBLT		CFTO-TV		CHCH-TV		CKGN-TV		CBLFT		WGR-TV		WBEN-TV		WKBW-TV	
Canal	5		9		11		22		25		2		4		7	
Ville	Toronto		Toronto		Toronto-Hamilton		Uxbridge		Toronto		Buffalo, N.Y.		Buffalo, N.Y.		Buffalo, N.Y.	
Langue	Anglais		Anglais		Anglais		Français		Français		Anglais		Anglais		Anglais	
Réseau	CBC		CTV		Indep.		Global		Radio-Canada		NBC		CBS		ABC	
Catégorie d'émission	% par unité d'é-	% par minutes	% par unité d'é-	% par minutes	% par unité d'é-	% par minutes	% par unité d'é-	% par minutes	% par unité d'é-	% par minutes	% par unité d'é-	% par minutes	% par unité d'é-	% par minutes	% par unité d'é-	% par minutes
Aventure	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	1	2
Comédie	27	20	19	13	5	3	24	16	6	4	11	7	22	15	11	8
Série dramatique	8	9	0	0	5	9	2	3	6	3	6	8	8	11	5	6
Série policière	5	7	19	29	22	24	21	21	1	1	18	25	7	9	9	12
Ser. dram. méd.	0	0	3	4	3	4	0	0	3	4	0	0	3	4	2	3
Téléroman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Variétés	5	8	7	6	6	9	1	2	1	1	6	9	2	3	6	6
Interviews	1	1	0	0	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emission de jeu	5	4	18	12	15	10	3	2	6	3	8	6	1	1	24	17
Musique	10	9	8	5	12	9	4	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Film A) policier	0	0	1	2	2	4	1	3	3	6	1	2	0	0	2	5
B) drame	1	1	0	0	1	5	1	2	3	8	1	7	1	2	2	4
C) comédie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	1	2	1	2	0	0
D) autre	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	2	5
Total des films	1	1	1	2	3	9	2	5	8	19	3	11	3	8	6	14
Sports: A) émission d'information		3	1	1	0	0	3	2	3	2	0	0	16	9	0	0
B) reportage	0	0	2	8	0	0	7	17	1	2	14	10	2	6	4	10
Documentaire	1	2	1	1	4	3	0	0	4	5	6	4	1	1	0	0
Nouvelles	15	20	15	10	15	10	30	27	31	30	28	20	33	30	29	20
Affaires publiques	11	10	2	2	2	3	1	1	18	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dessins animés	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
Autre	6	6	2	4	2	3	1.5	1.5	1	2	0	0	1	2	3	2
Inclassable	0	0	0	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

Annexe — Tableau XI

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Région: Toronto
Saison: Printemps

Réseaux	Langue anglaise		Langue française		Américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes
Aventure	0	0	3	4	1	1
Comédie	19	13	6	4	15	10
Série dramatique	4	6	6	3	6	8
Série policière	17	20	1	1	11	15
Ser. dram. méd.	1.5	2	3	4	2	2
Téléroman	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variétés	5	6	1	1	5	6
Interviews	2	1	0	0	0	0
Emission de jeu	10	7	6	3	11	8
Musique	8	6	3	2	0	0
Film A) policier	1	2	3	6	1	2
B) drame	1	2	3	8	1	4
C) comédie	0	0	2	5	1	2
D) autre	0	0	0	0	1	3
Total des films	2	4	8	19	4	11
Sports: A) émission d'information	2	2	3	2	5	3
B) reportage	2	6	1	2	7	9
Documentaire	1.5	2	4	5	2	2
Nouvelles	19	17	31	30	30	24
Affaires publiques	4	4	18	14	0	0
Dessins animés	0	0	2	2	0	0
Autre	3	4	1	2	1	1
Inclassable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon le regime des réseaux

Région: Toronto
Saison: Printemps

Réseaux	D'état canadien		Privé canadien		Privé américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes
Aventure	2	2	1	1	1	1
Comédie	16.5	12	16	11	15	10
Série dramatique	7	6	2	4	6	8
Série policière	3	4	21	25	11	15
Ser. dram. méd.	1.5	2	2	3	2	2
Téléroman	1.5	1	0	0	0	0
Variétés	3	4.5	4	6	5	6
Interviews	.5	.5	2	1	0	0
Emission de jeu	5.5	3.5	12	8	11	8
Musique	6.5	5.5	8	5	0	0
Film A) policier	1.5	3	1	3	1	2
B) drame	2	4.5	1	2	1	4
C) comédie	1	2.5	0	0	1	2
D) autre	0	0	0	0	1	3
Total des films	4.5	10	2	5	4	11
Sports: A) émission d'information	4	2.5	1	1	5	3
B) reportage	.5	1	3	8	7	9
Documentaire	2.5	3.5	2	1	2	2
Nouvelles	23	25	20	16	30	24
Affaires publiques	14.5	12	2	2	0	0
Dessins animés	1	1	0	0	0	0
Autre	3	4	2	3	1	1
Inclassable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Types d'émissions diffusées à l'automne 1975 dans la région d'Ottawa

Identification:

Lettres d'appel	CBOT		CKGN		CBOFT		CJOH		CFVO		WGNY	
Canal	4		6		9		13		30		2	
Ville	Ottawa		Ottawa		Ottawa		Ottawa		Hull		Watertown, N.Y.	
Langue	Anglais		Anglais		Français		Anglais		Français		Anglais	
Réseau	CBC		Global		Radio-Canada		CTV		TVA		ABC-NBC-CBS	
Catégorie d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes
Aventure	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Comédie	24	18	26	17	6	4	18	12	3	2	22	15
Série dramatique	7	7	2	2	3	2	2	1	0	0	8	10
Série policière	3	4	23	20	0	0	19	28	13	16	8	10
Ser. dram. méd.	1	2	0	0	3	4	0	0	3	4	3	4
Téléroman	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variétés	6	7	0	0	0	0	10	9	0	0	8	10
Interviews	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	20	0	0
Emission de jeu	8	6	0	0	3	2	5	3	0	0	6	4
Musique	10	13	3	3	3	2	13	8	14	8	0	0
Film A) policier	0	0	3	10	3	7	1	4	3	6	0	0
B) drame	0	0	1	6	4	13	1	2	2	4	2	5
C) comédie	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	4	1	4
D) autre	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	3.5	10	1	5
Total des films	0	0	6	22	7	20	3	8	10.5	24	4	14
Sports: A) émission d'information	4	3	1	3	3	2	2	2	0	0	2	2
B) reportage	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
Documentaire	8	6	1	1	8	10	2	2	0	0	0	0
Nouvelles	13	20	34	28	30	19	16	20	30	20	31	20
Affaires publiques	11	11	2	2	27	29	3	2	4	2	1	2
Dessins animés	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	0	0	1	1
Autres	4	2	2	2	3	2	0	0	3.5	1.5	2	3
Inclassable	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

Région: Ottawa
Saison: Automne

Réseaux	Langue anglaise		Langue française		Américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes
Aventure	1	1	0	0	0	0
Comédie	23	16	4.5	3	22	15
Série dramatique	3	3	1.5	1	8	10
Série policière	15	17	6.5	8	8	10
Ser. dram. méd.	1	.5	3	4	3	4
Téléroman	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variétés	5	5	0	0	8	10
Interviews	0	0	8	10	0	0
Emission de jeu	4	3	1.5	1	6	4
Musique	9	8	8.5	5	0	0
Film A) policier	1	5	2.5	6.5	0	0
B) drame	1	3	2.5	7.5	2	5
C) comédie	0	1	.5	1	1	4
D) autre	1	1	3.5	7	1	5
Total des films	3	10	9	22	4	14
Sports: A) émission d'information	2	3	1.5	1	2	2
B) reportage	0	0	.5	1	0	0
Documentaire	4	3	4	5	1	1
Nouvelles	21	23	30	19.5	31	20
Affaires publiques	5.5	5	15.5	15.5	1	2
Dessins animés	1	1	0	0	1	1
Autre	2	1	3	2	2	3
Inclassable	.5	.5	0	0	3	4
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

Région: Ottawa
Saison: Automne

Réseaux	D'état canadien		Privé canadien		Privé américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes
Aventure	0	0	1	1	0	0
Comédie	15	11	16	10	22	15
Série dramatique	5	4.5	1	1	8	10
Série policière	1.5	2	18	21	8	10
Ser. dram. méd.	2	3	1	1	3	4
Téléroman	1.5	1	1	1	0	0
Variétés	3	3.5	3	3	8	10
Interviews	0	0	5	7	0	0
Emission de jeu	5.5	4	2	1	6	4
Musique	6.5	7.5	10	6	0	0
Film A) policier	1.5	3.5	2	7	0	0
B) drame	2	6.5	1	3	2	5
C) comédie	0	0	1	2	1	4
D) autre	0	0	2	6	1	5
Total des films	3.5	10	6	18	4	14
Sports: A) émission d'information	3.5	2.5	1	2	2	2
B) reportage	.5	1	0	0	0	0
Documentaire	8	8	1	1	1	1
Nouvelles	21.5	19.5	27	23	31	20
Affaires publiques	19	20	3	2	1	2
Dessins animés	0	0	2	1	1	2
Autre	3.5	2	2	1	2	3
Inclassable	.5	.5	0	0	3	4
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexe — Tableau XVI

Types d'émissions diffusées au printemps 1976 dans la région d'Ottawa

Identification:

Lettres d'appel	CBOT		CKGN		CBOFT		CJOH		CFVO		WWNV	
Canal	4		6		9		13		30		7	
Ville	Ottawa		Ottawa		Ottawa		Ottawa		Hull		Watertown,	
Langue	Anglais		Anglais		Français		Anglais		Français		Anglais	
Réseau	CBC		Global		Radio-Canada		CTV		TVA		ABC-NBC-	
Catégorie d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes
Aventure	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0
Comédie	23	17	24	16	6	4	21	13	6	4	23	16
Série dramatique	8	9	2	3	5	4	0	0	0	0	8	8
Série policière	5	7	21	21	1	1	20	27	9	11	14	19
Ser. dram. méd.	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	3	4	3	4
Téléroman	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variétés	3	5	1	2	1	1	11	9	0	0	5	7
Interviews	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	20	0	0
Emission de jeu	8	6	3	2	3	2	3	2	0	0	6	4
Musique	9	9	4	3	3	2	12	7	12	9	0	0
Film A)	0	0	1	0	4	8	1	2	3	8	0	0
B)	0	0	1	5	2	5	1	2	2	5	0	0
C)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	3	6	2	8
D)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	1	2
Total des films	0	0	3	5	6	13	3	8	10	23	3	10
Sports: A)	5	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	0	0	3	2
B)	0	0	7	17	2	7	0	0	1	1	1	2
Documentaire	2	3	0	0	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	1
Nouvelles	14	20	29	26	30	20	17	20	31	20	29	20
Affaires publiques	16	14	1	1	26	29	2	1	0	0	0	0
Dessins animés	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Autres	6	6	1	1	4	4	2	4	7	4	2	4
Inclassable	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexe — Tableau XVII

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie d'émission selon la langue de diffusion

Région: Ottawa
Saison: Printemps

Réseaux	Langue anglaise		Langue française		Américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes
Aventure	1	1	0	0	0	0
Comédie	23	15	6	4	23	16
Série dramatique	3	4	2.5	2	8	8
Série policière	15	19	5	6	14	19
Ser. dram. méd.	0	0	2.5	2	3	4
Téléroman	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variétés	5	6	.5	.5	5	7
Interviews	0	0	8	10	0	0
Emission de jeu	5	3	1.5	1	6	4
Musique	8	6	7.5	5.5	0	0
Film A) policier	1	1	3.5	8	0	0
B) drame	1	2	2	5	0	0
C) comédie	.5	1	1.5	3	2	8
D) autre	.5	0	1	2.5	1	2
Total des films	3	4	8	18.5	3	10
Sports: A) émission d'information	4	2	1.5	1	3	2
B) reportage	2	6	1.5	4	1	2
Documentaire	1.5	1.5	2.5	3	1	1
Nouvelles	20	22	30.5	20	29	20
Affaires publiques	6.5	5.5	13	15	0	0
Dessins animés	1	1	0	0	1	1
Autre	3	3	5.5	4	2	4
Inclassable	1	1	1	1	1	2
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

Région: Ottawa
Saison: Printemps

Réseaux	D'état canadien		Privé canadien		Privé américain	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes	% unité/ émission	% unité/ minutes
Aventure	0	0	1	1	0	0
Comédie	14.5	10.5	17	11	23	16
Série dramatique	6.5	6.5	1	1	8	8
Série policière	3	4	17	20	14	19
Ser. dram. méd.	1	1.5	1	1	3	4
Téléroman	1.5	1	1	1	0	0
Variétés	2	3	4	4	5	7
Interviews	0	0	5	7	0	0
Emission de jeu	5.5	4	2	1	6	4
Musique	6	5.5	9	6	0	0
Film A) policier	2	4	1	3	0	0
B) drame	1	2.5	1	4	0	0
C) comédie	0	0	1	3	2	8
D) autre	0	0	1.5	1.5	1	2
Total des films	3	6.5	4.5	11.5	3	10
Sports: A) émission d'information	4	2.5	2	1	3	2
B) reportage	1	3.5	3	6	1	2
Documentaire	3	4	1	1	1	1
Nouvelles	22	20	26	22	29	20
Affaires publiques	21	21.5	1	1	0	0
Dessins animés	0	0	1	1	1	1
Autre	5	5	3	3	2	4
Inclassable	1	1	.5	.5	1	2
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Types d'émissions diffusées à l'automne 1975 dans la région Sudbury — Timmins — North Bay

Identification:

Lettres d'appel	CBST-TV		CKSO-TV		MCTVS	
Canal	9		5		9	
Ville	Timmins		Sudbury		Sudbury	
Langue	Français		Anglais		Anglais	
Network	Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
Catégorie d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par minutes
Aventure	7	6	9	10	4	4
Comédie	10	6	18	12	33	20
Série dramatique	3	2	0	0	3	3
Série policière	0	0	15	17	0	0
Ser. dram. méd.	3	4	0	0	2	2
Téléroman	3	2	0	0	0	0
Variétés	0	0	8	6	11	11
Interviews	0	0	3	4	0	0
Emission de jeu	6	4	6	4	10	7
Musique	3	2	13	8	8	9
Film A) policier	3	7	4	10	6	12
B) drame	4	13	3	7	6	14
C) comédie	0	0	3	6	1	2
D) autre	0	0	3	8	1	2
Total des films	7	20	13	31	14	30
Sports: A) émission d'information	3	2	3	1	0	0
B) reportage	1	2	1	1	0	0
Documentaire	8	10	0	0	3	2
Nouvelles	31	29	3	2	0	0
Affaires publiques	12	9	3	1	7	6
Dessins animés	3	2	2	1	0	0
Autres	0	0	1	1	4	4
Inclassable	0	0	2	1	1	2
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Région: Sudbury — Timmins — North Bay
Saison: Automne 1975

Réseaux	Langue anglaise		Langue française	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes
Aventure	6.5	7	7	6
Comédie	25.5	16	10	6
Série dramatique	1.5	1.5	3	2
Série policière	7.5	8.5	0	0
Ser. dram. méd.	1	1	3	4
Téléroman	0	0	3	2
Variétés	9.5	8.5	0	0
Interviews	1.5	2	0	0
Emission de jeu	8	5.5	6	4
Musique	10.5	8.5	3	2
Film A) policier	5	11	3	7
B) drame	4.5	10.5	4	13
C) comédie	2	4	0	0
D) autre	2	5	0	0
Total des films	13.5	30.5	7	20
Sports: A) émission d'information	1.5	.5	3	2
B) reportage	.5	.5	1	2
Documentaire	1.5	1	8	10
Nouvelles	1.5	1	31	29
Affaires publiques	5	3.5	12	9
Dessins animés	1	.5	3	2
Autre	2.5	2.5	0	0
Inclassable	1.5	1.5	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100

Pourcentage d'unité/émission et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

Région: Sudbury — Timmins — North Bay
Saison: Automne 1975

Réseaux	D'état canadien		Privé canadien	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes
Aventure	5.5	5	9	10
Comédie	21.5	13	18	12
Série dramatique	3	2.5	0	0
Série policière	0	0	15	17
Ser. dram. méd.	2.5	3	0	0
Téléroman	1.5	1	0	0
Variétés	5.5	5.5	8	6
Interviews	0	0	3	4
Emission de jeu	8	5.5	6	4
Musique	5.5	5.5	13	8
Film A) policier	4.5	9.5	4	10
B) drame	5	13.5	3	7
C) comédie	.5	1	3	6
D) autre	.5	1	3	8
Total des films	10.5	25	13	31
Sports: A) émission				
d'information	1.5	1	3	1
B) reportage	.5	1	1	1
Documentaire	5.5	6	0	0
Nouvelles	15.5	14.5	3	2
Affaires publiques	9.5	7.5	3	1
Dessins animés	1.5	1	2	1
Autre	2	2	1	1
Inclassable	.5	1	2	1
Total:	100	100	100	100

Types d'émissions diffusées au printemps 1976 dans la région Sudbury — Timmins — North Bay

Identification:

Lettres d'appel	CBST-TV		CKSO-TV		MCTVS	
Canal	9		5		9	
Ville	Timmins		Sudbury		Sudbury	
Langue	Français		Anglais		Anglais	
Réseau	Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
Catégorie d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par unité d'émission	% par unité
Aventure	6	6	13	11	1	1
Comédie	9	6	26	19	27	16
Série dramatique	6	3	0	0	3	4
Série policière	1	5	16	19	4	5
Ser. dram. méd.	3	3	0	0	0	0
Téléroman	3	2	0	0	0	0
Variétés	1	1	3	2	8	8
Interviews	0	0	1	1	0	0
Emission de jeu	6	3	4	2	10	6
Musique	3	2	11	7	8	8
Film A) policier	3	6	7	14	2	5
B) drame	2	4	4	9	6	13
C) comédie	0	0	2	4	0	0
D) autre	1	3	1	2	5	11
Total les films	6	13	14	29	13	29
Sports: A) émission d'information	3	2	1	0	0	0
B) reportage	2	7	0	0	0	0
Documentaire	4	5	3	2	4	4
Nouvelles	31	30	0	0	0	0
Affaires publiques	12	9	2	2	10	8
Dessins animés	2	1	0	0	0	0
Autres	2	2	3	3	8	7
Inclassable	0	0	3	3	4	4
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Annexe — Tableau XXIII

Pourcentage d'unité/émissions et unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon la langue de diffusion

Région: Sudbury — Timmins — North Bay
Saison: Printemps 1976

Réseaux Catégorie d'émission	Langue anglaise		Langue française	
	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes
Aventure	7	6	6	6
Comédie	26.5	17.5	9	6
Série dramatique	1.5	2	6	3
Série policière	10	12	1	5
Ser. dram. méd.	0	0	3	3
Téléroman	0	0	3	2
Variétés	5.5	5	1	1
Interviews	.5	.5	0	0
Emission de jeu	7	4	6	3
Musique	10	7.5	3	2
Film A) policier	4.5	9.5	3	6
B) drame	5	11	2	4
C) comédie	1	2	0	0
D) autre	3	6.5	1	3
Total des films	13.5	29	6	13
Sports: A) émission d'information	.5	0	3	2
B) reportage	0	0	2	7
Documentaire	3.5	3	4	5
Nouvelles	0	0	31	30
Affaires publiques	6	5	12	9
Dessins animés	0	0	2	1
Autre	5.5	5	2	2
Inclassable	3	3.5	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100

Pourcentage d'unité/émission et d'unité/minutes par catégorie principale selon le régime des réseaux

Région: Sudbury — Timmins — North Bay
Saison: Printemps 1976

Réseaux	Langue anglaise		Langue française	
Catégorie d'émission	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes	% unité/émission	% unité/minutes
Aventure	3.5	3.5	13	11
Comédie	18	11	26	19
Série dramatique	4.5	3.5	0	0
Série policière	2.5	5	16	19
Ser. dram. méd.	1.5	1.5	0	0
Téléroman	1.5	1	0	0
Variétés	4.5	4.5	3	2
Interviews	0	0	1	1
Emission de jeu	8	4.5	4	2
Musique	5.5	5	11	7
Film A) policier	2.5	5.5	7	14
B) drame	4	8.5	4	9
C) comédie	0	0	2	4
D) autre	3	7	1	2
Total des films	9.5	21	14	29
Sports: A) émission				
d'information	1.5	1	1	0
B) reportage	1	3.5	0	0
Documentaire	4	4.5	3	2
Nouvelles	15.5	15	0	0
Affaires publiques	11	8.5	2	2
Dessins animés	1	.5	0	0
Autre	5	4.5	3	3
Inclassable	2	2	3	3
Total:	100	100	100	100

Images of Different Worlds:

An Analysis of English- and French-language Television

André H. Caron
with the assistance of
Marie Couture

Section de Communication
Département de Psychologie
Université de Montréal
Montréal, Québec

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Content Analysis of French-Language Serials

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Appendix

Introduction

Purpose of the Study

This study reports on a comparative analysis of English- and French-language television programming, and a selective content analysis of French-language television serials.

The report is, thus, comprised of two principal sections: *Section I* analyzes and compares prime-time television availability and audience ratings by types of program for major Quebec and Ontario markets: Montreal, Ottawa – Hull, Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay, and Toronto. *Section II* consists of a content analysis of individual episodes of French-language television entertainment programs.

Section I

The analysis of program availability in weekday prime time is based on program listings in reliable standardized publications such as *TV Guide, TV Hebdo,* and *Noront TV News* for two four-week periods – November 10 to December 7, 1975 and February 23 to March 14, 1976.

Information on audience ratings by program, time, station, region, and audience characteristics is based on the BBM Bureau of Measurement seasonal reports for those corresponding periods. In this analysis we also investigate the relevance to ratings of distinctive characteristics of the French-language and English-language television series in the markets under consideration. Ownership (public versus private) of networks and level of Canadian content in prime-time programming are additional factors analyzed.

Section II

In this section, we did a content analysis of individual episodes of the most popular Quebec *téléromans* (soap operas) and comedy serials. The major program elements analyzed are: setting, characters, relationships between and among characters, types of conflict and modes of conflict resolution, and global messages.

The serials analyzed are: *Rue des Pignons, Les Berger, La P'tite semaine, Y'a pas de problème, Symphorien, Avec le temps,* and *Quelle famille.*

Surprisingly enough, few studies have, in the past, systematically investigated the comparative similarities and dissimilarities of French- and English-language television programming in Canada. When such studies have been done, they have usually dealt with very short time periods[1] and a limited number of markets. Furthermore, the major thrust of studies[2] on this issue has been a comparison of only one part of Canadian television programming (the English-language part) with the American television fare, rather than an examination of the variety of television programming offered within the Canadian broadcasting system by both French- and English-language networks.

This, we believe, has been an important omission. Although the discussion has always centred around economic considerations (e.g. U.S. productions are less expensive and more popular), it cannot be limited exclusively to this dimension. Other factors, such as language and culture must be considered. These are some of the principal issues this study addresses.

Section I

Analysis of Program Availability and Audience Ratings

Section I is subdivided into two parts for each market studied: Part A examines information related to available television programming and Part B deals with information related to audience ratings.

Methodology

For Part A (available programming) our analysis relied mostly on information provided by reliable stand-ardized sources such as *TV Guide, TV Hebdo* and *Noront TV News.* We did, however, have to supplement our information by such means as contacts with directors of programming at various television stations. The overall category system applied is in most part a combination of the standard terminology used in the industry and that which has been used in past content analysis studies of this type.

The categories are:
Adventure: (e.g. *Littlest Hobo, Robinson suisse*)
Situation comedy: (e.g.*Mary Tyler Moore, Symphorien)*
Drama: (e.g. *Rich Man, Poor Man, Avec le temps*)
Crime drama: (e.g. *Kojak, Les Incorruptibles*)
Medical drama: (e.g. *Medical Center, Médecin d'aujourd'hui*)
Soap opera: *(Les Berger)*
Variety: (e.g. *Tom Jones, Gala de l'Union des artistes*)
Talk show: (e.g. *Tommy Banks, parle, parle, jase, jase*)
Game show: (e.g. *Name that Tune, Travail à la chaîne*)
Music: (e.g. *Pig and Whistle, Ranch à Willie*)
Movies A): Crime drama *(e.g. St. Valentine Massacre)*
　　　B): Drama (e.g. *Dr. Jivago*)
　　　C): Comedy (e.g. *M*A*S*H*)
　　　D): Other (e.g. *westerns, musicals*)
Sports A): Information programs (e.g. *Sports Beat, J.O.*)
　　　B): Coverage of events (e.g. NHL *Hockey*)
Documentary: (e.g. *Sharks, Heritage*)
News: (e.g. *World Beat News, Téléjournal*)
Public affairs: (e.g. *fifth estate, Le 60*)
Cartoons: (e.g. *Legend of Christmas, Les Pierrafeu*)
Other: (e.g. *Wintario, Loto Perfecta*)
Uncategorizable[3]

Time Periods

Originally our content analysis was to focus exclusively on prime-time weekday programming. We chose however, to expand our coverage to programming beginning at 6 p.m. This revised definition of prime time was to account for the important audience share found for programming scheduled at the earlier period. The category of program broadcast in this time period is not, as might be assumed, only of the news type; there are variations in terms of regional characteristics. This will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

Our analysis, then, covers all weekday scheduled programming between 6 p.m. and 11 p.m.

Sample

Television programming analyzed for 40 days, 20 in the Fall of 1975 and 20 in the Spring of 1976. Our rationale was to choose those weeks which overlapped with BBM's audience rating reports, plus an extended week of television programming. This was done so that we would have comparative data with the BBM ratings. Also, by having 20 days of programming during each season, we were assured that specials (e.g. *PC Convention, Miss Teen Canada*) and other irregularities in the program schedule could be fairly outweighed in the balance of the more regular television fare.

The four market areas, Montreal, Ottawa – Hull, Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay, and Toronto were chosen because of a number of characteristics which differentiated them from each other. These particular-ities mostly centred on the cultural composition of the populations, the possible diversity of television programming available, and population size. These will be further identified and discussed in detail when each market area is presented.

The format of presentation of our results will be the same for each market area. First, the characteristics of the area will be discussed and the programming available to the population will be examined. Television programming will be discussed under the headings:

1. General categories

2. Language of broadcast

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3. Public and private network ownership

4. Culture (i.e. Canadian content)

Within each market, specific profiles of programming offered by the major networks will also be presented.

Part B in each case is an analysis of ratings information.

Data Analysis

Data was analyzed in terms of percentage of unit programs (number of programs) and unit/minutes (number of minutes per program) for each category. In most cases, except for movies and sports events, these two types of units compared well and showed little variance. Studies of this nature usually report their information only in terms of unit/program. Because of the relative importance of certain categories of programs such as movies, however, we believed that it would be more accurate to report our findings in terms of number of unit/minutes for all categories, unit minutes per program reflecting more systematically the total exposure time spent by viewers and the relative importance of different types of programming.

The news programs included in our sample represent an important part of programming on many networks. If this category were to be excluded, as it is in some studies, the relative importance of all other categories would thus appear greater. This particular point will be taken into consideration when Canadian content is discussed.

Finally, the American Public Broadcasting System has been excluded from this study because of the small size of its Canadian audience.

Montreal

A) Available Television Programming

Demographic Characteristics

In the 1971 census, the population of the Metropolitan Montreal area[4] was 2,743,210, of which 1,345,365 were men and 1,397,845 were women. The average number of persons per family was 3.6 and the average number of children per family was 1.6. Average family income was $10,292. For mother tongue, 1,819,640 people specified French, 595,365 people specified English, and 328,175 mentioned other languages. For language most often spoken at home, 1,818,860 specified French, 683,390 English, 106,995 Italian, 11,665 German, 8,605 Polish, 7,775 Ukrainian, and 1,470 Dutch.

The totals for ethnic groups in the Montreal metropolitan area are: French, 1,762,690; British, 438,000; Italian, 160,605; German, 38,440; Asian, 36,500; Polish, 20,410; Ukrainian, 18,050; Hungarian, 11,480; Dutch, 9,040; Scandinavian, 6,355; and Russian, 3,605.

Besides being distinctive for its French cultural and linguistic characteristics, Montreal is also a major centre of television production. Canada's two main cultural groups – those of French descent, who represent 64 per cent of the population, and those of British descent (16 per cent) – have *equal* numbers of commercial television networks.

Television Broadcasting Characteristics

In the Montreal area, six major networks share the main audience market. First of all, there is the French-language state-subsidized Radio-Canada (CBFT – 2) and its English CBC counterpart (CBMT – 6), then there are the privately owned French-language TVA network (CFTM – 10) and the English-language CTV network (CFCF – 12). Finally, two American networks are available – CBS (WCAX – 3) and NBC (WPTZ – 5).

Programming on another American network, ABC (WMTW – 8), is also available in the Montreal area, but BBM reports its market share to be below 5 per cent. We therefore decided not to report its statistics. Finally, there is Radio-Québec, the provincially owned educational network. This organization, somewhat comparable to OECA in Ontario, has a mandate to produce educationally designed material for the school-age population, but is also heavily involved, in producing

educational material for the adult population. Although its market share is not strongly competitive with the major networks, we would have liked to include its program offerings in our analysis, but because of time and resource constraints, this was not possible.

Even though there are in the Montreal area, as we have just listed, a number of available networks, the two French-language networks, Radio-Canada and TVA, compete for the principal audience share of the market.

As reported by BBM[5] the estimated percentage of households with cable service is 37 per cent, which implies that close to four homes in ten have complete access to the main networks previously described. The percentage of homes with colour television sets is estimated to be 54 per cent in this market area. Television programming in the Montreal area, as we shall discuss, is characterized by a number of special factors, such as the importance of talk shows, movies and early evening soap operas on some networks. Also the late evening news programs on the two French-language networks are broadcast at 10:30 p.m. and last for 30 minutes. On the other hand, because late evening news programs start at 11 p.m. on the English-language networks, they are not included in our analysis. The reader should therefore take this into consideration when interpreting the results.

General Categories (Fall 1975)

The major characteristics of network programming in Montreal in Fall 1975 are reflected in Table 1.

Throughout this study, the term "main categories" refers to all categories of programs representing at least 10 per cent of the total broadcast time of a network. If categories reached the 9 or 9.5 per cent level, however, we also took this into consideration in the discussion.

A total of ten distinct categories of programs may be identified when the list of the main categories of programs is computed for each network. On all networks, news programs are a major part of the programming, with the highest percentage found on Radio-Canada (30 per cent) and NBC (30 per cent). Even if the percentage on the French-language networks (Radio-Canada and TVA) is adjusted to exclude the

Table 1

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories

Radio-Canada		CBC		TVA	
News	30%	News	20%	Movies (most of these classified as comedy)	23%
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	19%	Comedy	17%		
		Music	15%	Talk shows	21%
Documentaries	10%	Drama	11%	News	20%
Public affairs	10%			Crime drama	12%
CTV		CBS		NBC	
Crime drama	28%	News	30%	Crime drama	30%
News	20%	Crime drama	14%	News	20%
Comedy	·12%	Comedy	14%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	13%
		Movies (most of these classified as drama)	10%		
		Game shows	10%		

marginal presence of late evening news at 10:30 p.m., this type of programming would still remain one of the major categories of programs presented. Generally, movies are the second most common type of program on most networks. The importance of movies is, however, greater on certain networks (Radio-Canada 19 per cent; TVA 23 per cent) than on others (CBS 13 per cent; NBC 10 per cent). Only CBC, which refrained from showing any movies (0 per cent), and CTV (7 per cent), were exceptions to this rule. Crime drama was the third most common category of programs (NBC 30 per cent; CTV 28 per cent; CBS 14 per cent; TVA 12 per cent).

For complete details on the importance of each category for each network, see Appendix Table 1. This table reports all category entries in terms of percentage of unit/programs and percentage of unit/minutes. If the other important categories on the top lists are examined, it can be seen that the differences in most part related to language (French versus English) and economic factors (private versus public ownership).

Language (Fall 1975)

To illustrate this more clearly, we collapsed our data in terms of language of broadcast, still retaining the distinction between Canadian English-language and American networks. The main categories of programs offered to viewers for Fall of 1975 in the Montreal area are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by language

English-language networks		American networks		French-language networks	
News	20%	News	25%	News	25%
Crime drama	16%	Crime drama	22%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	21%
Comedy	14.5%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	11.5%		
Music	10.5%			Talk shows	10.5%

Except for the overall importance of news programs on all networks, there appear to be some distinctive language-related differences in the type of television presented in the Montreal area. One of these appears to be the importance of crime drama programs on English-language (16 per cent) and American (22 per cent) networks compared to the French-language networks. Other differences can be seen in the exclusive presence of talk shows (10.5 per cent) on the French-language networks and the importance of comedies (14.5 per cent) and music (10.5 per cent) on the English-language networks and comedies (9 per cent) and game shows (9 per cent) on American networks. Finally, movies, which dominate the list of programs on the French-language networks (21 per cent), are also present on the American networks (11.5 per cent), although in a less obvious way. On the English-language networks, movies represent only 3.5 per cent of the television fare. Given the importance of movies on the French-language networks, we decided to sub-categorize this type of program and to verify if in fact crime drama, which is important on English-language networks, is also present in French-language programming, but in a movie rather than a series format. This, however, was not found to be the case, since the predominant content of these movies was drama. (See Appendix Table II for details).

Public and Private Networks (Fall 1975)

If one part of the diversity of television programs in the Montreal area can be explained by the language factor, another part appears to be related to the economic variable. Data was collapsed in terms of ownership of networks – public Canadian, private Canadian, and American. Table 3 presents this data.

Table 3

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
News	25%	Crime drama	20%	News	25%
Comedy	11.5%	News	20%	Crime drama	22%
Movies (most of these described as drama)	9.5%	Movies (most of these described as comedy)	15%	Movies (most of these described as drama)	11.5%
		Talk shows	10.5%		

If the main categories of programs shown on public Canadian, private Canadian, and private American networks during the Fall of 1975 season are examined, it can be seen that all networks presented similar percentages of news programs. Also, private Canadian networks and private American networks offered a substantial number of crime drama programs. Comedy, on the other hand, predominates only on public Canadian networks. Movies remain important for all networks. Finally, game shows (9 per cent) on public Canadian networks, and talk shows (10.5 per cent) on private Canadian networks complete this list.

In the case of talk shows, however, we know already that the importance of this category is due solely to the private French-language (TVA), network. For more details, see Appendix Table III.

Private Canadian networks (especially the English one) appear to have more in common with private American networks than with their public Canadian network counterparts in what they choose to offer their audiences. Radio-Canada and CBC on the other hand, seem to offer different programming fare to their audiences and also greater variety.

In the Montreal market there appears to be an inter-actional effect between the economic and language variables which accounts for the variety of programs offered to the population. This will become even more obvious as we discuss the preferences Montreal viewers show in their selection of programs. Before presenting this information, however, it is important to discuss another factor of importance – that is, the level of Canadian production.

Culture (Fall 1975)

Our data on television programming offered in the Fall of 1975 in the Montreal area was also analyzed in terms of Canadian content. Although the distinction is not made in this study, it must be understood that Canadian productions on the French-language networks are almost exclusively produced locally in Montreal and bear certain regional characteristics. These could more appropriately be labelled *fait au Québec* than "Made in Canada". Table 4 gives the percentage of productions (based on unit/minutes) produced in Canada, the United States, and other countries (mostly European countries). For obvious reasons, only programming on Canadian networks could be analyzed in this fashion.

Table 4

Percentage of Canadian productions by network
(excluding news programs)

Network Country of origin	Radio-Canada		CBC		TVA		CTV	
Canada	70%	(58%)	65%	(56%)	59%	(49%)	40%	(24%)
U.S.	23%	(33%)	24%	(30%)	31%	(39%)	59%	(74%)
Other	7%	(9%)	11%	(14%)	10%	(12%)	1%	(2%)

The highest percentage of Canadian production is found on both state-owned networks (Radio-Canada and CBC). In private industry, however, it is surprising to note the different profiles presented by French- and English-language networks. CTV relies heavily on American productions for its prime-time programming, whereas TVA still relies for the most part on Canadian productions. Furthermore CTV is not only the biggest importer of foreign productions but it also shows the lowest percentage of diversity in the number of countries it chooses to buy from.

Recognizing that news programs (which are all Canadian productions, of course) account for a major part of the programming, we decided to reconsider our data excluding this category of programs from our analysis. The figures in parenthesis in Table 4 present this information.

Results illustrate even more clearly what was discussed above. CTV reflects the greatest drop (16 per cent) in Canadian content programs; all other networks still predominantly present Canadian productions to their viewers.

Pursuing our analysis further, we examined, in terms of these same variables, the types of programming offered in Montreal during Spring of 1976.

General Categories (Spring 1976)

The major characteristics of network programming in Spring 1976 in the Montreal area are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories

Radio-Canada		CBC		TVA	
News	30%	Comedy	25%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	22%
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	13%	News	20%	News	20%
		Public affairs	10%	Talk shows	20%
Public affairs	10%			Crime drama	11%

CTV		CBS		NBC	
Crime drama	30%	News	30%	Crime drama	33%
News	20%	Crime drama	16%	News	20%
Comedy	15%	Comedy	14%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	11%
		Drama	11%	Variety	10%
		Game shows	10%		

Montreal viewers continued to be offered in the Spring a similar variety of programs to those presented in the Fall. A total of nine distinct categories of programs are identifiable when the lists of the categories of programs are computed for each network. Few major differences could be found between Fall and Spring programming. Radio-Canada's documentaries which represented 10 per cent of all programs in the Fall, decreased to 5 per cent in the Spring; sports programs, however, increased from 4 to 7 per cent in the Spring. This might be explained by the upcoming Olympic events. CBC comedy programs appeared even more important in the Spring (25 per cent) than in the Fall (17 per cent). Public affairs (10 per cent) also were more present in Spring programming, while music (Spring 8 per cent; Fall 15 per cent) and Drama (Spring 8 per cent; Fall 11 per cent) decreased. TVA has almost identical figures for Spring and Fall. CTV still presented in the Spring mainly crime drama (30 per cent), news (20 per cent) and comedies (15 per cent), but increased its sports programming to 8 per cent. Finally, CBS decreased its number of movies (Spring 4 per cent; Fall 10 per cent) in favour of drama programs (Spring 11 per cent; Fall 6 per cent) and NBC slightly increased its number of variety programs (Spring 10 per cent; Fall 7 per cent). In those main categories (top three) which represent more than 50 per cent of programming time in all networks, Fall and Spring television fare appeared, all and all, quite similar. For more details on the importance of each category, see a complete presentation of this data in Table IV of Appendix.

Language (Spring 1976)

Data for television programming presented during the Spring of 1976 is collapsed in terms of the language variable in Table 6.

Table 6

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by language of broadcast

English-language networks		American networks		French-language networks	
Comedy	20%	News	25%	News	25%
News	20%	Crime drama	24.5%	Movies (most of these classified as crime drama	17.5%
Crime drama	18.5%	Comedy	11%		
		Drama	9.5%	Talk shows	10%

News programs share equally important time periods on English-language, American, and French-language networks. Crime drama programs appear on two of the three lists. This category of programs truly predominates on the American networks (24.5 per cent) and on English-language networks (18.5 per cent). As for other categories, drama programs are added to the American networks' list.

American network programming reflects a decrease in importance of movies (Spring 7.5 per cent; Fall 11.5 per cent). A similar trend is also found on French-language networks (Spring 17.5 per cent; Fall 21 per cent).

In the latter case, movies were predominantly of the crime drama type. This slight shift from drama (in the Fall) to crime drama (in the Spring) must be interpreted in context. About half of the movies in the Spring (i.e. half of 17 per cent) were of the crime drama type. This represents, then, approximately 8 per cent of the total programming.

Overall, patterns similar to those found in the Fall were present in the Spring, and cultural differences still played a major role in type of programming offered to the Montreal population. For more details, see Appendix Table V.

Public and Private Networks (Spring 1976)

Data collapsed in terms of public Canadian, private Canadian, and private American networks is shown in Table 7.

In the Spring (1976), concentration of program categories was almost identical to that already discussed for the Fall data. The only exception in the Spring was the exclusion of game shows and the addition of drama programs on private American networks. Crime drama continued to predominate on all private networks. Comedies and public affairs programs remained the main staple of public Canadian networks. For more details, see Appendix Table VI.

Table 7

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
News	25%	Crime drama	20.5%	News	25%
Comedy	15.5%	News	20%	Crime drama	24.5%
Public affairs	10%	Movies (most of these equally classified as drama, crime drama, and comedy)	12.5%	Comedy	11%
				Drama	9.5%
		Talk shows	10%		

Table 8

Percentage of Canadian productions by network
(excluding news)

Network Country of origin	Radio-Canada		CBC		TVA		CTV	
Canada	78%	(68%)	63%	(53%)	61%	(52%)	44%	(30%)
U.S.	12%	(18%)	32%	(40%)	29%	(36%)	55%	(69%)
Other	10%	(14%)	5%	(7%)	10%	(12%)	1%	(1%)

Culture (Spring 1976)

The importance of Canadian productions in Canadian network programming was also analyzed for the Spring period.

Overall, in the Spring, Canadian networks appear to have slightly increased their percentage of Canadian content; this is most evident in Radio-Canada's programming where content was 70 per cent Canadian in the Fall of 1975 and 78 per cent in the Spring. This increase was for the most part at the expense of U.S. productions (Spring 12 per cent; Fall 23 per cent) given that imports from other countries increased (Spring 10 per cent; Fall 7 per cent). On the other hand, an opposite trend appears on CBC where imports from other countries dropped to 5 per cent in the Spring compared to the 11 per cent recorded in the Fall. The other two networks, TVA and CTV, showed little variance and the latter remained the only Canadian network in the Montreal area to present predominantly American programs.

Excluding news programs, the Spring patterns were similar to those discussed in Fall data, with CTV showing the greatest decrease in Canadian content (14 per cent).

Overall then, in the Montreal area, except for minor seasonal fluctuations, television programming broadcast during the two time periods investigated (Fall 1975, Spring 1976) was characterized by a number of different program profiles. For the most part these are explained by language-related factors, cultural factors, and also, to some extent, economic factors.

Montreal

B) Audience Ratings Information

The data presented in this section shows which types of programming were watched most, as determined by BBM audience rating reports. In this part of our analysis, certain irregularities made comparisons difficult between the Fall and Spring seasons. Because of a mail strike in the Fall of 1975, BBM was not able to collect information in its usual systematic fashion. The Fall information, therefore, lacked detail and did not have the same precision and validity usually found in BBM reports. We thus chose to analyze from the special Fall report only the data which could be relatively well compared with that made available in the Spring reports. Because of these discrepancies, our results are presented in the following form:

Methodology

In terms of estimated populations, BBM defines two specific types of audiences, one in the Full Coverage Area and one in the Central Area. BBM defines these concepts as follows:

Full Coverage Area contains all those counties or census divisions or other BBM reporting areas where reportable stations may be viewed, either directly off-air, or via cable. The Full Coverage Area includes the Central Area. Note that all reported stations may be receivable throughout the entire Full Coverage Area. (Estimated population for the Montreal Full Coverage Area is 4,261,670 persons.)

Central Area[6] is either a census metropolitan area, a county, a census division or a group of counties or census divisions. The actual definition of the Central Area for this report will be found on the Market Data Page. All audience data for the Central Area is shown in percentage form – either as ratings or audience shares. (Estimated population for the Central Montreal Area is 2,811,890 persons.)

For the purpose of our study we transformed and estimated percentage forms for Central Area into number of viewers, as reported for the Full Coverage Area. *Although we are aware that these numbers should not be taken at their absolute value, they are fairly accurate estimates of the general preferences of audiences.*

Given that, in BBM's special fall report, data pertaining only to Central Area audiences are reported, no comparative information between Fall and Spring can be presented for Full Coverage Area data. Although in major metropolitan areas, Central and Full Coverage Area audiences tend to show little variance, in smaller areas there are differences in audience preferences. Therefore, for the Spring, these two types of data (Central and Full Coverage Area) are presented. As previously mentioned, data reported for Full Coverage Area will also take into consideration audience classifications in terms of sex and age.

Given that BBM is considered by both government and the industry to be a reliable and valid source of information for audience ratings, we shall not proceed to define further the methodology used for their collection of data. For more details, the reader is advised to consult the Glossary and Introduction chapters included in each BBM report.

Central Area (Fall 1975)

In the Central Area, the 30 most popular television programs watched in the Fall of 1975 by the total population (two years old and older) in Montreal are presented in Table 9.

The first and most obvious observation is that only Radio-Canada and TVA, the two French-language networks, have programs represented on the list. The private French-language network, TVA, dominates, with 23 out of 30 programs. A close examination of Table 9 reveals that two programs (*Le 10 vous informe* and *Parle, parle, jase, jase*) which are shown every day of the week, represent one-third (10/30) of the total list of preferred programs. Finally, there is a strong predominance of Canadian productions. To estimate this accurately, for movies, we subdivided each movie unit into three (representing the three weeks surveyed), given that BBM does not usually report movies individually. This means that country of origin for each movie has a .3 unit mention or value. This thus revealed that 22 of the 30 preferred programs were Canadian productions.

To understand this data more clearly we collapsed the information by category of programs.

Table 10 presents this information in terms of unit programs and unit/minutes. As previously mentioned, the two forms of analysis reveal quite similar results, except for programs in the movie category. To evaluate better the overall importance of categories of programs, we interpret our findings only in terms of unit/minutes.

Movies predominated as the most popular category of program Montrealers chose to watch. When we considered what types of movies had been presented in the Fall during the three weeks of the BBM survey, we found that comedies (N-5), drama (N-4), crime (N-3), and one western movie had been shown. Talk shows (19 per cent), these exclusively presented on TVA, were the second most popular form of entertainment. Crime drama ranked third and represented 11 per cent of the time spent watching favourite programs.

Excluding movies, talk shows, and news programs there was a diversity of programs (comedy, music, soap opera, public affairs, and drama) which were not predominantly offered in the Fall programming but which were highly popular with Montreal viewers. In fact, among the four most popular programs in Montreal, two were soap operas, one was a comedy and one was a movie.

Table 9

The 30 most popular television programs watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Montreal area*

Central Area
Estimated population 2,811,890

Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1. *Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Soap opera	927,923
2. *Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comedy	815,448
3. *Dr Jivago* (R-C)	U.S.	Movie	815,448
4. *Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Soap opera	759,210
5. *Parle, jase* (Mon.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	618,615
6. *Hawaii Five-0* (TVA)	U.S.	Crime drama	590,496
7. *Le 10 vous informe* (Mon.) (TVA)	Can.	News	506,140
8. *Parle, jase* (Tues.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	506,140
9. *Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	506,140
10. *Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Drama	478,021
11. *Parle, jase* (Wed.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	478,021
12. *La P'tite semaine* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	449,902
13. *Kojak* (TVA)	U.S.	Crime drama	449,902
14. *Médecin d'aujourd'hui* (TVA)	U.S.	Medical drama	449,902
15. *Le 10 vous informe* (Tues.) (TVA)	Can.	News	421,783
16. *Vedettes à nu* (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	421,783
17. *Parle, jase* (Thurs.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	393,664
18. *Parle, jase* (Fri.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	393,664
19. *A la canadienne* (TVA)	Can.	Music	393,664
20. *Découvertes '75* (TVA)	Can.	Music	393,664
21. *Jeudi 8h30* (TVA)	U.S./Fr./U.S.	Movie	393,664
22. *Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Public affairs	365,545
23. *Télésélection* (R-C)	U.S.	Movie	365,545
24. *Le 10 vous informe* (Wed.) (TVA)	Can.	News	365,545
25. *Le 10 vous informe* (Thurs.) (TVA)	Can.	News	365,545
26. *Le Ranch à Willie* (TVA)	Can.	Music	365,545
27. *Les grandes Productions* (TVA)	U.S./Fr./Brit.	Movie	365,545
28. *Les Incorruptibles* (TVA)	U.S.	Crime drama	365,545
29. *Le 10 vous informe* (Fri.) (TVA)	Can.	News	337,426
30. *Cinéma sur demande* (TVA)	U.S.	Movie	337,426

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Fall 1975.)

Table 10

The 30 most popular television programs/per category watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Montreal area*

Central Area
Estimated population 2,811,890

Program category	Units per program	Program category	Units per minute
Talk show	20%	Movie	38%
Movie	17%	Talk show	19%
News	17%	Crime drama	11%
Comedy	10%	News	9%
Music	10%	Comedy	5%
Crime drama	10%	Music	5%
Soap opera	7%	Soap opera	3.3%
Drama	3%	Public affairs	3.3%
Public affairs	3%	Medical drama	3.3%
Medical drama	3%	Drama	2%

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Fall 1975.)

Central Area (Spring 1976)

Table 11 presents the 30 most popular television programs watched during the Spring by the total population in the Montreal Central Area.

Table 11

The 30 most popular television programs watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Montreal area*

Central Area
Estimated population 2,811,890

Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1. *Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Soap opera	927,923
2. *Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comedy	843,567
3. *Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Soap opera	815,448
4. *Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	702,972
5. *Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Drama	562,378
6. *La p'tite semaine* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	534,259
7. *Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Public affairs	478,021
8. *Télésélection* (Mon.) (R-C)	U.S./Brit./U.S.	Movie	478,021
9. *Quelle Famille* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	449,902
10. *Parle, jase* (Mon.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	449,902
11. *Parle, jase* (Tues.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	421,783
12. *Hawaii Five-0* (TVA)	U.S.	Crime drama	421,783
13. *Le Monde de Disney* (R-C)	U.S.	Adventure	421,783
14. *Parle, jase* (Wed.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	421,783
15. *Le 10 vous informe* (Mon.) (TVA)	Can.	News	393,664
16. *La Corne d'abondance* (TVA)	Can.	Other	393,664
17. *Les grandes Productions* (TVA)	U.S./Brit./U.S.	Movie	393,664
18. *Le Travail à la chaîne* (R-C)	Can.	Game	393,664
19. *Parle, jase* (Thurs.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	365,545
20. *Le 10 vous informe* (Tues.) (TVA)	Can.	News	365,545
21. *Le 10 vous informe* (Wed.)(TVA)	Can.	News	365,545
22. *Médecin d'aujourd'hui* (TVA)	U.S.	Medical drama	365,545
23. *Soirée du Hockey* (R-C)	Can.	Sports	365,545
24. *Parle, jase* (Fri.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	365,545
25. *Ranch à Willie* (TVA)	Can.	Music	365,545
26. *Découvertes '76* (TVA)	Can	Music	337,426
27. *J-P. Ferland* (TVA)	Can.	Documentary	337,426
28. *Qui dit vrai* (TVA)	Can.	Game	337,426
29. *Jeudi 8h30* (TVA)	Fr./U.S./Brit.	Movie	337,426
30. *Kojak* (TVA)	U.S.	Crime drama	337,426

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Spring 1975.)

Table 12

The 30 most popular television programs/per category watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Montreal area*

Central Area
Estimated population 2,811,890

Program category	Units per program	Program category	Units per minute
Talk show	17%	Movie	21%
Comedy	14%	Talk show	19%
Movie	10%	Sports	10%
News	10%	Comedy	7%
Soap opera	7%	Crime drama	7%
Music	7%	News	6%
Game	7%	Soap opera	4%
Crime drama	7%	Public affairs	4%
Other	3%	Adventure	4%
Sports	3%	Music	4%
Medical drama	3%	Game	4%
Adventure	3%	Medical drama	4%
Drama	3%	Documentary	3%
Public affairs	3%	Drama	2%
Documentary	3%	Other	1%

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

For the most part, the data reveals only minor variations from the Fall list of preferred programs. Again, only the two French-language networks (Radio-Canada and TVA) were represented; TVA had the major share of the market with 20 out of 30 programs listed. In the Spring, talk shows (*Parle, parle, jase, jase*) and news (*Le 10 vous informe*) continued to be important on this list (seven out of 30). Canadian productions again predominated in the Spring list, with 24 out of 30 programs produced in Canada.

If this information is considered in terms of categories of programs, the types most popular in the Spring were movies, although to a lesser extent (Fall 39 per cent; Spring 21 per cent), and talk shows (Spring 19 per cent; Fall 19 per cent). Movies were equally divided between drama and crime drama. Soap operas and comedies remained steady favourites and still ranked very highly in terms of audience share on the list. (See Table 12.)

The one interesting point of dissimilarity between Fall and Spring is that, as well as the same categories of programs which appeared in the Fall, the Spring list includes a number of new categories of programs. The top 30 television programs in the Spring for the Montreal area now also include sports (10 per cent), adventure (4 per cent), game shows (4 per cent), documentaries (3 per cent), and other types (1 per cent) of programs. This means that 15 different categories (compared to 10 in the Fall) are represented on this list of the 30 most popular television programs.

Full Coverage (Spring 1976)
Audience ratings for the Full Coverage Area, show the 30 most popular programs in the Spring are almost identical with those expressed for the Central Area. As Table 13 shows, only slight variations appear in rank order. Towards the lower end of the list, however, there are two additions: *Marcus Welby, M.D.* (medical drama) and *Les Pierrafeu* (cartoon).

Table 13

The 30 most popular television programs watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Montreal area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 4,261,670

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Soap opera	1,423,800
2.	*Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comedy	1,308,300
3.	*Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Soap opera	1,153,800
4.	*Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	994,900
5.	*Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Drama	791,700
6.	*La p'tite semaine* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	735,400
7.	*Parle, jase* (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	711,900
8.	*Quelle Famille* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	698,800
9.	*Le 10 vous informe* (Mon.) (TVA)	Can.	News	681,600
10.	*Télésélection* (R-C)	Brit./U.S./U.S.	Movie	661,600
11.	*Parle, jase* (Tues.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	657,400
12.	*Parle, jase* (Wed.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	644,600
13.	*Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Public affairs	643,500
14.	*Hawaii Five-0* (TVA)	U.S.	Crime drama	637,800
15.	*Le Monde de Disney* (R-C)	U.S.	Adventure	636,400
16.	*Le 10 vous informe* (Tues.) (TVA)	Can.	News	629,900
17.	*Parle, jase* (Thurs.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	612,400
18.	*Médecin d'aujourd'hui* (TVA)	U.S.	Medical drama	583,100
19.	*Parle, jase* (Fri.) (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	582,900
20.	*Le Ranch à Willie* (TVA)	Can.	Music	581,700
21.	*Les grandes Productions* (TVA)	U.S./Fr./U.S.	Movie	575,900
22.	*La Corne d'abondance* (TVA)	Can.	Other	565,200
23.	*Le 10 vous informe* (Wed.) (TVA)	Can.	News	563,300
24.	*Le Travail à la chaîne* (R-C)	Can.	Game	558,800
25.	*Le 10 vous informe* (Thurs.) (TVA)	Can.	News	542,600
26.	*Découvertes '76* (TVA)	Can.	Music	539,400
27.	*Kojak* (TVA)	U.S.	Crime drama	535,700
28.	*Marcus Welby* (R-C)	U.S.	Medical drama	518,700
29.	*Les Pierrafeu* (R-C)	U.S.	Cartoon	502,400
30.	*A la canadienne* (TVA)	Can.	Music	489,500

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Table 14

The 30 most popular television programs/by category watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Montreal area*

Full Coverage
Estimated population 4,261,670

Program category	Units per program	Program category	Units per minute
Talk show	17%	Talk show	22%
Comedy	13.5%	Movie	16%
News	13.5%	Comedy	9%
Music	10%	News	9%
Movie	7%	Medical drama	9%
Soap opera	7%	Crime drama	9%
Crime drama	7%	Music	7%
Medical drama	7%	Soap opera	4%
Public affairs	3%	Public affairs	4%
Drama	3%	Adventure	4%
Adventure	3%	Cartoons	2%
Game	3%	Game	2%
Cartoons	3%	Drama	2%
Other	3%	Other	1%

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Thus, representation of categories of programs for the Full Coverage Area is just as diversified as that for the Central Area. As Table 14 shows, talk shows and movies still predominate. Other types of programs are identical with those reported for Central Area, except for cartoons which appear only on the Full Coverage Area list and sports which appear only on the Central Area list.

As mentioned earlier, in large metropolitan areas there are seldom major differences in viewers' preferences between Central and Full Coverage Areas.

Sex

To complete our analysis of the Montreal market, we analyzed our data in terms of the programming preferred by sex and by age groups. We computed from BBM reports the ten most popular television programs for men and women in the Spring of 1976 for the Full Coverage Area. Table 15 reveals that for the most part, men and women show similar preferences in their choice of programs. Seven of the ten most popular programs are the same for both groups, although they vary somewhat in rank order. The main exceptions to

this rule are the two news programs on the men's list compared with only one on the women's list; women had two talk shows on their list. On the other hand, the men's list also has movies and crime drama programs. All programs on the women's list and eight of ten on the men's list are Canadian productions. Considering audience size, women appear to be much more avid viewers than men. The first-choice program reached 600,900 women, whereas the first-choice program for men reached only 401,600. (See Table 15.)

Age

Our data was broken down into three age groups – adults, 18 years old and older; teenagers, 12 to 17 years old; and children two to 11 years old. Note that the data in this study, deals only with those programs broadcast between 6 p.m. and 11 p.m.

Overall, three programs (two comedies and one soap opera) are generally preferred by all three age groups. Then, comparing lists, it can be seen that teenagers and children have the most in common in preferred programs. These two groups share eight out of ten programs, most of these being comedies and adventure programs. The adult list is mostly composed of soap operas, talk shows, and news programs. The latter two are completely excluded from both teenagers' and children's lists. (See Table 16.)

All ten programs on the adults' list are Canadian productions. Eight of ten programs on teenagers' lists and seven of ten on children's lists are Canadian. Size of audience for the most popular programs is quite similar between teenagers (237,700) and children (222,300). Adult viewing of the most popular programs reached 995,900.

Finally, although adults choose most of their programs on the French-language TVA network (seven of ten programs), teenagers (seven of ten) and children (eight of ten programs) choose their programs predominantly from the French-language Radio-Canada network.

Table 15

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (women 18 years and older) in the Montreal area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 4,261,670

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Soap opera	600,900
2.	*Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Soap opera	594,300
3.	*Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comedy	465,500
4.	*Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	369,400
5.	*Parle, jase* (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	356,800
6.	*Parle, jase* (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	341,100
7.	*Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Public affairs	337,200
8.	*Le 10 vous informe* (TVA)	Can.	News	331,000
9.	*Parle, jase* (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	324,100
10.	*Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Drama	304,600

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (men 18 years old and older) in the Montreal area*

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audi- rating
1.	*Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Soap opera	401,600
2.	*Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comedy	398,800
3.	*Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Soap opera	326,200
4.	*Le 10 vous informe* (TVA)	Can.	News	276,000
5.	*Parle, jase* (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	265,200
6.	*Le 10 vous informe* (TVA)	Can.	News	263,500
7.	*Télésélection* (R-C)	Brit./U.S./U.S.	Movie	255,700
8.	*Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	251,600
9.	*Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Public affairs	251,000
10.	*Hawaii Five-0* (TVA)	U.S.	Crime drama	250,100

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Table 16

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (18 years old and older) in the Montreal area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 4,261,670

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Soap opera	995,900
2.	*Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Soap opera	927,100
3.	*Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comedy	863,500
4.	*Parle, jase* (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	622,000
5.	*Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	621,000
6.	*Le 10 vous informe* (TVA)	Can.	News	607,000
7.	*Le 60* (R-C)	Can.	Public affairs	588,200
8.	*Parle, jase* (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	582,600
9.	*Le 10 vous informe* (TVA)	Can.	News	557,900
10.	*Parle, jase* (TVA)	Can.	Talk show	551,700

The 10 most popular television programs watched by teenagers (12 to 17 years old) in the Montreal area*

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comedy	237,700
2.	*Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Soap opera	205,600
3.	*Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	196,300
4.	*Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Drama	164,400
5.	*Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Soap opera	155,800
6.	*Quelle Famille* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	148,300
7.	*La p'tite semaine* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	111,000
8.	*Disney* (R-C)	U.S.	Adventure	99,800
9.	*Robinson suisse* (R-C)	Can.	Adventure	95,800
10.	*Les grandes Productions* (TVA)	U.S./Fr./U.S.	Movie	95,600

The 10 most popular television programs watched by children (two to 11 years old) in the Montreal area*

Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience Rating
1. *Les Berger* (TVA)	Can.	Soap opera	222,300
2. *Quelle famille* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	212,400
3. *Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comedy	207,100
4. *Le Monde de Disney* (R-C)	U.S.	Adventure	178,300
5. *Y'a pas de problème* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	177,600
6. *Les Pierrafeu* (R-C)	U.S.	Cartoon	171,900
7. *Robinson suisse* (R-C)	Can.	Adventure	138,400
8. *La P'tite semaine* (R-C)	Can.	Comedy	133,900
9. *Avec le temps* (R-C)	Can.	Drama	115,300
10. *Marcus Welby* (R-C)	U.S.	Medical drama	110,400

*(As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Toronto

A) Available Television Programming

Demographic Characteristics

In the 1971 census, the total population for the Metropolitan Toronto area[7] was 2,628,045, of which 1,300,525 were men and 1,327,500 women. The average number of persons per family was 3.4 and the average number of children per family was 1.5. Average family income was $11,841. For mother tongue, 1,940,735 persons specified English, 45,570 persons specified French, and 641,735 persons mentioned other languages. For language spoken at home, 2,148,950 specified English, 189,420 Italian, 30,300 German, 22,570 Ukrainian, 20,580 French, 19,555 Polish, and 4,020 Dutch.

Ethnic group totals in the Toronto metropolitan area are 1,495,295 British; 271,755 Italian; 116,640 German; 91,975 French; 71,030 Asian; 60,755 Ukrainian; 51,185 Polish; 44,430 Dutch; 23,350 Hungarian; 18,360 Scandinavian; and 5,265 Russian.

In the Toronto area, then, 57 per cent of the population is of British descent and 43 per cent from other cultures. Toronto has access to the greatest number of television network signals. It is also one of the main production centres of television programming.

Television Broadcasting Characteristics

In the Toronto area, we shall investigate the programming offered by those networks which share the major part of the audience market. These are: English-language state-subsidized CBC (CBLT – 5) and its French-language counterpart, Radio-Canada (CBLFT – 25); the English-language privately-owned CTV network (CFTO – 9); the English-language independent Hamilton station (CHCH – 11); and the English-language independent Global network in Uxbridge (CKGN – 22). Three

American networks, CBS in Buffalo (WBEN – 4), NBC in Buffalo (WGR – 2), and ABC in Buffalo (WKBW – 7), which can be viewed in the Toronto area, will also be considered in this study. Audience size and other considerations dissuaded us from including two other stations (CITY – 79 in Toronto and WUTV – 29 in Buffalo) which are also available to Toronto viewers. Finally, there is OECA (Ontario Educational Communications Authority) or TVOntario, the provincially owned educational network which attempts to bridge the gap between education and entertainment. It offers, among other things, French programs for francophones and bilingual viewers. Although its market share is not strongly competitive with the other major networks, it is of interest, because is does offer an alternative type of programming. Therefore, the content of its programming and audience ratings will thus be presented separately at the end of this section.

In the Toronto market there is considerable overlapping between Canadian and American networks for certain program categories. To estimate accurately audience size and program popularity, ratings for the same program are combined when it is broadcast on two different networks *at the same time*. When this occurs, the networks involved are identifed in our tables. Another factor in Toronto programming is the presence of late evening news presented at 10 p.m. on Global and 10:30 p.m. on Radio-Canada. These are computed in our analysis, but remain an exception in comparison with other networks.

As reported by BBM[8] the estimated percentage of households with cable service in the Toronto market is 68 per cent. One might hypothesize that cable service distributed to this extent and assuring a higher number of available networks might automatically guarantee a greater diversity of programming in the Toronto area. This is one of the questions we will attempt to answer. Finally, the percentage of homes with colour television sets is estimated to be 62 per cent.

Table 17

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories

CBC (CBLT)		CTV (CFTO)		Independent (CHCH)	
News	20%	Crime drama	28%	Crime drama	27%
Comedy	19%	Game shows	13%	Game shows	12%
Music	13%	Comedy	11%	Music	11%
Variety	12%	News	10%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	11%
		Movies (most of these classified as drama)	10%	News	10%

Global (CKGN)		Radio-Canada (CBLFT)		NBC (WGR)	
News	29%	News	29%	News	21%
Crime drama	22%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	22%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	18%
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	22%	Documentaries	12%	Crime drama	17%
Comedy	16%	Public affairs	11.5%	Drama	10%
				Sports	10%

CBS (WBEN)		ABC (WKBW)	
News	31%	News	20%
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	14%	Game shows	19%
Comedy	13%	Sports	18%
Sports	13%	Crime drama	17%
Crime drama	11%		

General Categories (Fall 1975)

The major characteristics of network programming in Toronto in Fall 1975 are reflected in summary Table 17.

With eight major networks at his disposal, the average Toronto viewer is offered a total of nine distinct program categories (drama, variety, movies, sports, game shows, comedy, news, music and crime drama) on English-language networks and two more distinct types of programs (public affairs, documentaries) on the French-language network.

On all networks, news is a major part of programming, with the highest percentages registered by CBS (31 per cent) an American network, and Radio-Canada (29 per cent) the French-language network. CHCH (10 per cent) and CTV (10 per cent) have the lowest percentage of news programs. Crime drama and movies are the second most common types of program on five of the eight networks. Only CBC (4 per cent) and Radio-Canada (0 per cent) fail to present substantial amounts of crime drama and CBC (0 per cent) and ABC (6 per cent) seldom show movies. The greatest promoter of crime drama-type programs is CTV (28 per cent), closely followed by CHCH (27 per cent). Clearly Canadian networks now surpass their southern neighbours as the

principal promoters of this type of violent program-ming. Movies (22 per cent) are most often presented on Radio-Canada. The third most common category of program presented by four of eight networks is comedy (CBC 19 per cent, Global 16 per cent, CBS 13 per cent, CTV 11 per cent).

Complete details on the importance of each category for each network are in Appendix Table VII; all category entries are reported in terms of percentage of unit programs and percentage of unit/minutes.

Language (Fall 1975)

The data reported above indicates that in both language of broadcast and content, at least one network (Radio-Canada) is marginal to the others in what it offers its audience. To illustrate this more clearly we collapsed our data in terms of this variable while retaining the distinction between Canadian English-language and American networks. The main program categories offered to viewers for Fall of 1975 in the Toronto area are presented in Table 18.

Table 18

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by language

English-language networks		American networks		French-language networks	
Crime drama	20%	News	24%	News	29%
News	17%	Crime drama	15%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	22%
Comedy	12%	Sports	14%		
				Documentaries	12%
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	11%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	12%	Public affairs	11.5%

Except for the overall predominance of news programs on all networks, there appear to be some distinct language-related differences in the type of programming presented to Toronto viewers. One of these is the importance of crime drama programs on English-language (20 percent) and American (15 per cent) networks, compared to the French-language network. Another difference is the high number of documentaries (12 per cent) and public affairs (11.5 per cent) programs on the French-language network compared to the English-language (2 and 4 per cent respectively) and American networks (2 and 1 per cent respectively). Comedy programs are scheduled more often on English-language (12 per cent) and American (9 per cent) networks. Sports programs appear frequently only on American networks (14 per cent). Finally, movies are important on all networks, but especially on the French-language network (22 per cent). Given this importance of movies on the French-language network we subcategorized this type of program, as we had done for the Montreal market, and discovered that the predominant movie type is drama. (See Appendix Table 8.)

Table 19

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
News	24.5%	Crime drama	26%	News	24%
Comedy	11.5%	News	16%	Crime drama	15%
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	11%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	14%	Sports	14%
Public affairs	10%	Comedy	10%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	12%

Public and Private Networks (Fall 1975)

As we analyzed our data it became evident that language was important, but differences seem to be related to the economic variable as well. Data was collapsed in terms of public Canadian and private Canadian and American ownership of networks. Table 19 presents this data.

All networks – public Canadian, private Canadian, and private American – presented similar percentages and types of movies during the Fall of 1975. News programs are also a main ingredient, although less important on private Canadian networks (16 per cent). Private Canadian networks offer the greatest amount of time for crime drama (26 per cent) programs, compared to 15 percent in the private American networks. Public Canadian networks offer very little (2 per cent) of this type of program, choosing instead to offer public affairs (10 per cent) presentations. Comedies have an equally important share of time in both public (11.5 per cent) and private (10 per cent) Canadian networks, as does coverage of sports (14 per cent) for the private American networks.

It appears that in the Toronto market economic considerations are important to the structure of television programming. In both the main categories and the percentage of time for each, the three types of network have quite different programming profiles. (See Appendix Table 9.)

Culture (Fall 1975)

Our data was also analyzed in terms of Canadian content. Table 20 gives the percentage of productions (based on unit/minutes) produced in Canada, the United States, and other countries (predominantly European). Only Canadian networks were analyzed from this perspective.

Table 20

Percentage of Canadian productions by network
(excluding news programs)

Network Country of origin	Radio-Canada (CBLFT)		CBC (CBLT)		CTV (CFTO)		Independent (CHCH)		Global (CKGN)	
Canada	67.5%	(54%)	66%	(57%)	37%	(29%)	38%	(30%)	39.5%	(15%)
U.S.	25%	(36%)	28%	(35%)	60%	(67%)	62%	(70%)	60.5%	(85%)
Other	7.5%	(10%)	6%	(8%)	3%	(4%)	0%	(0%)	0%	(0%)

The highest percentage of Canadian production is found on the two state-owned networks. On the other hand, Canadian content does not even reach the 40 per cent level on the private networks; these networks are the biggest importers of foreign productions, and the U.S. has a virtual monopoly on the programs they purchase. CHCH has the highest level here, with 62 per cent U.S. productions on the air.

Recognizing that news programs (Canadian productions) account for a major part of programming, we reanalyzed our data, as we did for other markets, excluding this category. The second column in Table 20 presents this information.

Results show that although both state-owned networks reflect a drop they still continue to present predominantly Canadian productions (Radio-Canada 54 per cent; CBC 57 per cent). Global which, as we saw previously, has a high percentage of news programs, shows the greatest drop (i.e. a decrease of 24.5 per cent). It appears that, if Toronto viewers exclusively watched the Canadian private networks, they would be subject to more American values and images than Canadian ones. This hypothesis can only be tested by examining the *preferences* Toronto viewers express in their selection of programs.

Before presenting this information, however, we will complete this part of our analysis by examining the types of programming offered in Toronto during the Spring of 1976.

General Categories (Spring 1976)

Table 21 presents for each network the principal categories of programs (unit/minutes) broadcast in the Toronto area in the Spring of 1976.

The average Toronto viewer appears to have been offered a smaller variety of programs in the Spring than in the Fall – a total of eight distinct program categories compared with 11 in the Fall. Music, variety, and documentary programs are those which have been dropped from the lists.

All networks appear to have brought certain modifications to their Spring programming. The importance of news, crime drama, comedy, and game show programs on Canadian networks is similar to that found in the Fall. Crime drama programs still predominate on CTV (29 per cent), Global (27 per cent) and Independent CHCH (24 per cent). News remains the principal category presented on Radio-Canada (30 per cent) and CBC (20 per cent). In terms of specific variations, in the Spring

Table 21

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories

CBC (CBLT)		CTV (CFTO)		Independent (CHCH)	
News	20%	Crime drama	29%	Crime drama	24%
Comedy	20%	Comedy	13%	Game shows	10%
Public affairs	10%	Game shows	12%	News	10%
		News	10%		
Global (CKGN)		Radio-Canada (CBLFT)		NBC (WGR)	
News	27%	News	30%	Crime drama	25%
Crime drama	21%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	19%	News	20%
Sports	19%			Movies (most of these classified as drama)	11%
Comedy	16%	Public affairs	14%		
				Sports	10%
CBS (WBEN)		ABC (WKBW)			
News	30%	News	20%		
Comedy	15%	Game shows	17%		
Sports	15%	Movies	14%		
Drama	11%	Crime drama	12%		
		Sports	10%		

CBC increased its public affairs programs (Spring 10 per cent; Fall 8 per cent) and decreased its variety programs (Spring 8 per cent; Fall 12 per cent). Radio-Canada decreased its number of documentary programs (Spring 5 per cent; Fall 12 per cent). On the other Canadian networks, CTV (Spring 2 per cent; Fall 10 per cent) and Global (Spring 5 per cent; Fall 22 per cent) offered a dramatic decrease in movies, while Independent CHCH had a small decrease in the music category (Spring 9 per cent; Fall 11 per cent). For Global there is, on the other hand, an important increase in coverage of sports events (Spring 19 per cent; Fall 2 per cent).

Finally, for the American networks, our data also reveals some further modifications between the Fall and Spring television seasons. American network programming reflects a decrease in movies for CBS (Spring 8 per cent; Fall 14 per cent) and NBC (Spring 11 per cent; Fall 18 per cent) and an important increase on ABC (Spring 14 per cent; Fall 6 per cent). Crime drama programs increase on NBC (Spring 25 per cent; Fall 17 per cent) and decrease on CBS (Spring 9 per cent; Fall 11 per cent) and ABC (Spring 12 per cent; Fall 17 per cent). Overall, however, the total amount of crime drama programming remains stable. Finally, drama, NBC (Spring 8 per cent; Fall 10 per cent) and sports programs, ABC (Spring 10 per cent; Fall 18 per cent) decrease in the Spring, while drama programs appear more frequently on the CBS list (Spring 11 per cent; Fall 2 per cent). For more details on the importance of each category, see Appendix Table X.

It appears that programming presented in the Toronto area during the Spring of 1976 reflected less diversity than in the Fall of 1975.

Language (Spring 1975)
We collapsed our data for programming presented during the Spring of 1976 in terms of language variable. (See Table 22.)

Table 22

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by language of broadcast

English-language networks		American networks		French-language networks	
Crime drama	20%	News	24%	News	30%
News	17%	Crime drama	15%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	19%
Comedy	13%	Sports	12%	Public affairs	14%
		Movies (most of these classified as drama)	11%		
		Comedy	10%		

News programs are represented on all three lists and reach their highest level (30 per cent) on the French-language network and their lowest on the English-language networks (17 per cent). English-language and American networks, on the other hand, are the only ones to broadcast a considerable amount of crime drama (English 20 per cent; American 15 per cent) and comedy (English 13 per cent; American 10 per cent). Radio-Canada, prefers to offer a more substantial number of movies of the drama type (19 per cent) as do, the American networks (11 per cent). Finally, public affairs remains unique (14 per cent) to Radio-Canada and sports (12 per cent) to American networks.

Overall, then, the changes noted between Fall and Spring are a decrease in importance of movies on the English-language networks and of documentaries on the French. For more details, see Appendix Table 11.

Public and Private Networks (Spring 1976)

Data collapsed in terms of public Canadian, private Canadian, and private American networks is presented in Table 23.

Table 23

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
News	25%	Crime drama	25%	News	24%
Comedy	12%	News	16%	Crime drama	15%
Public affairs	12%	Comedy	11%	Sports	12%
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	10%			Movies (most of these classified as drama)	11%
				Comedy	10%

In the Spring of 1976 there were almost identical concentrations of program categories as in the Fall of 1975. The only exceptions in the Spring list are the exclusion of movies (Spring 5 per cent; Fall 14 per cent) on private Canadian networks and the addition of comedies (Spring 10 per cent; Fall 9 per cent) on private American networks. Crime drama continues to predominate on private networks, especially the Canadian ones. Comedy and news remain the two program categories common to all three types of networks.

Movies are most frequently presented on public Canadian and private American networks, while public affairs programs remain characteristic of public Canadian networks. Private American networks are distinctive for the amount of sports programming they offer. For more details, see Appendix Table 12.

Culture (Spring 1976)

The importance of Canadian productions in Canadian network programming is also analyzed for the Spring period. (See Table 24.)

Table 24

Percentage of Canadian productions by network
(excluding news programs)

Network	Radio-Canada (CBLFT)		CBC (CBLT)		CTV (CFTO)		Independent (CHCH)		Global (CKGN)	
Country of origin										
Canada	72.5%	(61%)	66.5%	(58%)	47.5%	(42%)	39.5%	(33%)	49%	(30%)
U.S.	15%	(21%)	28.5%	(36%)	50.5%	(56%)	60.5%	(67%)	50%	(68%)
Other	12.5%	(18%)	5%	(6%)	2%	(2%)	0%	(0%)	1%	(2%)

In the Spring, three of the five Canadian networks, Radio-Canada (Spring 72.5 per cent; Fall 67.5 per cent), CTV (Spring 47.5 per cent; Fall 37 per cent) and Global (Spring 49 per cent; Fall 39.5 per cent) show an increase over the Fall season in Canadian productions. This is most noticeable for CTV and Global which, because of their coverage of sports events, increase by close to 10 per cent their percentage of Canadian broadcast time. On the other hand, CBC shows little change and continues to offer mostly Canadian programs, while CHCH also remains constant by offering mostly American productions. All in all, except for sports programs, only the two-state-owned networks continue to offer predominantly Canadian content to Toronto viewers. The greatest diversity of production imports once again can be attributed to Radio-Canada, which presents 15 per cent American productions and 12.5 per cent imports from other countries.

When news programs are excluded we find, as we did in the Fall, that all network percentages of Canadian content decrease. This drop is most pronounced for Global (a 19 per cent drop) which has a high percentage of news programs.

In the Toronto area, television programming shown during the time periods investigated (Fall 1975, Spring 1976) varied to a certain extent. In effect, less variety in program types and an increase in Canadian content programs were noticeable. These are not necessarily interdependent variables, however, and the latter variation is mostly related to one category of program (sports). Also, language-related and economic factors in part explain variations in program profiles.

Toronto
B) Audience Ratings Information

This section considers which programming had the most viewers, as determined by BBM audience rating reports. For details on the collection of this information and the methodological definitions which were applied, see the introductory comments of this chapter and the opening remarks of the Montreal market description. Our presentation of results covers the following points:

Fall season 1975
30 most popular programs for total population

Central Area only
30 most popular programs by categories for total population

Spring Season 1976
30 most popular programs for total population

Central and Full Coverage Areas
30 most popular programs by categories for total population

Full Coverage Area only
10 most popular programs for adults 18 years and older
10 most popular programs for women
10 most popular programs for men
10 most popular programs for adolescents
10 most popular programs for children

Central Area (Fall 1975)
In the Central Area, the 30 most popular television programs watched in the Fall of 1975 by the total population (two years old and older) are presented in Table 25.

As previously mentioned, many programs are presented simultaneously on two different networks in the Toronto market, one Canadian and the other American. Since we are evaluating program popularity for the total audience, we have computed the two entries together and therefore indicate in our tables when more than one network is involved.

In at least seven instances, popular programs are simultaneously presented on two networks. This is especially frequent with CBC, which presents four programs concurrently with American networks. In all, CBC has nine entries (seven of which are comedies) on this list and leads the networks in the Fall. The network with the second most programs on this list is CBS with seven programs (mostly comedies and variety). Then come CTV with five (four of which are news programs), ABC with five (two sports, one movie, one music, and one comedy), Global with three (two comedies and one crime drama), CHCH with two (one movie and one crime drama), and NBC with two variety programs. All in all,

Table 25

The 30 most popular television programs watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Toronto area*

Central Area
Estimated population 2,819,270

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	648,432
2.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	592,046
3.	*Rhoda* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	451,083
4.	*Dean Martin* (Thurs.) (NBC)	U.S.	Variety	366,505
5.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	366,505
6.	*Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	338,312
7.	*Maude* (Global-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	310,119
8.	*Flip Wilson* (CTV-CBS)	U.S.	Variety	310,119
9.	*Wednesday Night Movie* (CHCH)	U.S.	Movie	310,119
10.	*Hockey* (ABC)	U.S.	Sports	281,927
11.	*Phyllis* (CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	281,927
12.	*That's Entertainment* (CBS)	U.S.	Movie	253,734
13.	*Don Rickles* (CBS)	U.S.	Variety	253,734
14.	*Baretta* (CHCH)	U.S.	Crime drama	253,734
15.	*Grand Old Opry* (ABC)	U.S.	Music	253,734
16.	*Monday Football* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Sports	253,734
17.	*Dean Martin* (Mon.) (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	253,734
18.	*World Beat* (Tues.) (CTV)	Can.	News	225,541
19.	*Ellery Queen* (Global)	U.S.	Crime drama	225,541
20.	*The Odd Couple* (Global)	U.S.	Comedy	225,541
21.	*Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Game	197,348
22.	*World Beat* (Mon.) (CTV)	Can.	News	197,348
23.	*World Beat* (Fri.) (CTV)	Can.	News	197,348
24.	*World Beat* (Wed.) (CTV)	Can.	News	197,348
25.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	197,348
26.	*Medical Center* (CBS)	U.S.	Medical drama	197,348
27.	*Barney Miller* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	197,348
28.	*Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	197,348
29.	*Friday Movie* (ABC)	U.S.	Movie	197,348
30.	*Ann-Margret* (NBC)	U.S.	Variety	197,348

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Fall 1975.)

14 of the 30 most popular programs were presented exclusively on Canadian networks, nine exclusively on American networks, and seven on both.

Toronto viewers therefore appear to have a certain bias towards programs either broadcast concurrently on American and Canadian networks or on American networks, irrespective of program content. From this list we can distinguish in some cases certain network profiles. For example, CBC is a favourite for its comedy programs, whereas CTV predominates with its news programs. Also, the absence of Radio-Canada from this list should be noted, although the small percentage of persons identified in the census as being of French descent might explain this occurrence.

Finally, there is a strong predominance of American productions on this list. Only five of the 30 most popular programs are identifiable as Canadian and four of these are news programs.

To analyze this data more clearly in terms of importance of each type, we collapsed the information by program categories.

Table 26 presents this information in terms of unit programs and unit/minutes. As noted before, analysis in terms of unit programs and unit/minutes reveals quite similar results, except for the movie and sport categories. To evaluate the overall importance of program categories better, we shall thus interpret our findings only in terms of unit/minutes.

Movies predominate as the most popular program category in total time spent by Torontonians watching television.

In the Fall 1975, all of the movies were American productions and evenly divided between the crime drama and drama type. Sports broadcast by American networks follow with 20 per cent, then comedy (17 per cent) and variety (17 per cent) programs (also exclusively American productions). Crime drama (7 per cent), news (7 per cent), music (5 per cent), medical drama (3 per cent) and game shows (1 per cent) complete the list. (See Table 26)

Table 26

The 30 most popular television programs/by category watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Toronto area*

Central Area
Estimated population 2,819,270

Program category	Units per program	Program category	Units per minute
Comedy	33%	Movie	23%
Variety	20%	Sports	20%
News	13%	Comedy	17%
Movie	10%	Variety	17%
Sports	7%	Crime drama	7%
Crime drama	7%	News	7%
Game	3.3%	Music	5%
Medical drama	3.3%	Medical drama	3%
Music	3.3%	Game	1%

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Fall 1975.)

Excluding news and movies, there are several types of programs (music, medical drama, game shows) which do not predominate in the Fall programming but which are highly popular with Toronto viewers. Other discrepancies between what is offered and what is looked at centre on crime drama programs. These top many network program lists and yet appear only twice on the list of the 30 most popular programs. On the other hand, comedies and, even more, variety programs are by far the most popular in the Toronto market, although they are offered (except for CBC) only moderately by most networks.

Central Area (Spring 1976)

Table 27 presents the 30 most popular television programs watched during the Spring by the total population in the Toronto Central Area. In terms of which network is most watched, our results reveal a number of contrasts with the Fall data. The network with the highest number of programs on this list is now an American network, ABC, which has 11 (four comedies, two drama, one movie, one variety, one adventure, one sports, and one crime drama) in the top 30; four are broadcast concurrently with Canadian networks. CTV follows with eight programs (two news, two crime drama, one variety, one comedy, one sports, and one other type of program), three of which they share with American networks. CHCH, with six programs listed (two variety, two crime drama, one medical drama and one movie) also shares three programs with American networks. NBC has four programs (three variety and one crime drama), as does CBS (three comedies and one medical drama). Finally, CBC (three comedies) and Global (two comedies and one other program) both have three entries appearing on the list of the 30 most popular programs. In summary, then, 11 of the 30 programs listed are exclusively presented on Canadian networks; ten are shown on American networks and nine programs on both Canadian and American networks. This reflects an increase over the Fall data in the number of programs Toronto viewers prefer watching on either American or a combination of American and Canadian networks. From this list, it is once again possible to distinguish certain predominant network profiles. ABC, for example, is preferred for its comedy programs, as is CBS. Variety programs, on the other hand, are the main characteristic of NBC. Radio-Canada is absent from this list as it was in the Fall. The predominance of American programs, 25 of 30, is once more verified by this list.

Table 27

The 30 most popular television programs watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Toronto area*

Central Area
Estimated population 2,819,270

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	704,817
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	535,661
3.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	451,083
4.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	451,083
5.	*Hockey Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Sports	422,890
6.	*Rhoda* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	366,505
7.	*Wintario* (Global)	Can.	Other	338,312
8.	*Dean Martin* (Fri.) (CHCH-NBC)	U.S.	Variety	338,312
9.	*Dean Martin* (Tues.) (NBC)	U.S.	Variety	338,312
10.	*Bob Hope* (NBC)	U.S.	Variety	310,119
11.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	310,119
12.	*Welcome Back, Kotter* (ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	310,119
13.	*Police Woman* (CHCH)	U.S.	Crime drama	281,927
14.	*Starsky and Hutch* (CHCH)	U.S.	Crime drama	253,739
15.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (Mon.) (ABC)	U.S.	Drama	253,734
16.	*World Beat* (Mon.) (CTV)	Can.	News	253,734
17.	*Monday Movie* (ABC)	U.S.	Movie	253,734
18.	*Lola Falana* (CTV-ABC)	U.S.	Variety	253,734
19.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	253,734
20.	*The Odd Couple* (Mon.) (Global)	U.S.	Comedy	253,734
21.	*The Odd Couple* (Thurs.) (Global)	U.S.	Comedy	253,734
22.	*Bionic Woman* (ABC)	U.S.	Adventure	253,734
23.	*Medical Center* (CHCH-CBS)	U.S.	Medical drama	253,734
24.	*Joe Forrester* (CTV-NBC)	U.S.	Crime drama	225,541
25.	*Hockey* (Thurs.) (ABC)	U.S.	Sports	225,541
26.	*The Rookies* (CTV-ABC)	U.S.	Crime drama	225,541
27.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (Mon.) (ABC)	U.S.	Drama	225,541
28.	*Movie* (Thurs.) (CHCH)	U.S.	Movie	225,541
29.	*World Beat* (Tues.) (CTV)	Can.	News	225,541
30.	*M*A*S*H* (Tues.) (CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	225,541

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

To analyze more clearly the data on the relative importance of different types of program, we collapsed the information by categories. Table 28 presents this information.

Table 28

The 30 most popular television programs/by category watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Toronto area*

Central Area
Estimated population 2,819,270

Program category	Units per program	Program category	Units per minute
Comedy	30%	Variety	19%
Variety	16%	Sports	15%
Crime drama	13%	Comedy	14%
News	7%	Crime drama	13%
Sports	7%	Movie	12%
Drama	7%	Drama	12%
Other	7%	Other	6%
Movie	7%	News	3%
Adventure	3%	Adventure	3%
Medical drama	3%	Medical drama	3%

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

The predominant program category in terms of unit/-minutes in the Spring is variety (19 per cent) followed by sports (15 per cent) and comedy (14 per cent). Crime drama programs (13 per cent), which have almost doubled in popularity compared to the Fall, follow. Drama programs, which did not appear on the Fall list, now reach 12 per cent. This is mostly due to the highly popular series *Rich Man, Poor Man*. Movies, which dominated the Fall list, have 12 per cent in the Spring.

The rest of the popular programs are "other" (i.e. *Miss Teen Canada, Wintario*) 6 per cent, medical drama (3 per cent), news (3 per cent), and adventure (3 per cent). Three new program categories make their entry on this list – drama, adventure, and "other". Music and game shows, which were represented on the Fall list, do not reappear.

Full Coverage (Spring 1976)

In the Spring audience ratings for the Full Coverage Area, the 30 most popular programs are very similar to those expressed for the Central Area, American programs still predominating (27 of 30). As Table 29 shows only slight variations appear in rank order. Towards the lower end of the list there is the addition of one crime drama program (*Cannon*), one movie (*Friday Night Movie*), and one drama (*Little House on the Prairie*). To see if these additions make any difference in the distribution of categories, data was also collapsed in these terms.

Table 29

The 30 most popular television programs watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Toronto area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 4,583,230

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	1,121,300
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	807,400
3.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variety	788,500
4.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	749,700
5.	*Dean Martin* (Fri.) (CHCH-NBC)	U.S.	Variety	622,500
6.	*Hockey Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Sports	615,500
7.	*Dean Martin* (Tues.) (NBC)	U.S.	Variety	533,800
8.	*Rhoda* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	531,900
9.	*Welcome Back, Kotter* (ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	502,000
10.	*Bob Hope* (NBC)	U.S.	Variety	488,100
11.	*Monday Night Movie* (ABC)	U.S.	Movie	478,000
12.	*Police Woman* (CHCH)	U.S.	Crime drama	472,300
13.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (Mon.) (ABC)	U.S.	Drama	467,375
14.	*Starsky and Hutch* (CHCH)	U.S.	Crime drama	460,700
15.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	446,200
16.	*The Rookies* (CTV-ABC)	U.S.	Crime drama	439,000
17.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (Mon.) (ABC)	U.S.	Drama	433,450
18.	*Movie* (CHCH)	U.S.	Movie	428,500
19.	*M*A*S*H* (CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	402,600
20.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	398,300
21.	*Hockey* (ABC)	U.S.	Sports	397,400
22.	*Lola Falana* (CTV-ABC)	U.S.	Variety	397,200
23.	*Medical Center* (CHCH-CBS)	U.S.	Medical drama	393,000
24.	*Bionic Woman* (ABC)	U.S.	Adventure	383,500
25.	*Cannon* (CHCH)	U.S.	Crime drama	374,400
26.	*World Beat* (Mon.) (CTV)	Can.	News	369,300
27.	*Friday Night Movie* (ABC)	U.S.	Movie	347,800
28.	*Joe Forrester* (CTV-NBC)	U.S.	Crime drama	346,900
29.	*Bionic Woman* (Tues.) (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	346,700
30.	*Little House* (CHCH)	U.S.	Drama	344,200

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

As Table 30 shows, if the Full Coverage Area is compared with the Central Area, the overall distribution is similar. The same program categories reappear and maintain more or less the same percentage of time. Except for movies, which increase in importance by 4 per cent (Central Area 12 per cent; Full Coverage 16 per cent) and comedies (Central Area 14 per cent; Full Coverage 11 per cent), variations of only 1 or 2 per cent can be distinguished. As previously noted, in large metropolitan areas, there are seldom major differences in viewer preferences between Central and Full Coverage Areas.

Table 30

The 30 most popular television programs/per category watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Toronto area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 4,583,230

Program category	Units per program	Program category	Units per minute
Comedy	23%	Variety	17%
Variety	17%	Movie	17%
Crime drama	17%	Crime drama	15%
Drama	10%	Drama	14%
Movie	10%	Sports	14%
Adventure	7%	Comedy	·11%
Sports	7%	Adventure	5%
News	3%	Other	4%
Medical drama	3%	Medical drama	3%
Other	3%	News	1%

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Sex

To complete our analysis of the Toronto market, we analyzed our data on the programming most watched by sex and by age groups. We computed from BBM reports the ten most popular television programs for men and women in the Spring of 1976 for Full Coverage Area. As can be seen in Table 31, this reveals that men and women share similar preferences for five of ten programs. Women differ from men in their preferences for more comedy and drama programs of the crime and medical type. Men prefer coverage of sports events and movies. For both groups, all programs, except for hockey coverage, are American productions. Considering audience size, we do not find as great a difference between men and women as in the Montreal market. The number one program for women is watched by 372,300 persons and for men by 342,900 persons.

Age

Our data was broken down into three age groups: adults, 18 years old and older; teenagers, 12 to 17 years old; and children, two to 11 years old. Note again that the lists of the ten most popular programs for all age groups include only those programs broadcast between 6 p.m. and 11 p.m.

Overall, three programs (two comedies and one variety) are generally preferred by all three age groups. Furthermore, teenagers and children express similar choices for six programs, mostly of the comedy, adventure, and crime drama type.

The adult list is composed mostly of comedies (four), variety (four), sports (one), and drama (one). Teenagers indicate preferences for comedies (five), crime drama (two), variety (one), adventure (one) and "other" (one). Children choose comedies (four), adventure (two), variety (one), drama (one), cartoon (one), and crime drama (one). Only one program (sports) on the adult list and one (*Miss Teen Canada*) on the teenagers' list are Canadian productions.

Adult ratings for the most popular program are 678,800, for teenagers, 247,800, and for children, 244,300. (See Table 32.)

Table 31

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (men 18 years and older) in the Toronto area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 4,583,230

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*Hockey Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Sports	342,900
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	306,500
3.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	287,600
4.	*Dean Martin* (CHCH-NBC)	U.S.	Variety	246,300
5.	*Hockey* (ABC)	U.S.	Sports	224,700
6.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (ABC)	U.S.	Drama	200,200
7.	*Bob Hope* (NBC)	U.S.	Variety	192,600
8.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variety	191,300
9.	*Monday Movie* (ABC)	U.S.	Movie	169,800
10.	*Movie* (Thurs.) (CHCH)	U.S.	Movie	168,000

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (women 18 years and older) in the Toronto area*

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audi- rating
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	372,300
2.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	341,600
3.	*Dean Martin* (CHCH-NBC)	U.S.	Variety	280,000
4.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	265,200
5.	*Rhoda* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	265,100
6.	*Dean Martin* (NBC)	U.S.	Variety	230,000
7.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variety	228,900
8.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (ABC)	U.S.	Drama	223,200
9.	*Medical Center* (CHCH-CBS)	U.S.	Medical drama	215,900
10.	*The Rookies* (CTV-ABC)	U.S.	Crime drama	207,800

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Table 32

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (18 years old and older) in the Toronto area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 4,583,230

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	678,800
2.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	629,200
3.	*Dean Martin* (CHCH-NBC)	U.S.	Variety	526,300
4.	*Hockey Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Sports	491,400
5.	*Dean Martin* (NBC)	U.S.	Variety	468,600
6.	*Rich Man, Poor Man* (ABC)	U.S.	Drama	423,400
7.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variety	420,200
8.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	414,700
9.	*Bob Hope* (NBC)	U.S.	Variety	398,100
10.	*Rhoda* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	395,700

The 10 most popular television programs watched by teenagers (12 to 17 years old) in the Toronto area*

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audi- rating
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	247,800
2.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	172,700
3.	*Welcome Back, Kotter* (ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	151,900
4.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variety	124,100
5.	*Starsky and Hutch* (CHCH)	U.S.	Crime drama	104,800
6.	*All in the Family* (CBC-CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	85,300
7.	*Bionic Woman* (ABC)	U.S.	Adventure	85,000
8.	*Police Woman* (CHCH)	U.S.	Crime drama	81,500
9.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	78,600
10.	*One Day at a Time* (CBS)	U.S.	Comedy	73,900

The 10 most popular television programs watched by children (two to 11 years old) in the Toronto area*

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audi- rating
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC-ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	244,300
2.	*Donnie and Marie* (CHCH-ABC)	U.S.	Variety	244,200
3.	*Laverne and Shirley* (ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	162,300
4.	*Bionic Woman* (ABC)	U.S.	Adventure	119,100
5.	*Little House* (CHCH)	U.S.	Drama	105,600
6.	*Dr. Seuss* (CBS)	U.S.	Cartoon	103,800
7.	*Welcome Back, Kotter* (ABC)	U.S.	Comedy	101,600
8.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	93,700
9.	*Police Woman* (CHCH)	U.S.	Crime drama	83,100
10.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	81,900

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

OECA Network

The Toronto and Ottawa areas have access to the provincial OECA (Ontario Educational Communications Authority) educational network which offers an alternative to the commerical type of programming on the other networks. OECA's primary mandate is to offer "entertainment with substance and instruction with charm and wit" and it also presents some programs in the French language. Given the special characteristics of this kind of programming, it is difficult to submit it to the same criteria that were applied to the commercial networks. In general, the programming profile is one of current affairs, documentaries, movies, and talk shows with an underlying educational goal. The fact that it is so difficult to categorize TVOntario's programming properly without using a highly stereotyped terminology is probably an indication of its particular perspective. The variety of format within its program content does not permit a program such as *The Education of Mike McManus* to be categorized as simply a talk show.

In any event, we will briefly present a sample of some programs broadcast on this network.

Issues, shown once a month for most of the evening, fleshes out and analyzes problems that dominate the headlines and have immediate impact on the lives of Canadians.

Saturday Night At The Movies shows cinema classics on the time-honored night for a double feature. But each evening centres around a theme like the Irish question, the anatomy of a revolution, or morality in government. The series as a whole constitutes an ongoing course in the esthetics and business of filmmaking, as does its French-language colleague *Cine-TVO*.

Pays et peuples, a new documentary, explores the Arabic Middle East.

Villages et visages, also a documentary, takes us into parts of rural Ontario where French culture has deep roots. It's history through people's anecdotes and recollections and folk music.

En se racontant l'histoire d'ici, Canada's history narrated by Laurier LaPierre.

Dr. Who, a wild science fiction series that takes viewers on a journey through time and space by introducing and assessing each vividly imaginative tale.

The Government We Deserve, with host Judy LaMarsh talking with men and women who wield power on federal, provincial, and local levels.

Communique ´, a 15-minute weekday wrap-up of educational cultural, and recreational activities in Southern Ontario.

Magee and Company, a sometimes serious, sometimes irreverent look at current affairs.

The Education of Mike McManus, a talk show with good conversation, where topics such as Canada's North, legal aid, civil rights are discussed.

Polka Dot Door, each program designed to provide entertaining, enriching and stimulating learning experiences for the child during and after viewing.

During the Spring of 1976, BBM audience rating reports generally indicated that OECA's weekday prime-time programming reached approximately 1 or 2 per cent of the total population for most programs in both Ottawa and Toronto areas. There are a few exceptions, however, such as the popular *Polka Dot Door* series which sometimes reaches 7 or 8 per cent of the child audience, but generally TVOntario appears to have some difficulties in persuading viewers to renounce the more familiar television programming presented on established commercial networks. This is probably due in part to a lack of awareness and receptivity on the part of viewers of this alternative type of programming. Through consumer education, the population may gradually sensitize itself to this and begin considering such programming as a complementary form of entertainment and education.

Ottawa

A) Available Television Programming
Demographic Characteristics

In the 1971 census, the population for the Metropolitan Ottawa area[9] was 602,510, of which 296,300 were men and 306,215 women. The average number of persons per family was 3.7 and the average number of children per family was 1.8. Average family income was $12,010. For mother tongue, 340,240 people specified English, 220,335 specified French, and 41,940 mentioned other languages. For language most often spoken at home, 374,680 specified English, 203,595 French, 8,495 Italian, 2,535 German, 1,270 Polish, 810 Ukrainian, and 615 Dutch.

The totals for ethnic groups in the Ottawa metropolitan area are: British, 270,525; French, 238,495; German, 19,145; Italian, 15,170; Asian, 9,230; Dutch 7,465; Ukrainian, 5,400; Polish, 5,400; Scandinavian, 3,805; Hungarian, 1,965; and Russian, 795.

Besides being the capital of Canada, Ottawa is also geographically at the interface of the two principal cultural groups composing the Canadian nation. Persons of English descent represent 45 per cent of the population and those of French descent 40 per cent. Of the four markets we studied, this one had the most equal representation of these two cultural groups.

Television Broadcasting Characteristics

In the Ottawa area, six major networks share the main audience market. First of all there is the English-language state-subsidized CBC (CBOT – 4) and its French-language Radio-Canada counterpart (CBOFT – 9). Then there is the French-language TVA network (CFVO – 30) [10] and the privately owned English-language CTV (CJOH – 13) and Global (CKGN – 6) networks. All of these are located in Ottawa except for TVA which is located in the Hull area. Three American networks, ABC, NBC, CBS, (WWNY – 7)[11], jointly broadcast on one channel located in Watertown, N.Y. Ottawa thus differs from the Montreal and Toronto markets which have all three American networks broadcasting on their own

channels. If this does not decrease the probabilities that Canadian viewers will watch American productions, it does at least increase the chances that they will watch their favourite programs on Canadian networks. Also, programming produced by OECA, discussed previously for the Toronto market, is available in the Ottawa area.

As reported by BBM (Spring 1976 report), the estimated percentage of households with cable service is 68 per cent. This is relatively as high as in the Toronto area. The percentage of homes with colour television sets is estimated to be 62 per cent in this market area.

In the Ottawa market, late evening news programs are broadcast at 10 p.m. on the Global network and at 10:30 p.m. on Radio-Canada and TVA; this should be taken into consideration when interpreting the results.

General Categories (Fall 1975)

The major characteristics of network programming in Ottawa in Fall 1975 are reflected in summary Table 33.

Table 33

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories

CBC		Global		Radio-Canada	
News	20%	News	28%	Public affairs	29%
Comedy	18%	Movies (most of these classified as crime drama)	22%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	20%
Music	13%				
Public affairs	11%	Crime drama	20%	News	19%
		Comedy	17%	Documentary	10%
CTV		**TVA**		**ABC/NBC/CBS** (WWNY)	
Crime drama	28%	Movies (most of these classified in the other category)	24%	News	20%
News	20%			Comedy	16%
Comedy	12%	News	20%	Movies (most of these equally classified as drama and other)	14%
		Talk shows	20%		
		Crime drama	16%	Crime drama	10%
				Drama	10%
				Variety	10%

Ten distinct categories of programs may be identified in the list of the top categories of programs for each network.

On all networks, news programs are a major part of the programming, with the highest percentage found on Global (28 per cent). There is a high percentage of public affairs programs (29 per cent) on Radio-Canada – in most part due to a regularly presented program which was partly news and partly public affairs. After consulting with network people, it was agreed that the latter category appeared to best represent this program.

Generally, movies are the second most common type of program found on most networks. The importance of movies is, however, greater on certain networks (TVA 24 per cent; Global 22 per cent; Radio-Canada 20 per cent; WWNY 14 per cent) than on others (CBC 0 per cent; CTV 8 per cent). Crime drama was the third most present category of programs (CTV 28 per cent; Global 20 per cent; TVA 16 per cent; WWNY 10 per cent). Both state-owned networks prefer presenting other types of programs such as music (13 per cent) and public affairs (11 per cent) on CBC, and public affairs (29 per cent) and documentaries (10 per cent) on Radio-Canada. Comedy programs appear only on the English-language networks' lists. (CBC 18 per cent; Global 17 per cent; WWNY 16 per cent; and CTV 13 per cent). Finally, drama

(10 per cent) and variety (10 per cent) programs characterize the American networks, whereas talk shows (20 per cent) constitute an important part of the TVA programming.

For complete details on the importance of each category for each network see Appendix Table 13.

Language (Fall 1975)

We collapsed our data in terms of language of broadcast, still retaining the distinction between Canadian English-language and American networks. The main categories of programs offered to viewers for Fall of 1975 in the Ottawa area are presented in Table 34.

Table 34

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by language

English-language networks		American networks		French-language networks	
News	23%	News	20%	Movies (most of these classified as drama and other)	22%
Crime drama	17%	Comedy	15%		
Comedy	16%	Movies (most of these classified as drama and other)	14%	News	19.5%
Movies (most of these classified as crime drama)	10%			Public affairs	15.5%
		Crime drama	10%	Talk show	10%
		Drama	10%		
		Variety	10%		

Table 35

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
Public affairs	20%	News	23%	News	20%
News	19.5%	Crime drama	21%	Comedy	16%
Comedy	11%	Movies (most of these classified as crime drama)	18%	Movies (most of these classified as drama and other)	14%
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	10%	as crime drama)		as drama and other)	
		Comedy	10%	Crime drama	10%
				Drama	10%
				Variety	10%

Except for the overall importance of news programs on all networks (English 23 per cent; American 20 per cent; French 19.5 per cent), there appear to be some distinctive language-related differences in the type of programming presented in the Ottawa area. One difference is the importance of crime drama (English 17 per cent; American 10 per cent) and comedy programs (English 16 per cent; American 15 per cent) on English-language and American networks compared to the French-language networks (crime drama 8 per cent; comedy 3 per cent)

Other differences are the exclusive presence of talk shows (10 per cent) and public affairs (15.5 per cent) programs on the French-language networks and the importance of drama (10 per cent) and variety (10 per cent) programs on the American networks. Finally,

movies, which predominate on the French-language network (22 per cent) are also present, although in a less obvious way, on the American (14 per cent) and English-language networks (10 per cent). Sub-categorizing this latter category, it appears that the movies usually shown on French-language and American networks are drama and other (i.e. musical, westerns) types, while on English-language networks most movies are crime drama. Overall, it appears that English-language and American networks have more in common, at least four different categories of programs, than they do with French-language networks (See Appendix Table 14.)

Public and Private Networks (Fall 1975)

If one part of the diversity of television programs in the Ottawa area can be explained in terms of a language factor, another part appears to be related to the economic variable. Data was collapsed in terms of ownership of networks: public Canadian, private Canadian, and American. Table 35 presents this data.

In the main categories of programs shown on public Canadian, private Canadian, and private American networks during the Fall of 1975, all networks present similar percentages of news programs. Also, all three types of networks have comedy and movie programs in common. On the other hand, each type of network appears to offer at least one distinctive category of programs to its viewers. Public Canadian networks offer a substantial amount of public affairs programming (20 per cent), private Canadian networks offer an important amount of crime drama programming, especially if the amount presented in movies is considered, and, finally, the American networks are the only ones to present a fair amount of drama and variety programming. It thus appears that, overall, American networks appear to offer the greatest diversity of programs while private Canadian networks appear to specialize for the most part in programs of a violent nature.

In the Ottawa market, as in the Montreal market, an interactional effect between the economic and language variables appears to account for the variety of programs offered to the population. Presenting on only one channel, selected programs from all three American networks appears also to encourage an overall greater diversity of programs. (See Appendix Table 15.)

Culture (Fall 1975)

Our data was also analyzed in terms of Canadian content. For obvious reasons, only programming on Canadian networks could be analyzed in this fashion. (See Table 36.)

The highest percentage of Canadian production is found on both state-owned networks (Radio-Canada 75 per cent; CBC 67 per cent). However, different profiles are presented by private French-language and English-language networks. Both English-language CTV (54 per cent U.S.) and Global (57 per cent U.S.) networks rely heavily on American productions for their prime-time programming, whereas the French-language TVA network relies for the most part on Canadian content (61 per cent). The diversity in non-U.S. foreign productions broadcast on Canadian networks is highest on Radio-Canada (7.5 per cent) and lowest on Global (2 per cent). Overall it is much lower than in the Montreal market, for example.

Recognizing that news programs (which are all Canadian productions) account for a major part of the programming, we reconsidered our data and excluded this category. The second column in Table 36 presents this information.

Table 36

Percentage of Canadian productions by network (excluding news)

Network Country of origin	CBC		Global		Radio-Canada		CTV		TVA	
Canada	67%	(59%)	41%	(17%)	75%	(69%)	40.5%	(25.5%)	61%	(49%)
U.S.	28%	(35%)	57%	(80%)	17.5%	(21%)	54%	(65.5%)	37%	(48%)
Other	5%	(6%)	2%	(3%)	7.5%	(10%)	5.5%	(7%)	2%	(3%)

The results illustrate the pattern even more clearly. The two English-language networks, CTV (decrease of 15 per cent) and Global (decrease of 24 per cent), reflect the greatest drop in Canadian content programs, while all other networks still present predominantly Canadian productions to their viewers.

General Categories (Spring 1976)

The major characteristics of network programming in the Ottawa area for this time period are presented in Table 37.

Table 37

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories

CBC		Global		Radio-Canada	
News	20%	News	26%	Public affairs	29%
Comedy	17%	Crime drama	21%	News	20%
Public affairs	14%	Sports	19%	Movies (most of these classified as crime drama)	13%
		Comedy	16%		
CTV		TVA		ABC/NBC/CBS (WWNY)	
Crime drama	27%	Movies (most of these classified as crime drama)	23%	News	20%
News	20%			Crime drama	19%
Comedy	13%	News	20%	Comedy	16%
		Talk shows	20%	Movies (most of these classified as comedy)	10%
		Crime drama	11%		

The average Ottawa viewer was offered a narrower variety of programs in the Spring than in the Fall. Only seven distinct categories of programs are identifiable in the lists of the categories of programs for each network. Although there is one new category of program (sports), documentary, variety, drama, and music programs no longer exist on the lists of main categories. On the CBC the music category dropped from 13 per cent in the Fall to 9 per cent in the Spring. On Global, movies represented 22 per cent of the presentations in the Fall and only 5 per cent in the Spring; their place was mostly taken by sport events (Spring 19 per cent; Fall 5 per cent). The Radio-Canada schedule shows a decrease for movies (Spring 13 per cent; Fall 20 per cent) and documentaries (Spring 5 per cent; Fall 10 per cent) and a slight increase for sports (Spring 9 per cent; Fall 4 per cent). CTV shows very little change. The TVA network reflects a decrease in the importance of crime drama programs (Spring 11 per cent; Fall 16 per cent). Finally, the American networks show a substantial increase in crime drama programs (Spring 19 per cent; Fall 10 per cent) and a decrease in variety (Spring 7 per cent; Fall 10 per cent) and drama (Spring 8 per cent; Fall 10 per cent) programs.

This data appears to indicate that a smaller diversity of programs was offered, partly due – at least on the American networks – to an increase in crime drama programs. Movies diminished in importance for all networks. On Radio-Canada, even if these were predominantly crime drama movies in the Spring, they accounted for only 8 per cent of the total air time.

Finally, sports events increased substantially in the Spring, at least for Global which offered such programs during 19 per cent of their air time. For more details on the importance of each category, see a complete presentation of this data in Appendix Table 16.

Language (Spring 1976)
We collapsed our data for programming presented during the Spring of 1976 in terms of language variable. (See Table 38.)

There are similarities between the Spring and the Fall data. The exception is the exclusion from the Spring data of movies from the English-language networks list and of drama and variety programs from the American network list. The French-language networks remain most constant throughout in what they choose to offer to Ottawa viewers. Except for news programs, common to all three types of networks, English-language and American networks have the most in common. Crime drama and comedy programs are almost equally represented on both these lists. Finally, the slight shift from drama in the Fall to crime drama in the Spring in the movies offered by French-language networks should be interpreted remembering that less than half of the movies in the Spring (i.e. less than half of 18.5 per cent) were crime dramas. This represents approximately 9 per cent of the total programming.

Cultural differences still played a major role in determining programming offered to the Ottawa population. For more details, see Appendix Table 17.

Table 38

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by language of broadcast

English-language networks		American networks		French-language networks	
News	22%	News	20%	News	20%
Crime drama	19%	Crime drama	19%	Movies (most of these classified as crime drama)	18.5%
Comedy	15%	Comedy	16%		
		Movies (most of these classified as comedy)	10%	Public affairs	15%
				Talk shows	10%

Public and Private Networks (Spring 1976)

Data was also collapsed in terms of ownership public Canadian, private Canadian, and private American. (See Table 39.)

Table 39

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
Public affairs	21.5%	News	22%	News	20%
News	20%	Crime drama	20%	Crime drama	19%
Comedy	10.5%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	11.5%	Comedy	16%
		Comedy	11%	Movies (most of these classified as comedy)	10%

Except for those changes already mentioned for the American networks, the Spring (1976) list has an almost identical concentration of program categories as the Fall list. One exception is the decrease in importance of movies for public Canadian (Spring 6.5 per cent; Fall 10 per cent), private Canadian (Spring 11.5 per cent; Fall 18 per cent), and private American (Spring 10 per cent; Fall 14 per cent) networks. Private Canadian and American networks distinguish themselves by the high amount of crime drama programs they choose to offer, while public Canadian networks prefer presenting public affairs programs. For more details, see Appendix Table XVIII.

Culture (Spring 1976)

The importance of Canadian productions in Canadian network programming was also analyzed for the Spring period. (See Table 40.)

Overall, in the Spring, Canadian networks appear to have increased their percentages of Canadian content. This is most evident on Radio-Canada, where content was 75 per cent Canadian in the Fall of 1975 and 84 per cent in the Spring. Global also showed an important increase in Canadian content (Spring 50 per cent; Fall 41 per cent). The increase for both Radio-Canada and Global was mostly at the expense of U.S. productions, given that imports from other countries increased. In fact, all networks reflected an increase in percentages of productions from countries other than the U.S..

The state-owned networks and the privately owned French-language TVA network again offered predominantly Canadian content. However, CTV continued to present mostly American content. Finally, Global which in the Fall showed similar trends to CTV, in the Spring presented almost equal amounts of Canadian and American productions.

Table 40

Percentage of Canadian productions by network
(excluding news)

Network Country of origin	CBC		Global		Radio-Canada		CTV		TVA	
Canada	70%	(62%)	50%	(31%)	84%	(78%)	42%	(27%)	63%	(53%)
U.S.	23%	(29%)	49%	(67%)	6%	(7.5%)	51%	(64%)	30%	(37%)
Other	7%	(9%)	1%	(2%)	10%	(12.5%)	7%	(9%)	7%	(10%)

Excluding news programs, the Spring patterns are similar to those just described. Those (Radio-Canada, CBC, TVA) with predominantly Canadian content continued to present such programming and those (CTV, Global) with lower percentages of Canadian content decreased Canadian content from 50 per cent to 31 per cent when news programs are excluded.

In the Ottawa area, programming during the two time periods investigated is characterized by a number of different program profiles. For the most part, these can be explained by cultural, economic, and language-related factors.

Ottawa
B) Audience Ratings Information
The data in this section show which programming was most watched in the Ottawa area, as determined by BBM audience rating reports. For details on how this information was collected and the methodological definitions that were applied, consult the introductory comments of this chapter and the beginning paragraphs on the Montreal market description. Our presentation of results covers the following points:

Fall season 1975
30 most popular programs for total population

Central Area only
30 most popular programs by categories for total population

Spring Season 1976
30 most popular programs for total population

Central and Full Coverage Areas
30 most popular programs by categories for total population

Full Coverage Area only
10 most popular programs for adults 18 years and older
10 most popular programs for women
10 most popular programs for men
10 most popular programs for adolescents
10 most popular programs for children

Central Area (Fall 1975)

The 30 most popular television programs watched in the Fall of 1975 by total population (two years old and older) in the Ottawa area are presented in Table 41.

Table 41

The 30 most popular television programs watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Ottawa area*

Central Area
Estimated population 650,700

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC-WWNY)	U.S.	Comedy	117,126
2.	*Rue des Pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Soap opera	97,605
3.	*Flip Wilson* (CTV-WWNY)	U.S.	Variety	84,591
4.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	84,591
5.	*Good Times* (CTV-WWNY)	U.S.	Comedy	84,591
6.	*Remarkable Rocket* (CTV)	U.S.	Cartoon	84,591
7.	*Rhoda* (CBC-WWNY)	U.S.	Comedy	84,591

Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
8. *Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	78,084
9. *Cannon* (WWNY)	U.S.	Crime drama	78,084
10. *Rudolph Red Nose* (WWNY)	U.S.	Cartoon	78,084
11. *Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	71,577
12. *Little Mermaid* (CTV)	U.S.	Cartoon	71,577
13. *The Odd Couple* (Global)	U.S.	Comedy	71,577
14. *The Odd Couple* (Global)	U.S.	Comedy	71,577
15. *Grinch Christmas* (CTV)	U.S.	Cartoon	71,577
16. *Christmas Messenger* (CTV)	U.S.	Cartoon	71,577
17. *Bing Crosby* (WWNY)	U.S.	Variety	71,577
18. *Invisible Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	71,577
19. *Maude* (Global-WWNY)	U.S.	Comedy	65,070
20. *Adam 12* (Global)	U.S.	Crime drama	65,070
21. *When Things were Rotten* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	65,070
22. *Bobby Vinton* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	65,070
23. *Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	58,563
24. *Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	58,563
25. *Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comedy	58,563
26. *Dr. Zhivago* (R-C)	U.S.	Movie	58,563
27. *Switch* (CTV)	U.S.	Crime drama	52,056
28. *Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Game	52,056
29. *Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	52,056
30. *Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	52,056

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Fall 1975.)

** WWNY is the station broadcasting programs of the three major U.S. networks—ABC, NBC, and CBS.

In five instances, popular programs are simultaneously broadcast on two networks. The network with the most entries on this list is CTV with 12 programs (two of which are presented concurrently with WWNY). The categories of programs most popular on CTV were cartoons (N = 4), comedies (N = 2), news programs (N = 2), variety (N = 2), crime drama (N = 1), and adventure programs (N = 1). The network (station) second in number of entries is WWNY with eight (four of which are comedies). Then comes CBC, with a total of eight programs (six of which are comedies). Global has four entries (three comedies and one crime drama), Radio-Canada has two (one soap opera and one movie) and TVA has one (comedy). All in all, 22 of the 30 most popular programs are presented exclusively on Canadian networks , three exclusively on American networks, and five on both Canadian and American networks.

Except for CTV, which shows a variety of categories of programs chosen, all the other networks are watched primarily for comedy programs.

About 10 per cent (N = 3) of the most popular programs in Ottawa are broadcast in French, including the second most popular program (*Rue des Pignons*).

Finally, only five of the 30 entries are Canadian productions – two news programs and one game show broadcast by English-language networks, and one soap opera and one comedy presented on the French-language networks.

Table 42 presents this information in terms of unit programs and unit minutes. As might be expected, comedies predominate (30 per cent) as the most popular category of program among Ottawa viewers. Movies (16 per cent) and variety (16 per cent) programs were next. The movie is the highly popular *Dr. Zhivago* which was broadcast on Radio-Canada during the measurement period. Cartoons (12 per cent), mostly because of the upcoming Christmas period, and crime drama (12 per cent) ranked third, followed by news programs (5 per cent), adventure (5 per cent), soap opera (2 per cent), and game shows (2 per cent).

Table 42

The 30 most popular television programs per category watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Ottawa area*

Central Area
Estimated population 650,700

Program category	Units per program	Program category	Units per minute
Comedy	40%	Comedy	30%
Cartoon	17%	Movies	16%
Variety	14%	Variety	16%
Crime drama	10%	Cartoon	12%
News	7%	Crime drama	12%
Adventure	3%	News	5%
Soap opera	3%	Adventure	5%
Game	3%	Soap opera	2%
Movies	3%	Game	2%

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Fall 1975.)

Central Area (Spring 1976)

Table 43, presents the 30 most popular television programs watched during the Spring by the total population in the Ottawa Central Area. The results are quite different from the Fall data. First, three networks (CBC, CTV, and Global) more or less equally shared the favour of Ottawa viewers. Global has ten entries on the list of the 30 most popular programs, of which five are crime drama, four are comedies and one is a movie. Two programs (*The Odd Couple* and *Adam-12*) which are shown each day of the week account for seven of the ten most popular programs on Global. CTV is the second most popular network, with nine entries including two adventure, two comedies, two crime drama, one variety, one movie, and one "other" (*Miss Teen Canada*) program. CBC has eight programs (six of which are comedies). WWNY, with one crime drama and one comedy, Radio-Canada, with one soap opera, and TVA with one comedy, close the list. In the Spring, the vast majority (28 out of 30) of preferred programs were broadcast exclusively on Canadian networks, one was concurrently presented on Canadian and American networks, and one was exclusively on an American network.

Table 43

The 30 most popular television programs watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Ottawa area*

Central Area
Estimated population 650,700

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	143,154
2.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	123,633
3.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	117,126
4.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	104,112
5.	*Wayne and Shuster* (CBC)	Can.	Variety	91,098
6.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	84,591
7.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	84,591
8.	*Switch* (CTV-WWNY)**	U.S.	Crime drama	78,084
9.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	78,084
10.	*M*A*S*H* (WWNY)	U.S.	Comedy	78,084
11.	*Rue des pignons* (R-C)	Can.	Soap opera	78,084
12.	*Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comedy	78,084

Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
13. *Rich Little Show* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	78,084
14. *Adam 12* (Mon.) (Global)	U.S.	Crime drama	78,084
15. *Adam 12* (Tues.) (Global)	U.S.	Crime drama	78,084
16. *Friday Mystery Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	78,084
17. *Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	71,577
18. *Laverne and Shirley* (Global)	U.S.	Comedy	71,577
19. *Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	71,577
20. *Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	71,577
21. *The Odd Couple* (Global)	U.S.	Comedy	71,577
22. *Rhoda* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	65,070
23. *The Jeffersons* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	65,070
24. *Blue Knight* (Global)	U.S.	Crime drama	65,070
25. *The Odd Couple* (Wed.) (Global)	U.S.	Comedy	65,070
26. *The Odd Couple* (Mon.) (Global)	U.S.	Comedy	65,070
27. *Adam 12* (Wed.) (Global)	U.S.	Crime drama	65,070
28. *Adam 12* (Thurs.) (Global)	U.S.	Crime drama	65,070
29. *Joe Forrester* (CTV)	U.S.	Crime drama	65,070
30. *Movie* (Global)	U.S.	Movie	65,070

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

** WWNY is the station broadcasting programs of the three major U.S. networks—ABC, NBC, and CBS.

One trend that remained constant was the predominance of American programs on this list – 26 out of 30. Of the four Canadian programs, two were broadcast on the French-language networks and two (one of which was a special) on the English-language networks.

As in the Fall, comedies again predominate (31 per cent). The importance of movies (18 per cent), variety (14 per cent), adventure (9 per cent), and soap opera (2 per cent) programs remain quite consistent with the Fall data. Crime drama increased (Spring 18 per cent; Fall 12 per cent) in popularity in the Spring. Game and news programs do not reappear on the Spring list and are substituted in part by "other" programs.

Thus, in the Spring, programs were mostly watched on Canadian networks but they were mostly American productions, The categories preferred by Ottawa viewers are comedies (31 per cent), movies (18 per cent), and crime drama (18 per cent). French-language network programming is only modestly represented (N = 2) on the list of the 30 most popular programs. (See Table 44.)

Table 44

The 30 most popular television programs per category watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Ottawa area*

Central Area
Estimated population 650,700

Program category	Units per program	Program category	Units per minute
Comedy	47%	Comedy	31%
Crime drama	23%	Movie	18%
Variety	10%	Crime drama	18%
Adventure	7%	Variety	14%
Movie	7%	Adventure	9%
Soap opera	3%	Other	8%
Other	3%	Soap opera	2%

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Full Coverage (Spring 1976)

Audience ratings for the Full Coverage Area show that the 30 most popular programs in the Spring are only partly similar to those for the Central Area. Differences between Central Area and Full Coverage Area are minor in larger markets such as Montreal and Toronto, but are more apparent in smaller markets. Table 45 shows that besides variations in the rank order, there are a number of additions, the most noticeable being the appearance of five news programs. Other additions are four comedy, two crime drama, one variety, one movie, one game show, and one music program.

Table 45

The 30 most popular television programs watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Ottawa area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 1,087,570

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	265,900
2.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	258,900
3.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	226,000
4.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	211,500
5.	*Rich Little Show* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	207,000
6.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	197,000
7.	*The Jeffersons* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	184,100
8.	*Newsline* (Mon.) (CTV)	Can.	News	178,200
9.	*Bobby Vinton* (Tues.) (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	167,600
10.	*Joe Forrester* (Mon.) (CTV)	U.S.	Crime drama	141,300
11.	*Newsline* (Tues.) (CTV)	Can.	News	164,700
12.	*Newsline* (Wed.) (CTV)	Can.	News	161,800
13.	*Rookies* (CTV)	U.S.	Crime drama	157,200
14.	*Friday Mystery Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	155,200
15.	*Newsline* (Thurs.) (CTV)	Can.	News	154,500
16.	*Newsline* (Fri.) (CTV)	Can.	News	152,200
17.	*Sanford and Son* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	151,100
18.	*Streets of San Francisco* (CTV)	U.S.	Crime drama	141,200
19.	*Grady* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	140,100
20.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	137,500
21.	*Wednesday Night Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	140,000
22.	*Wayne and Shuster* (CBC)	Can.	Variety	136,400
23.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	135,200
24.	*Headline Hunters* (CTV)	Can.	Game	126,400
25.	*Country Way* (CTV)	Can.	Music	125,900
26.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	125,300
27.	*Good Heavens* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	124,000
28.	*Switch* (CTV)	U.S.	Crime drama	121,400
29.	*Rhoda* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	120,100
30.	*Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	117,000

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Another major difference in the Full Coverage Area audience ratings is that only two networks now have entries on the list of the 30 most popular programs; CTV has 23 of the 30 programs and CBC has the rest. The breakdown in preferred types of programs on CTV is: comedies (N = 5), news (N = 5), crime drama (N = 4), movies (N = 2), variety (N = 2), adventure (N = 2), game show (N = 1), music (N = 1) and "other" (N = 1). CBC has six comedies and one variety program on the list. Almost one-third (nine) of the 30 programs are Canadian; this is largely due to the popular *Newsline* program on CTV.

Representation of categories of programs for the Full Coverage Area is more diversified than that for the Central Area. Table 46 shows that there are nine different types of programs, compared to seven in the Central Area. Comedies (23 per cent) still predominate but are now more closely followed by movies (19 per cent) and crime drama (17 per cent). News (11 per cent), a new entry, and variety (11 per cent) follow. Finally, adventure (8 per cent), "other" (seven per cent), game shows (2 per cent) and music programs (seven per cent), also a new entry, close the list. Except for news programs and comedies, the relative importance of different categories of programs remains similar to that for the Central Area.

Table 46

The 30 most popular television programs per category watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Ottawa area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 1,087,570

Program category	Units per program	Program category	Units per minute
Comedy	37%	Comedy	23%
News	17%	Movie	19%
Crime drama	13%	Crime drama	17%
Variety	10%	News	11%
Adventure	7%	Variety	11%
Movie	7%	Adventure	8%
Game	3%	Other	7%
Music	3%	Game	2%
Other	3%	Music	2%

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Sex

We analyzed our data in terms of the programming preferred by sex and by age groups.

We computed from BBM reports the ten most popular television programs for men and women in the Spring of 1976 for Full Coverage Area. Table 47 shows that men and women only shared four of the ten most preferred programs by each group – two adventure, one comedy, and one news program. Women prefer mostly comedy programs while men choose more news programs. This in part explains why the men have five Canadian productions on their list and women only have two. In audience size, apart from *All in the Family*, men and women appear quite similar.

Age

Our data was broken down into three age groups – adults, 18 years old and older; teenagers, 12 to 17 years old; and children, two to 11 years old. Again the data for all age groups includes only those programs broadcast between 6 p.m. and 11 p.m.

Four programs (two adventure, one comedy, and one variety) are generally preferred by all three age groups. Teenagers and children have in common six preferred programs, the four previously mentioned and one comedy and one variety program. Adults and teenagers also share six choices including the *All in the Family* series and the *Miss Teen Canada* pageant. The adults' list is characterized by a number of news programs, while adolescents and children mostly prefer comedies. CTV is overwhelmingly the favourite network on all three lists. Except for the news programs, the *Miss Teen Canada* pageant and one comedy (*Symphorien*), all programs on all three lists are American productions. The last mentioned is the only entry on any of the lists broadcast on a French-language network. For more details, see Table 48.

Table 47

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (women 18 years old and older) in the Ottawa area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 1,087,570

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	101,800
2.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	83,900
3.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	82,900
4.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	75,000
5.	*The Jeffersons* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	72,600
6.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	71,000
7.	*Bobby Vinton* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	69,600
8.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	68,500
9.	*Wednesday Night Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	67,600
10.	*Streets of San Francisco* (CTV)	U.S.	Crime drama	66,000

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (men 18 years old and older) in the Ottawa area*

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audi- rating
1.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	85,400
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	83,600
3.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	79,600
4.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	79,500
5.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	78,600
6.	*Joe Forrester* (CTV)	U.S.	Crime drama	74,500
7.	*Rich Little Show* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	72,100
8.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	71,500
9.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	71,400
10.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	70,100

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Table 48

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (18 years old and older) in the Ottawa area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 1,087,570

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	185,400
2.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	162,500
3.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	155,300
4.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	153,900
5.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	142,500
6.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	142,300
7.	*Rich Little Show* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	135,600
8.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	135,000
9.	*Newsline* (CTV)	Can.	News	133,900
10.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	132,900

The 10 most popular television programs watched by teenagers (12 to 17 years old) in the Ottawa area*

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audi- rating
1.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	49,325
2.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	45,400
3.	*Rich Little Show* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	41,800
4.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	40,900
5.	*Happy Days* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	33,500
6.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	29,300
7.	*The Jeffersons* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	26,900
8.	*The Rookies* (CTV)	U.S.	Crime drama	25,650
9.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	24,800
10.	*Bobby Vinton* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	21,700
	Grady (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	21,700

The 10 most popular television programs watched by children (two to 11 years old) in the Ottawa area*

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audi-rating
1.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	65,200
2.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	55,500
3.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	47,200
4.	*Rich Little Show* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	29,600
5.	*The Jeffersons* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	28,900
6.	*Good Heavens* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	27,900
7.	*Bobby Vinton* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	26,700
8.	*Sanford and Son* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	23,200
9.	*Friday Mystery Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	22,000
10.	*Symphorien* (TVA)	Can.	Comedy	20,800

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay

A) Available Television Programming

Demographic Characteristics

Given that the local characteristics of each of these areas somewhat differed one from the other, we will first present census information separately for each area.

A) Sudbury: In the 1971 census,[12] the population for the metropolitan Sudbury area was 155,425, of which 80,435 were men and 74,990 women. The average number of persons per family was 3.9 and the average number of children per family was 1.9. Average family income was $11,739. For mother tongue, 84,475 people specified English, 49,570 specified French, and 21,375 mentioned other languages. For language most often spoken at home, 120,675 specified English, 41,055 French, 4,495 Italian, 1,315 Ukrainian, 815 Polish, 590 German and 40 Dutch.

The totals for ethnic groups in the Sudbury metropolitan area are: French, 58,080; British, 56,985; Italian, 10,335; Ukrainian 5,625; German, 5,005; Polish, 2,900; Scandinavian, 1,285; Asian, 1,210; Hungarian 385; Russian, 130.

B) Timmins: [13] In the 1971 census, the population for the Timmins areas was 28,542, of which 14,550 were men and 13,990 women. For mother tongue, 13,070 specified French, 13,265 specified English and 3,200 mentioned other languages. For language most often spoken at home, 15,495 specified English, 11,310 French, and 1,690 mentioned other languages. The totals for ethnic groups in the Timmins area are: French, 14,145; British, 8,470; and 5,860 other ethnic groups.

C) North Bay: [13] In the 1971 census, the population for the North Bay area was 49,187, of which 24,440 were men and 24,750 were women. For mother tongue, 37,875 people specified English, 8,535 specified French, and 2,780 mentioned other languages. For language most often spoken at home, 42,370 specified English, 5,400 French, and 1,405 other languages. The totals for ethnic groups in the North Bay area are: British 28,185; French 12,580; and 8,415 other ethnic groups.

These three areas vary somewhat in population size and dominating cultural groups. In Timmins, for example, a high number of people speak both English or French at home. For these reasons we thought that popularity of programs, as reported by BBM, might vary from one community to the other. Data for each area was thus analyzed separately. However, there were only minor variations in the most favoured programs. Therefore, our results will deal with all three areas – Sudbury, Timmins, and North Bay – as one major market rather than three separate ones.

Television Broadcasting Characteristics

In this area, three major networks share the main audience market. First of all, there is MCTVS (Mid Canada Television System 9), whose stations are CBC affiliates, and its French Radio-Canada counterpart (CBFST – 9); is the privately owned English-language CTV (CKSO – 5) network.

As reported by BBM, the estimated percentage of households with cable service is 24 per cent for the North Bay area. No figures are reported for Timmins or Sudbury. The percentage of homes with colour television sets is estimated to be 68 per cent for all three areas. Television programming in Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay is characterized by a number of special

factors. Movies are very important in early evening programming. Another important factor is that early evening news programs are broadcast at 5:30 p.m. on some networks. So, as our analysis covers the 6 p.m. to 11 p.m. period, news programs will be noticeably absent for these same networks. Finally, the absence of American networks from this market should also reflect some special differences in programming, compared to the other markets studied.

General Categories: (Fall 1975)

The major characteristics of network programming in Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay in Fall, 1975 are reflected in summary Table 49.

Table 49

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories

Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
News	29%	Movies (most of these classified as crime drama)	31%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	30%
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	20%				
		Crime drama	17%	Comedy	20%
Documentary	10%	Comedy	12%	Variety	11%
		Adventure	10%		

Viewers in this area are offered a total of seven distinct categories of programs. On all networks, movies are a major part of the programming, with the highest percentages on CTV (31 per cent) and CBC (30 per cent). On CTV, crime drama movies are most frequently presented, whereas CBC mostly offers dramas. Except for the French-language Radio-Canada network (29 per cent), news programs do not appear as a major category of programming, This is partly because early evening news programs are scheduled at 5:30 p.m. in some areas.

For CTV, crime drama (17 per cent), comedy (12 per cent), and adventure (10 per cent) then follow in importance. On CBC, comedy (20 per cent), variety (11 per cent), and music (9 per cent) are most offered to viewers in this area. Radio-Canada presents documentary (10 per cent) and public affairs (9 per cent) programs. Complete details on the importance of each category for each network are in Appendix Table 19.

Language (Fall 1975)

The most evident differences appear to be related to the language factor. To illustrate this more clearly we collapsed our data in these terms in Table 50.

Except for the importance of movies on both English-language (30.5 per cent) and French-language networks (20 per cent) there appear to be some distinctive language-related differences in the programming presented to viewers in this market. The French-language network presents mostly news programs (29 per cent), documentaries (10 per cent) and public affairs (9 per cent) programs and the English-language networks offer comedies (16 per cent), music (8.5

Table 50

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by language

English-language networks		French-language networks	
Movies (most of these classified as drama and crime drama)	30.5%	News	29%
		Movies (most of these classified as drama)	20%
Comedy	16%		
		Documentary	10%

percent), variety (8.5 per cent) and crime drama (8.5 per cent) programs. (See Appendix Table 20.)

Except for movies, the French- and English-language networks schedule types of programming that are almost completely mutually exclusive.

Public and Private Networks (Fall 1975)

Data was also collapsed in terms of ownership of networks, public Canadian and private Canadian. Table 51 presents this data.

Public and private Canadian networks presented more or less similar percentages of movie and comedy programming during the Fall of 1975. The type of movie presented, however, does vary with the ownership of the network. On the public networks these are mostly drama, whereas on the private network they are mostly crime dramas. Other major differences pertain to the importance of crime drama on the private

network (17 per cent) and news programs (14.5 per cent) on the public. In the latter case, however, the importance of news is almost entirely due to the French-language network programming. In sum, then, programming that involves violence appears to be the main characteristic of the private network, whereas information programs are presented more regularly on the public networks. For more details, see Appendix Table 21.

Table 51

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Public Canadian		Private Canadian	
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	25%	Movies (most of these classified as crime drama)	31%
News	14.5%	Crime drama	17%
Comedy	13%	Comedy	12%
		Adventure	10%

Culture (Fall 1975)

Our data was also analyzed in terms of Canadian content. Table 52 shows the percentage of productions (based on unit/minutes) produced in Canada, the United States, and other countries (predominantly European countries).

The highest percentage of Canadian production is found on the French-language network (69 per cent). The other two networks (CTV and CBC) rely heavily on American productions for their prime-time programming.

Excluding news programs (second column in Table 52), as was done for other markets, the only statistics affected are those for Radio-Canada, given that this network was the only one to present a substantial number of news programs. In any event, programming still remains predominantly Canadian on this network.

General Categories (Spring 1976)

The major characteristics of network programming for the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay areas in Spring 1976 are reflected in summary Table 53.

Table 52

Percentage of Canadian productions by network (excluding news)

Network Country of origin	Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
Canada	69%	(57%)	31%	(30%)	31%	(31%)
U.S.	23%	(33%)	69%	(70%)	65%	(65%)
Other	8%	(10%)	0%		4%	(4%)

Table 53

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories

Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
News	30%	Movies (most of these classified as crime drama)	29%	Movies (most of these classified as drama)	29%
Movies (most of these classified as crime drama)	13%	Crime drama	19%	Comedy	16%
		Comedy	19%		
		Adventure	11%		

There are certain differences between the Fall and Spring schedules. Movies remain relatively as important for all three networks; however, for Radio-Canada, movies somewhat decrease from Fall (20 per cent) to Spring (13 per cent) and more of the movies presented are crime dramas. Of the 13 per cent of airtime allocated to movies during the Spring, only 6 per cent was devoted to crime dramas. Variety programs on CBC (Fall 11 per cent, Spring 8 per cent) and documentaries (Fall 10 per cent, Spring 5 per cent) on Radio-Canada no longer appear as main categories. Public affairs on Radio-Canada, however, remain constant over time (Fall 9 per cent, Spring 9 per cent). Finally, crime drama (19 per cent) and adventure (11 per cent) remain as in the Fall exclusively characteristic to the CTV network.

There is less diversity in types of programs offered to viewers in the Spring (N = 5) than in the Fall (N = 7). For more details, see Appendix Table 22.

Language (Spring 1976)

We also collapsed our data in terms of the language variable. (See Table 54.)

Table 54

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by language of broadcast

English-language networks		French-language network	
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	29%	News	30%
Comedy	17.5%	Movies (most of these classified as crime drama)	13%
Crime drama	12%		

In the Spring data, quite different patterns of programming are reflected on both English- and French-language networks. Viewers choosing programs offered by the English-language networks predominantly watch movies (29 per cent), comedies (17.5 per cent) and crime drama programs (12 per cent). Viewers of the French-language network are offered news programs (30 per cent), movies (13 per cent) and public affairs programs (9 per cent). Compared to the Fall data, there is an increase in crime drama programs (Fall 8.5 per cent, Spring 12 per cent) for the English-language networks and a decrease for movies (Spring 13 per cent, Fall 20 per cent) and documentaries (Spring 5 per cent, Fall 10 per cent) on the French-language network. For more details see Appendix Table 23.

Public and Private Networks (Spring 1976)

Data was collapsed in terms of public Canadian and private Canadian networks. (See Table 55.)

Table 55

Percentage of unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Public Canadian		Private Canadian	
Movies (most of these classified as drama)	21%	Movies (most of these classified as crime drama	29%
News	15%	Crime drama	19%
Comedy	11%	Comedy	19%
		Adventure	11%

In Spring 1976 the concentration of program categories was almost identical to that in the Fall data. One exception is the increase in importance of comedies for private Canadian networks (Spring 19 per cent, Fall 12 per cent). For more details, see Appendix Table 24.

It appears that differences between the categories of television programming in this market are much more related to the language factor than to the economic one.

Culture (Spring 1976)

The importance of Canadian productions in Canadian network programming was also analyzed for the Spring period. (See Table 56.)

In the Spring, there was an important increase in Canadian productions on the French-language network (Spring 78 per cent, Fall 69 per cent). On the other hand, CTV decreased its overall percentage of Canadian content (Spring 23 per cent, Fall 31 per cent) while CBC remained more or less the same (Spring 32 per cent, Fall 31 per cent).

The only true diversity in foreign productions broadcast on Canadian networks was on Radio-Canada, where 9 per cent of the programs were European productions.

When news programs are excluded, the general patterns remain the same. Only Radio-Canada, which still predominantly offers Canadian content, shows a decrease. No change is recorded for the other networks.

Table 56

Percentage of Canadian productions by network
(excluding news)

Network Country of origin	Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
Canada	78%	(68%)	23%	(23%)	32%	(32%)
U.S.	13%	(19%)	77%	(77%)	64%	(64%)
Other	9%	(13%)	0%	(0%)	4%	(4%)

Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay

B) Audience Ratings Information

The results in this section show which programming was most watched in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area, as determined by BBM audience rating reports. For details on how this information was collected and the methodological definitions that were applied, see the introductory comments of this chapter and the beginning paragraphs on the Montreal market description.

In this area, no audience rating report was made during the Fall 1975 season, largely because of the mail strike that occurred at the time. A comparison between the Winter and Spring reports was made. Overall only minor variations were discovered, mostly in the rank order of the programs. Our presentation of results covers the following points:

Fall season 1975
30 most popular programs for total population

Central Area only
30 most popular programs by categories for total population

Spring Season 1976
30 most popular programs for total population

Central and Full Coverage Areas
30 most popular programs by categories for total population

Full Coverage Area only
10 most popular programs for adults 18 years and older
10 most popular programs for women
10 most popular programs for men
10 most popular programs for adolescents
10 most popular programs for children

Central Area (Spring 1976)

In the Central Area, the 30 most popular television programs watched in the Spring of 1976 by total population (two years old and older) are presented in Table 57.

CBC (N = 14) and CTV (N = 16) share more or less equally the total number of entries on this list. Specifically, viewers prefer to watch the CTV network for its movies (N = 4), comedies (N = 4), adventure programs (N = 4) and also variety (N = 1), documentary (N = 1), crime drama (N = 1) and "other" (N = 1) programs. CBC viewers choose this network for its comedies (N = 7), variety programs (N = 3) and also movies (N = 1), game shows (N = 1), music (N = 1), and "other" (N = 1) programs. For the most part (24 of 30), these programs are American productions. Finally, this list contains no programs originating from the French-language Radio-Canada network.

To better evaluate the overall importance of categories of programs we collapsed the information in these terms. Table 58 presents this information in terms of unit programs and unit/minutes. Movies (35 per cent) and comedies (21 per cent) predominate as the most popular categories of programs viewers in this areas choose to watch. Variety (14 per cent), adventure (10 per cent) and "other" (8 per cent) programs followed. Then came crime dramas (3 per cent), music (3 per cent), documentary (3 per cent) and game shows (3 per cent). Except for crime drama programs, it appears that the categories of program most offered to viewers (i.e. movies and comedies) are also the most preferred. This has not always been the case in other markets studied.

Full Coverage (Spring 1976)

In the Full Coverage Area, the 30 most popular programs in the Spring are similar to those for the Central Area. Only slight variations appear in the rank order of the entries. Towards the lower end of the list, however, there are four new additions (one variety; one crime drama; one music program; and one movie, all on CBC).

Table 57

The 30 most popular television programs watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Sudbury area*

Central Area
Estimated population 242,690

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	97,076
2.	*Wintario* (CBC)	Can.	Other	80,087
3.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	80,087
4.	*Dean Martin* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	80,087
5.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	77,660
6.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	72,807
7.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	65,526
8.	*M*A*S*H* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	63,099
9.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	63,099
10.	*Movie* (Tues.) (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	60,672
11.	*Rhoda* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	60,672
12.	*Movie* (Wed.) (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	60,671
13.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	58,245
14.	*Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	58,245
15.	*Salty* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	58,245
16.	*That's Entertainment* (CBC)	U.S.	Movie	58,245
17.	*Sharks* (CTV)	U.S.	Documentary	55,818
18.	*Littlest Hobo* (CTV)	Can.	Adventure	55,818
19.	*Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Game	53,391
20.	*Rockford Files* (CTV)	U.S.	Crime drama	53,391
21.	*Maude* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	53,391
22.	*Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	53,391
23.	*Wayne and Shuster* (CBC)	Can.	Variety	50,964
24.	*Tommy Hunter* (CBC)	Can.	Music	48,538
25.	*Bob Newhart* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	48,538
26.	*Mary Hartman* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	48,538
27.	*Tom Jones* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	48,538
28.	*Sanford and Son* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	48,538
29.	*Movie* (Thurs.) (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	46,111
30.	*Movie* (Mon.) (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	46,111

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Table 58

The 30 most popular television programs per category watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Sudbury area*

Central Coverage
Estimated population 242,690

Program category	Units per program	Program category	Units per minute
Comedy	37%	Movie	35%
Movie	17%	Comedy	21%
Adventure	13.5%	Variety	14%
Variety	13.5%	Adventure	10%
Other	7%	Other	8%
Documentary	3%	Documentary	3%
Game	3%	Game	3%
Crime drama	3%	Crime drama	3%
Music	3%	Music	3%

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Central Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Although these are not major additions to the list, the fact that all were presented on CBC increases the overall number of entries in the Full Coverage Area which were chosen from this network (i.e. 17 out of 30). (See Table 59.)

Representation of categories of programs for the Full Coverage Area is just as diversified as that for the Central Area. The same nine distinct categories appear. The variances are in movies (Full Coverage Area 38 per cent; Central Area 35 per cent) and crime drama (Full Coverage Area 6 per cent; Central Area 3 per cent) which increased, and comedies (Full Coverage Area 14 per cent, Central Area 21 per cent), which decreased in popularity. For more details, see Table 60.

Sex

We also analyzed our data to determine the programming preferred by sex and by age groups.

We computed from BBM reports the ten most popular television programs for men and women in the Spring of 1976 for Full Coverage Area. Table 61 shows that, to some extent, men and women show similar preferences in their choice of programs. Six out of the ten most popular programs are the same for both groups, although they vary somewhat in rank order. Both groups predominantly choose comedies. Also, both groups choose seven U.S. productions and three Canadian productions. In audience size the two sexes are quite similar.

Table 59

The 30 most popular television programs watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Sudbury area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 615,970

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	172,500
2.	*Wintario* (CBC)	Can.	Other	164,500
3.	*Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	163,700
4.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	157,400
5.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	145,800
6.	*Dean Martin* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	143,800
7.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	126,100
8.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	120,000
9.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	119,900
10.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	122,700
11.	*Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	121,000
12.	*Tom Jones* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	119,400

Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
13. *Sharks* (CTV)	U.S.	Documentary	116,900
14. *Tommy Hunter* (CBC)	Can.	Music	114,300
15. *Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	113,100
16. *Salty* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	112,000
17. *Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	111,400
18. *Rhoda* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	111,100
19. *Rockford Files* (CTV)	U.S.	Crime drama	110,400
20. *Littlest Hobo* (CTV)	Can.	Adventure	109,000
21. *Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Game	107,300
22. *Mary Tyler Moore* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	104,400
23. *Hee Haw* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	102,600
24. *Wayne and Shuster* (CBC)	Can.	Variety	99,500
25. *Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	97,700
26. *Movie* (CBC)	U.S.	Movie	95,100
27. *Lawrence Welk Show* (CBC)	U.S.	Music	94,000
28. *Movie* (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	93,600
29. *Starsky and Hutch* (CBC)	U.S.	Crime drama	92,100
30. *Maude* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	90,900

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Table 60
The 30 most popular television programs per by category watched by total population (two years old and older) in the Sudbury area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 615,970

Program category	Units per program	Program category	Units per minute
Comedy	27%	Movie	38%
Movie	20%	Variety	16%
Variety	17%	Comedy	14%
Adventure	13%	Adventure	10%
Crime drama	7%	Other	7%
Other	7%	Crime drama	6%
Documentary	3%	Documentary	3%
Music	3%	Music	3%
Game	3%	Game	3%

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Age

Our data was broken down into three agegroups – adults, 18 years old and older, teenagers, 12 to 17 years old, and children, two to 11 years old. Again, these lists for all age groups include only those weekday programs broadcast between 6 p.m. and 11 p.m.

Only two programs are generally preferred by all three groups. These are a comedy program (*Happy Days*) and an adventure program (*Bionic Woman*). The basic difference between adults on one hand and teenagers and children on the other is the preference of the latter group for adventure programs. All three groups show a clear bias for comedies, although these are not the same ones for each age group. There are greater similarities between the teenagers' and childrens' lists, which have in common six preferred television programs. Finally, because of the preference adults express for programs such as *Miss Teen Canada*, *Wintario*, and game and music programs, they are the only group to choose a more substantial number (four of ten programs) of Canadian productions as their favourites. For more details, see Table 62.

Table 61

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (women 18 years old and older) in the Sudbury area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 615,970

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1.	*Wintario* (CBC)	Can.	Other	69,000
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	58,900
3.	*Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	58,600
4.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	55,400
5.	*Tom Jones* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	48,000
6.	*Movie* (Wed.) (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	48,000
7.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	46,000
8.	*Rhoda* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	46,000
9.	*Tommy Hunter* (CBC)	Can.	Music	45,100
10.	*Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	44,700

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (men 18 years and older) in the Sudbury area*

	Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audi- rating
1.	*Wintario* (CBC)	Can.	Other	72,200
2.	*All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	60,500
3.	*Dean Martin* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	58,000
4.	*Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	52,600
5.	*Movie* (Wed.) (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	52,600
6.	*Tommy Hunter* (CBC)	Can.	Music	48,700
7.	*Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Game	46,100
8.	*M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	43,400
9.	*Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	43,100
10.	*Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	41,600

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Table 62

The 10 most popular television programs watched by adults (18 years old and older) in the Sudbury area*

Full Coverage Area
Estimated population 615,970

Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audience rating
1. *Wintario* (CBC)	Can.	Other	141,200
2. *All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	119,400
3. *Dean Martin* (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	107,700
4. *Movie* (Wed.) (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	100,600
5. *Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	99,700
6. *Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	98,500
7. *Tommy Hunter* (CBC)	Can.	Music	93,800
8. *Front Page Challenge* (CBC)	Can.	Game	89,400
9. *Miss Teen Canada* (CTV)	Can.	Other	89,400
10. *Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	81,300

The 10 most popular television programs watched by children (two to 11 years old) in the Sudbury area*

Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audi- rating
1. *Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	54,400
2. *Littlest Hobo* (CTV)	Can.	Adventure	37,500
3. *Salty* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	36,000
4. *Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	35,300
5. *Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	35,100
6. *Tom Jones* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	25,500
7. *Movie* (Thurs.) (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	23,600
8. *Sanford and Son* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	21,800
9. *Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	21,600
10. *M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	21,100

The 10 most popular television programs watched by teenagers (12 to 17 years old) in the Sudbury area*

Name of program (network)	Country of origin	Category	Audi- rating
1. *Happy Days* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	38,900
2. *Six Million Dollar Man* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	31,925
3. *Bionic Woman* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	29,200
4. *Salty* (CTV)	U.S.	Adventure	25,800
5. *Good Times* (CTV)	U.S.	Comedy	24,900
6. *All in the Family* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	24,200
7. *Carol Burnett* (CBC)	U.S.	Variety	19,500
8. *Movie* (Thurs.) (CTV)	U.S.	Movie	19,400
9. *M*A*S*H* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	19,100
10. *Chico and the Man* (CBC)	U.S.	Comedy	18,900
Rich Little (CTV)	U.S.	Variety	18,900

* (As estimated by BBM in terms of Full Coverage Area audiences, Spring 1976.)

Summary of Results

The summary of our findings in Section I consists of 1) an overview of the results in terms of network programming in the four market areas investigated, and 2) a summary of our findings about preferred programming in the four markets.

A) Network Programming

The specifics of our data for each market having been presented, we now compare the four markets to isolate the general patterns that follow from the analysis. As we did for each market, we first discuss data pertaining to general program categories, followed by the language factor, the economic factor, and, finally, the cultural factor.

It appears that for both Fall and Spring time periods, news programs, crime drama, movies, and comedy were the main program categories in all four markets.

News Programs (Fall 1975)

In the Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto areas, the average percentage of prime airtime devoted to news is 22 per cent (unit/minute). The only exception is in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area, where news programs represent only 10 per cent of total airtime, all on the Radio-Canada network. (See Appendix Tables 1, 7, 13, 19.)

Movies (Fall 1975)

Overall, movies (15 per cent) are the second most important program category in all four areas, although there are again variances between markets. For example, the highest level for movies is in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area (27 per cent) and the lowest in the Montreal area (12 per cent). (See Appendix Tables 1, 7, 13, 19.)

Crime Drama (Fall 1975)

Crime drama programs, which rank closely behind the first two in overall importance, are frequent in at least three of the four markets (Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto). On the average, the four areas devote 13.4 per cent of their total programming time to this category. The highest level is in Toronto (16 per cent) and the lowest in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area (5.6 per cent). (See Appendix Tables 1, 7, 13, 19.)

Comedy (Fall 1975)

Comedy programs, the fourth most important category, represent overall 11 per cent of prime-time programming in the four markets. The greatest amount of comedy is in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area (13 per cent) and the lowest in the Montreal area (9.5 per cent). (See Appendix Tables 1, 7, 13, 19.)

Since, at first glance, programming in at least three of the four markets is fairly homogeneous, it is necessary to look at the data in terms of language of broadcast and economic and cultural factors as well, in order to get at the individual features of each area.

To simplify the presentation, only data pertaining to main program categories (i.e. those categories that represent in unit/minutes at least 10 per cent of the total programming) is treated.

Language (Fall 1975)

In terms of language of broadcast certain categories predominate in our four markets. (See Table 63.)

This table reveals major differences between French- and English-language networks. For example, there is a heavy emphasis on information programs (news, public affairs, documentaries) and movies on the French-language networks in all four markets. On the other hand, English-language networks, although offering a certain amount of news programs and movies rely more heavily on crime drama and comedy.

The American networks have a great deal more in common with the Canadian English-language networks than with the French-language networks, in that crime drama programs represent an important part of their television fare.

Economic Factors (Fall 1975)

Table 64 gives the ownership breakdown in programming for all four markets. It shows that public and private Canadian and private American networks appear in three of the four markets to be more or less consistent on the basis of program type, with only

Table 63

Percentage of unit/minutes by language of broadcast

Market	Montreal		Toronto		Ottawa		Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay
Language of broadcast							
French	News	25%	News	29%	Movies	22%	News
	Movies	21%	Movies	22%	News	19.5%	Movies
	Talk shows	10.5%	Documentaries	12%	Public affairs	15.5%	Documentaries
			Public affairs	11.5%	Talk shows	10%	
English	News	20%	Cr. drama	20%	News	23%	Movies
	Cr. drama	16%	News	17%	Cr. drama	17%	Comedy
	Comedy	14.5%	Comedy	12%	Comedy	16%	
	Music	10.5%	Movies	11%	Movies	10%	
American	News	25%	News	24%	News	20%	
	Cr. drama	22%	Cr. drama	15%	Comedy	15%	
	Movies	11.5%	Sports	14%	Movies	14%	
			Movies	12%	Cr. drama	10%	
					Drama	10%	
					Variety	10%	

minor discrepancies. This is not surprising, given that the same networks are involved in each case. Within each market, however, the type of programming differs substantially depending on ownership of the network. In effect, information programs (news and public affairs), comedies, and movies are the main staples of public Canadian networks. Private Canadian networks, on the other hand, besides presenting a certain amount of news programs, movies and comedies, in most markets insert a substantial amount of crime drama in their prime-time programming. This is a consistent trend in all four markets.

Private American networks offer programming similar to that offered by the private Canadian networks.

Table 64

Percentage of unit/minutes by ownership

Market Type of ownership	Montreal		Toronto		Ottawa		Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay
Public Canadian	News	25%	News	24.5%	Pub. affairs	20%	Movies
	Comedy	11.5%	Comedy	11.5%	News	19.5%	News
	Movies	9.5%	Movies	11%	Comedy	11%	Comedy
			Pub. affairs	10%	Movies	10%	
Private Canadian	Cr. drama	20%	Cr. drama	26%	News	23%	Movies
	News	20%	News	16%	Cr. drama	21%	Cr. drama
	Movies	15%	Movies	14%	Movies	18%	Comedy
	Talk shows	10.5%	Comedy	10%	Comedy	10%	Adventure
Private American	News	25%	News	24%	News	20%	
	Cr. drama	22%	Cr. drama	15%	Comedy	16%	
	Movies	11.5%	Sports	14%	Movies	14%	
			Movies	12%	Cr. drama	10%	
					Drama	10%	
					Variety	10%	

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Finally, Table 65 offers information, on origin of content.

Table 65

Percentage of Canadian productions by network

Networks		Origin of Content		
Montreal		Can.	U.S.	Other
	Radio-Canada (Public, French)	70%	23%	7%
	CBC (Public, English)	65%	24%	11%
	TVA (Private, French)	59%	31%	10%
	CTV (Private, English)	40%	59%	1%
Toronto				
	Radio-Canada (Public, French)	67.5%	25%	7.5%
	CBC (Public, English)	66%	28%	6%
	CTV (Private, English)	37%	60%	3%
	Ind. (Private, English)	38%	62%	0%
	Global (Private, English)	39.5%	60.5%	0%
Ottawa				
	Radio Canada (Public, French)	75%	17.5%	7.5%
	CBC (Public, English)	67%	28%	5%
	CTV (Private, English)	40.5%	54%	5.5%
	TVA (Private, French)	61%	37%	2%
	Global (Private, English)	41%	57%	2%
Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay				
	Radio-Canada (Public, French)	69%	23%	8%
	CBC (Public, English)	31%	65%	4%
	CTV (Private, English)	31%	69%	0%

Bearing in mind that news programs (all of which are Canadian) are included in these statistics and that American networks, although quite important in the Toronto area, are excluded, we find the overall percentage of Canadian productions to be 58.8 per cent in the Montreal area, 57 per cent in the Ottawa region, 50 per cent in the Toronto area and 43.6 per cent in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area. The network with highest percentage of Canadian content in all four markets is the French-language public network. The second most "Canadian" network is the English-language CBC, which presents predominantly Canadian productions in all but the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay market.

Except for the French-language TVA network, all other private networks present predominantly

American content to their viewers. CTV and Global are the principal examples of this practice; in all markets where they have television programming, the percentage of Canadian production never exceeds 41 per cent.

There is only one market where productions imported from countries other than the U.S., are of any significance. The Montreal area has 7 per cent of its productions from foreign sources excluding the U.S.

It appears that viewers in an area where there is at least one public and one private French-language network (Montreal and Ottawa) have a greater choice of types of program categories, of Canadian productions, and also of non-U.S. foreign productions.

In the Spring, the same four categories of network programming (news programs, crime dramas, movies and comedies) still predominate. There is, however, a change in the order of importance compared to the Fall data.

News Programs (Spring 1976)

An average of 22 per cent (unit/minutes) of total prime time was assigned to news in the Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto areas. As in the Fall data, the one exception is the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay areas where only one (Radio-Canada) of the three networks broadcast any substantial amount of news programs during this time period. (See Appendix Tables 4, 10, 16, 22.)

Crime Drama (Spring 1976)

Crime drama, which ranked third in the Fall, moves up to second in overall importance in Spring programming in the four markets. On the average, 15 per cent of all programming is of this genre. The highest levels are in the Montreal (16 per cent) and Toronto (16 per cent) areas and the lowest is in Sudbury (10 per cent). (See Appendix Tables 4, 10, 16, 22.)

Comedy (Spring 1976)

Comedy programs represent overall 12 per cent of prime-time programs in all four markets; they are highest in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area (14 per cent) and lowest in the Toronto area (11 per cent). (See Appendix Tables 4, 10, 16, 22.)

Table 66

Percentage of unit/minutes by language

Market	Montreal		Toronto		Ottawa		Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay
Language of broadcast							
French	News	25%	News	30%	News	20%	News
	Movies	17.5%	Movies	19%	Movies	18.5%	Movies
	Talk shows	10%	Pub. affairs	14%	Pub. affairs	15%	
					Talk shows	10%	
English	Comedy	20%	Cr. drama	20%	News	22%	Movies
	News	20%	News	17%	Cr. drama	19%	Comedy
	Cr. drama	18.5%	Comedy	13%	Comedy	15%	Cr. drama
American	News	25%	News	24%	News	20%	
	Cr. drama	24.5%	Cr. drama	15%	Cr. drama	19%	
	Comedy	11%	Sports	12%	Comedy	16%	
			Movies	11%	Movies	10%	
			Comedy	10%			

Movies (Spring 1976)

Movies follow close behind in fourth place, with an overall average of 11 per cent for all four markets. This is a 4 per cent drop from the Fall period. However, there is a major discrepancy between markets; in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area movies account for 24 per cent of the total airtime. The other three areas present this type of programming at a 9 per cent level. (See Appendix Tables 4, 10, 16, 22.)

At the outset, the type of programming offered in the Spring in at least three of the four markets appears as homogeneous as it did in the Fall. We must analyze the data further to see whether this is a true reflection of the content.

If, in programming, only the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area appears to differ from the other markets, language, economic, and culture-related factors may be the ones that differentiate the other markets. This should not come as a surprise to anyone who has already read the description for each market. The differences between markets are summarized in Table 66.

As in the Fall, in order to simplify the presentation, the data pertains only to main program categories.

Language (Spring 1976)

In terms of language of broadcast, the following categories predominate in the four markets.

This table clearly reveals important differences related to language of broadcast. Depending upon whether viewers watch a French-language or an English-language network, probabilities are quite high that they will be exposed to different types of television programming. A heavy emphasis on information programs (news and public affairs) and movies characterizes the French-language networks in all four markets. The English-language networks, which also show a fair amount of news programming – although not as much as the French-language ones – are mainly characterized by crime drama and comedy programs. In the four areas, the English-language networks devote the most prime time to crime drama programs in the Toronto area, and to comedy in the Montreal area.

American networks have profiles quite similar to the Canadian English-language networks (or vice versa), although they also present a fair number of movies.

Obviously language of broadcast is an important factor in determining what a viewer is offered. This, however, depending on the linguistic composition of the market. For example, it is unrealistic to suppose that French-language programming can be an alternative in a market such as Toronto, where a relatively small number understand the language. On the other hand, in view of the census data, we can say that viewers in the Ottawa area have programming alternatives based on language.

Another factor for consideration is the relative number of networks in the various markets. Although we make a distinction between Canadian English-language networks and American networks, these can be considered as one, especially on the basis of programming similarities. In a market such as Ottawa, then, we are talking of four English-language networks versus two French-language ones. Unless the viewers have a strong linguistic and cultural bias, chances are they will be more likely to watch English-language programs.

The implications of this appear even more strongly when we look at what viewers watch.

Economic Factors (Spring 1976)

Overall, the networks exhibit quite similar programming profiles in terms of the categories they choose to assign to the four markets, although there are some discrepancies in the percentages within each category in the four markets. The type of programs each network (public Canadian, private Canadian, and American) presents is more or less similar across all markets.

Public Canadian networks, as in the Fall, are interested in presenting mainly information (news and public affairs) and comedy to their viewers. Private Canadian networks, on the other hand, choose, besides news programs, crime drama in even greater amounts than their southern counterparts. Comedies and movies are also, but to a lesser extent, an important part of their programming. American networks present similar fare.

Thus, if we exclude news programs, viewers have for the most part the choice of either violent programming on the private Canadian or American networks or comedy on the public. Which do they choose? Or do they prefer other types of programs altogether? These questions will be dealt with in the second part of this summary.

Table 67

Percentage of unit/minutes by ownership

Market / Type of ownership	Montreal		Toronto		Ottawa		Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay
Public Canadian	News	25%	News	25%	Pub. affairs	21.5%	Movies
	Comedy	15.5%	Comedy	12%	News	20%	News
	Pub. affairs	10%	Pub. affairs	12%	Comedy	10.5%	Comedy
			Movie	10%			
Private Canadian	Cr. drama	20.5%	Cr. drama	25%	News	22%	Movies
	News	20%	News	16%	Cr. drama	20%	Cr. drama
	Movies	12.5%	Comedy	11%	Movies	11.5%	Comedy
	Talk shows	10%			Comedy	11%	Adventure
Private American	News	25%	News	24%	News	20%	
	Cr. drama	24.5%	Cr. drama	15%	Cr. drama	19%	
	Comedy	11%	Sports	12%	Comedy	16%	
			Movies	11%	Movies	10%	
			Comedy	10%			

Culture (Spring 1976)

Finally, in terms of culture, Table 68 offers the following information.

Noting that news programs are included, and that American networks are excluded (although in the Toronto market their presence is especially important), we find the overall highest percentage of Canadian productions in the Montreal and Ottawa areas (62 per cent) and the lowest percentage in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area (44 per cent). The highest percentage of Canadian content in all four markets is once again on the French-language network, Radio-Canada. If we exclude the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area, English- and French-language public networks present the greatest amount of Canadian production. The only private network with a somewhat similar policy is the French-language TVA, which broadcasts predominantly (above 60 per cent) Canadian content in both the Ottawa and Montreal markets. The private English-language Global network, mostly because of its news and sports programs, hovers near the 50 per cent mark. CTV presents predominantly American productions, but the percentages vary in the different markets. The independent, private English-language CHCH station presents a substantial amount of American production.

In diversity in production – imports from countries other than the U.S. – the two French-language networks (Radio-Canada and TVA) show, in two of the markets, the highest level of variety.

It thus appears that a market that includes a significant French-language group is more likely also to have a higher percentage of Canadian productions and a greater number of productions imported from a variety of countries.

Table 68

Percentage of Canadian productions by network

	Networks	Origin of Content		
Montreal	Can. Radio-Canada (Public, French)	U.S. 78%	Other 12%	10%
	CBC (Public, English)	63%	32%	5%
	TVA (Private, French)	61%	29%	10%
	CTV (Private, English)	44%	55%	1%
Toronto				
	Radio-Canada (Public, French)	72.5%	15%	12.5%
	CBC (Public, English)	66.5%	28.5%	5%
	CTV (Private, English)	47.5%	50.5%	2%
	Ind. (Private, English)	39.5%	60.5%	0%
	Global (Private, English)	49%	50%	1%
Ottawa				
	Radio-Canada (Public, French)	84%	6%	10%
	CBC (Public, English)	70%	23%	7%
	CTV (Private, English)	42%	51%	7%
	TVA (Private, French)	63%	30%	7%
	Global (Private, English)	50%	49%	1%
Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay				
	Radio-Canada (Public, French)	78%	13%	9%
	CBC (Public, English)	32%	64%	4%
	CTV (Private, English)	23%	77%	0%

B) Audience Preferences

An analysis of the predominant television program categories would be incomplete without an analysis of the viewers' programming preferences and an attempt to see if there is a significant correlation between the two. What are the similarities and differences between these two sides of programming (what is offered and what is watched)?

Only the Spring data is reported in this part of the discussion, because of the methodological problems BBM encountered in the collection of data for the Special Fall Reports. It would therefore be uncertain ground on which to base comparisons between markets. This is especially so because there is a complete absence of data for the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area for the Fall period. We will, however, maintain the distinction between Full Coverage Area and Central Area audiences for the Spring data, since some differences did appear in certain markets. Throughout our presentation we will attempt to make systematic comparisons between what was offered to viewers and what was preferred in the various markets.

What are the viewers' preferences in the Montreal area?

Central Area (Spring 1976)
Basing our judgment on the 30 most popular programs in the Montreal Central Area during the Spring, we can say that although there were six networks operating in this market, only two, the French-language networks, have entries on the favourites list. Predominant in this market is the privately owned TVA network, which has 20 of the 30 most popular programs listed.

Over 15 categories of programs, the largest variety in any market, were preferred by Montrealers. This compares with the nine distinct categories of program identified on the lists of main program categories offered by all networks. In terms of percentage minutes, two program categories (movies 21 per cent, talk shows 19 per cent), which are consistently and often presented, are also highly preferred. News, public affairs, and crime drama are also chosen by viewers, but in a less substantial level than the networks offer (See Tables 11 and 12.)

Other programs such as comedy, medical drama, music, soap operas, adventure, cartoons, game shows, drama, and "other" programs which are less frequently presented by the networks involved (Radio-Canada and TVA) are great favourites of viewers. Therefore, although Montreal viewers prefer to watch some of the programs most frequently presented, they also express strong preferences for a variety of other types of programming. Soap operas and comedies, which represent a small percentage of total prime-time programming, represent the most popular forms of entertainment for the Montreal viewer.

The great majority of favourite programs for viewers here are Canadian productions (24 out of 30). This correlates well with the fact that Montreal offers the highest percentage of Canadian productions. Montreal is the only market studied in which the viewers express such a high preference for Canadian productions. This phenomenon is discussed in more detail in Section 2.

Full Coverage Area (Spring 1976)
In the Full Coverage Area there is a pattern of choices similar to that for Central Area audiences in Montreal. The 30 most popular programs are once more broadcast entirely on French-language networks. The privately owned TVA network still predominates with 20 of the 30 entries listed. Also in both the Central and Full Coverage Areas, the great majority (23) of the 30 most popular programs are Canadian productions. In terms of program categories, talk shows and movies, which represent an important share of the programming offered, are once again the favourites. This heterogeneity of preference is still present in the Full Coverage Area, where there are 14 categories of programs on the list of the 30 most popular. As previously mentioned, when this is compared with the nine main program categories offered by all the networks, we find once more that viewers are being selective in their choice and expressing preferences for programs which do not always correspond to the major categories of programs offered. (See Tables 13 and 14.)

Finally, men and women in the Montreal area express similar choices for seven of their ten most popular programs. Women choose all Canadian productions, whereas men prefer Canadian programs in eight of ten cases. (See Table 15.)

There is only a slight similarity between adults', adolescents', and children's preferences (three of ten). There is greater consensus (eight of ten) if we consider only the adolescents' and children's lists. Children select seven out of ten Canadian productions, teenagers select eight of ten Canadian productions, and adults choose ten of ten Canadian productions. One interesting note is that adolescents (seven of ten) and children (eight of ten) predominantly choose French-language public network, whereas adults choose their programming (seven of ten) from the French-language private network. (See Table 16.)

In the Montreal market, unlike other areas, American productions cannot compete in popularity with the Canadian – or rather Québcois – *téléromans* (soap operas) and comedy, although the American shows have a certain appeal when translated and broadcast in the French language.

Culturally relevant material must therefore be viewed as a factor in Montreal television programming, though such is not the case in other markets.

What are viewers preferences in the Toronto area?

Central Area (Spring 1976)
Basing our judgment on the 30 most popular programs in the Toronto Central Area during the Spring we find that in this market six of the eight main networks – all

English-language networks – have some entries on this list. Surprisingly, it is an American network (ABC) that has the most entries (11 out of 30). An interesting phenomenon in the Toronto area is, as we previously explained, the presence of programs broadcast simultaneously on a Canadian and an American network. Taking this into consideration, we see that Torontonians choose Canadian networks for 11 of the shows they prefer, the American networks for ten and a mix of both Canadian and American networks for nine. This implies that viewers are not only rejecting Canadian content, as we shall see later on, but that in many instances they prefer American networks to Canadian, even though the program fare is similar.

Although there are more networks (N = 8) in the Toronto market than there are in the Montreal area (N = 6), the variety of categories offered in Toronto numbers only eight. In viewer preference, there are only ten categories, compared to other markets such as Montreal with, for example, 15.

In program categories, there is a certain discrepancy between what is preferred and what is offered. The most preferred programs in terms of unit/minutes are variety (19 per cent), sports (15 per cent), and drama (12 per cent). All three are categories that have a low frequency on network schedules. Other major program categories such as comedy (14 per cent), crime drama (13 per cent), and movies (12 per cent) are more or less preferred in proportion to their frequency of appearance. The favourites are American productions (only five of the top 30 programs are Canadian). (See Tables 27 and 28.)

Full Coverage Area (Spring 1976)
As in the Montreal market, there are few differences in the Toronto area between Full Coverage and Central Area audience preferences. An American network (ABC) still tops the list and most of the programming (27 out of 30) is American whether presented on a Canadian or an American network.

Ten main program categories are similarly ranked as in the Central Area. (See Tables 29 and 30.)

Except for "specials" and sports, Toronto viewers prefer American content and programming and are increasingly drawn to watch these programs on non-Canadian networks. It is difficult to assess the role of violence in the 30 most popular programs. However, crime drama programs, which are the most obvious vehicles of violence, are preferred in the same proportion as they are offered. Excluding news programs, most networks in the Toronto area give crime drama the greatest percentage of airtime. On the other hand, Toronto viewers also like variety, drama, and sports programs, which are not as prevalent.

There is less commonality in choice between men and women in the Toronto market than in Montreal; they share only five of their ten preferences. And, unlike Montrealers, Toronto viewers put scarcely any

Canadian productions on their lists of the ten most popular programs – men included one, and women included none. (See Table 31.)

Three programs are preferred by all three age groups; teenagers and children share six programs. Canadian productions are almost nonexistent on these lists. (See Table 32.)

What are the viewers' preferences in the Ottawa area?

Central Area (Spring 1976)
As previously mentioned, viewers in the Ottawa area have six major networks at their disposal. On the list of the top 30 programs, each network has at least one entry. In the Central Area, two privately owned and one publicly owned Canadian network (all English-language networks) divide the Spring market into more or less equal shares. Next to the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area, Ottawa is the market where the English-language public network is most competitive. It appears here that the American networks, probably because all three networks broadcast only on one channel, have made fewer inroads and are less of a threat to other Canadian networks than in the Toronto market. Concurrent programming on a Canadian and an American network is rarely found in this market.

In Ottawa seven main program categories are offered by the networks. In their list of most preferred programs, viewers express choices for all seven categories. This relatively low number could come as a surprise since the Ottawa market has similar types of networks to those in the Montreal market where there are 15 different preferred categories. This may be explained by the fact that on the list of the 30 most popular programs in Ottawa, only two are on the French-language networks, while all 30 are in French in Montreal.

There are even more discrepancies between what is offered and what is watched in Ottawa than in Toronto. Only crime drama programs (18 per cent) are preferred to the degree they are presented. Other categories, such as comedy (31 per cent), movies (18 per cent), and variety (14 per cent), far surpass in popularity the percentage of time they are allocated in programming. Comedies are a major example. Although this category occupies only 12 per cent of the available airtime, it represents 31 per cent of what is preferred; 14 of the 30 preferred programs are comedies.

In the Ottawa area it thus appears that networks are underestimating the popularity of certain categories of television programs.

The absence of Canadian content in the Ottawa area is similar to the Toronto pattern – that is, American productions predominate (26 out of 30). (See Tables 43 and 44.)

Full Coverage Area (Spring 1976)
The Ottawa area is the only one of the four markets to show important differences between preferences

expressed by the Full Coverage Area and the Central Area audiences. Although we were advised by BBM that such discrepancies are more common in smaller market areas, we cannot offer a satisfactory explanation, especially since such differences were not apparent in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area.

The Full Coverage Area list exhibits, first of all, a control of the market by two networks – CTV, with 23 entries, and CBC with seven entries. The absence of Global is partly explained by the fact that many of its entries (including *Adam-12* and *The Odd Couple*) are listed for the Central Area and not for the Full Coverage Area in BBM reports. Excluding these popular programs, then, CTV managed to place a higher number of its popular news programs on the list – programs that had not quite reached the top 30 in the Central Area.

This not only affects the distribution in terms of networks but also in terms of Canadian content. In the Full Coverage Area, nine of the top 30 programs are Canadian productions.

In the number of different program categories preferred, there is an increase (N = 9) over the Central Area data. Although comedy still is the most popular (23 per cent) in terms of unit/minutes, it is less strong than in the Central Area, leaving space for the addition of new categories such as news programs, game shows, and music. Other categories maintain similar positions to those reported for the Central Area. (See Tables 45 and 46.)

Men and women in Ottawa share four programs on their lists of ten favourites. On the women's list, two programs are Canadian; on the men's list five are Canadian. (See Table 47.) This impressive number of Canadian productions is the highest in any market other than Montreal.

Adults, teenagers, and children share four of their favourite ten programs. In the Ottawa area there appears to be a higher consensus between age groups than in other markets. Adults and teenagers share six favourite programs, and teenagers and children also share six. (See Table 48.) The greatest discrepancy between these groups lies in the presence of news programs (N = 4) on the adults' lists. This explains in part why five of the ten most popular programs on the adults' list are Canadian productions. On the other hand, teenagers and children choose predominantly American productions (nine of ten).

In summary, then, Ottawa presents a different profile whether the Central or the Full Coverage Area is considered. In the latter, the profile is much more Canadian. In an overall comparison of markets, however, Ottawa would probably come closer to the Toronto programming profile than to the Montreal.

What are the viewers' preferences in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area?

Central Area (Spring 1976)
Although there are three networks in this area, it is basically a two network market (CTV and CBC). The French-language network, Radio-Canada, does not compete even though there is a large population of French descent in the Timmins area. Interestingly enough, in this market, the publicly owned CBC differs most in its program categories from the CBC in other areas. Here also, CBC has the greatest share of the market: 16 out of the 30 entries are presented on its channel. However, the absence of American networks must be taken into consideration.

Even though this is a small market with only a couple of networks offering only five main program categories, surprisingly, there are nine different program categories on the list of the 30 most popular programs. This is astonishing when compared with the Toronto market, which has almost three times the number of networks. (See Tables 57 and 58.)

This fact illustrates clearly our point that having a great number of networks does not necessarily ensure either a greater variety of programs broadcast nor a greater variety preferred by viewers. There are comparable similarities between categories offered and categories most preferred – movies, comedies, and adventure programs, as well as a variety of programs shown less frequently. These include variety, "other" programs, documentaries, game shows, crime drama, and music programs. Also, note the total absence of news programs and the relatively minor importance of crime drama, which we have shown is an important main category of at least one of the main networks.

One similarity between this and the Toronto and Ottawa areas is the predominance of U.S. productions – 24 on the list of 30. However, the Canadian programs on the list are not news or sports, as in the other English markets, but rather music, variety, and game show programs.

Full Coverage Area (Spring 1976)
Data pertaining to Full Coverage Area audience appears to be almost a carbon copy of data from the Central Area audience in Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay. (See Tables 59 and 60.)

Nine distinct categories, which are basically the same for both area audiences, appear on the list of the 30 most popular. They rank in much the same order and, once more, 24 of 30 are U.S. productions. The only slight change is one in which the privately owned CTV network gains a slight lead (17 of 30) on the publicly owned CBC.

Men and women in the Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay area share six of their favourite programs (mostly comedy). For both groups, three of the ten choices are Canadian productions. (See Table 61.)

Only two program preferences are shared by adults, teenagers, and children, but teenagers and children have six favourite programs in common. As for Canadian productions, the adults' lists show four of ten;

none appear on the teenagers' list and only one appears on the children's list. (See Table 62.)

In summary, then, it appears that in this market the economic factor (public versus private) does not play as important a role as in other markets. Sudbury – Timmins – North Bay is the only one of three English markets studied where viewers selected Canadian programs other than specials, news, or sports events. Finally, it is also apparent that a diversity of program preference is not dependent on the overall number of networks available.

In adddition, it appears that distinct language and cultural factors contribute to the different profiles of television viewing in the four markets. There exists, for example, in the Montreal market, the true possibility of reaching a major segment of the population with highly popular and culturally relevant material that can be produced at a relatively low cost. The French-language private TVA network, one of the most profitable networks in Canada, illustrates this point in its production of a certain number of low cost soap opera and comedy programs where cultural themes can best be exploited. The state-subsidized French-language Radio-Canada network has also retained, in part, this approach.

On the other hand, English-language networks in most markets, having chosen to present more crime drama action/adventure programs, have then been forced to import mainly U.S. productions, given the relatively high cost of such endeavours. The result is a greater proportion of violence in the programming on the English-language networks. And yet, although such television fare is certainly popular in some markets, in others it is often preferred in much greater quantity than the viewer demands.

There is another major distinction between culturally different markets. French-language networks import a greater number of programs from countries other than the U.S. English-language networks, in contrast, acquire fewer non-U.S. foreign productions.

Content Analysis of
French-Language Serials

This section is a content analysis of individual shows or episodes of French-language television entertainment series. Specifically, we analyze a number of Quebec *téléromans* (soap operas) which represent the most popular category of television programming for Montreal viewers. Because of time constraints, our analysis is impressionistic and does not pretend to be exhaustive or in depth. The presentation of results is therefore more qualitative than quantitative. This general overview, will, however, indicate the main social themes conveyed in these types of programs.

Without any doubt the *téléroman* is a unique Québécois phenomenon of early evening television programming. These shows have been broadcast in Quebec since the very beginning of television and they have always attracted considerable numbers of viewers.

There have been several minor studies on the content of the *téléroman* in the past few years but there is only one major detailed investigation of the major theme of these series. Line Ross, [14] in her research on the *téléroman* from 1960 to 1971, made a number of pertinent observations about the realities and values transmitted in these types of programs. Although the sample of programs she studied was not the 1975-1976 version of the *téléromans* studied here, a number of the same themes still apply. As an introductory note to this chapter, we will therefore briefly discuss some of her observations.

Whether intentionally or not, the authors of the *téléroman* seem to depict reality and everyday occurrences in a relatively conservative fashion that reinforces the dominant ideology. On the other hand, it would be improper to say that the reality depicted in these series is altogether different from that which the average viewer encounters in his/her own life.

Even though the *téléroman* has its share of catastrophes, miracle-type solutions, and improbable coincidences, it is still fairly realistic. It gives a somewhat distorted reflection of society, yet it presents experiences that people share. All of us, to a certain extent, experience trite everyday occurrences, function at a slower pace, share our palliative conversations, and centre on our primary relations. This is our reality much

more than the fast-action television programs where adventure, heroism, violence, and exotic settings predominate. The fact that the *téléroman* is that much closer to our reality might explain, in part, its tremendous success and influence in Quebec society. Although we cannot interpret the functions and effects of such content *per se*, those ingredients which are the mainstay of these series – our vision of social relationships, the privileges granted to tradition and conservatism, and the interpretation of collective problems – encourage a high degree of fidelity on the part of viewers, especially when those elements are presented through a medium of pseudo-realistic intrigues.

Methodology

Our sample consists of seven *téléromans* which ranked within the ten most popular television programs of Spring 1976 in the Montreal area. These were all broadcast on the two principal French-language networks, Radio-Canada and TVA. They were all produced in Montreal and therefore substantially reflect local characteristics. These series reach between 1,423,800 and 698,800 viewers weekly. Their audience encompasses a wide spectrum of society and comprises men, women, and children of all ages. Unlike the English-language network soap operas which appear in the afternoon, all the Quebec *téléromans* are shown in the evening.

Those *téléromans* that we analyzed are: *Rue des Pignons, Les Berger, La P'tite semaine, Y'a pas de problème, Symphorien, Avec le temps,* and *Quelle famille.*

Our sample consists of one 30-minute episode from each series. All but two of these were shown during the same week, October 4th to October 10th, 1976. Both the episode chosen from the *Quelle famille* series, because it had been discontinued, and the one chosen from *Avec le temps,* because it was the only one available, were taken from the Spring season of 1976.

Before proceeding to the results, we present our operational definition for this particular category of program. For the purist, the correct definition of a *téléroman* would be the one Line Ross used in her study:

The *téléroman* is a program presenting fictitious characters and composed of a series of episodes in continuity one with the other and broadcast at fixed intervals, usually weekly. This type of program narrates one or more stories in a realistic style.

If this definition were applied to the letter, five of the seven programs chosen would fall into comedies or drama instead, for they include all of the characteristics stated above except the element of continuity. But because this element is a somewhat marginal aspect of the genre and because, in the mind of the industry and the public, the label *téléroman* is always applied to these series, we will keep this identification.

Our analysis has two parts: the first (A) will describe each *téléroman* episode in terms of the following major program elements:
1. physical setting
2. main characters
3. relationships between characters
4. types of conflicts that arise and mode of resolution
5. global messages or main themes

The second part (B) will present in summary form an overall view of the particular "world" generally depicted in the *téléromans*.

It must be noted that we are dealing with a very limited sample and that in an episode all the characters and events that might usually be present in the total series may not be accounted for.

For each episode analyzed [15] we will first present a brief description of the overall story line of *the series*, based on the outline written by promotional people at the network. This will be followed by a short summary of the episode studied and presentation of the program elements described above.

Descriptions of Individual *Téléromans* Episodes

Rue Des Pignons

(Radio-Canada) broadcast at 9 p.m. on Tuesday
30 minutes
Audience size: 1,153,800

Description of series

As has often been said of Place Pigalle, *Rue des Pignons* is a street, a place, a neighbourhood. At the outset it was mostly an underprivileged neighbourhood. It was a part of the city from which one wanted to escape. In fact, two of the principal "heroines", the Jarry girls, have succeeded in doing this: one, Denise, by marrying a doctor, and the other, Jeannine by marrying a millionaire for whom she has no love. Throughout the years, *Rue des Pignons* has more or less changed direction. Conditions have greatly improved in this neighbourhood and this is reflected in the characters' ways of living and thinking. All the same, the characters in *Rue des Pignons* continue to reflect in their day-to-day life the behaviour of modest citizens of a metropolitan city like Montreal.

The episode analyzed was broadcast on Tuesday, October 5, 1976.

Summary of Episode

Hélène must visit a notary who has contacted her about her father-in-law's will. Micheline and Joachim are at their farm and are having Philippe and his new bride over for supper. Henri is suffering from chronic arthritis and has been advised by his doctor that there is little that can be done for his condition.

Setting

The action takes place for the most part in the "Rue des Pignons" neighbourhood and on a farm not too distant from Montreal. Four of the eight scenes take place at peoples' places of work (i.e. on the farm, in the doctor's office, and in the corner store). The others are either in the living room or outside in the country.

Characters

A total of ten characters, seven men and three women, appear in this episode. All are adults except for one, an adolescent. Five of the characters are married, two are widowed, one is single, and three could not be categor-ized. Although no children appear in this episode, we know that at least four of the characters have children and one couple is expecting their first.

Occupational status of the characters:

Male	Female
3 doctors	2 homemakers
1 farmer	1 secretary
1 proprietor of a corner store	
1 detective	
1 student	

Three (doctor, farmer, and store proprietor) of the ten characters were depicted in their working environments. Five of the characters could be considered upper-class, one is white collar, three are blue collar, and one is a student.

Some of the characters in *Rue des Pignons* have had health problems in the past. In this episode, Henri, the retired doctor, is suffering from arthritis. During other episodes, however, characters are struggling with physical and psychological ailments such as depression and alcoholism.

Interpersonal Relationships

In this episode, all interactions between characters are concerned and friendly. Each interaction expresses either happiness about an event or shows support for those who are about to go through bad times. Confidences and advice are the main themes of these interactions.

Conflictual Interaction

In this episode not a single conflictual encounter could be identified.

Global Message

Family and friendship appear as the ultimate themes of this episode. There are scenes focusing on the happiness and joy of some couples who have either just got married or are about to have a child, other scenes

dealing with the sickness and loneliness of some of the characters. The latter can nonetheless rely on the assistance of some friends or family. Patience and love serve to alleviate this suffering and destiny, though the cause of these problems may also be seen as a cure.

Although there are no conflictual encounters in this episode, there have been exceptional conditions where "crimes" have been committed in the past. These misdemeanours, perpetrated for the most part by strangers, have not been focal points of the series but rather vehicles for directing the viewers' thoughts to the compassion that friends and family can express for the victim. The principal intrigues thus remain centred on the personal interrelationships of family and friends.

Les Berger

(TVA) Broadcast at 7:30 p.m. on Tuesday
30 minutes
Audience size: 1,423,800

Description of Series

The sentimental, professional, and social adventures of a middle-class family caught up in today's problems. These adventures are sometimes light-hearted but more often dramatic. The action evolves mostly around the middle-class Berger family whose daughter married the son of the upper-class Beaulieu.

Summary of Episode

After a long stay abroad, Mr. Beaulieu, the industrialist, decides to come back to his wife and married children. He is now a new man, who wants to enjoy life and forget his former rat-race working habits. Everybody is quite happy to see him. His son is, however, quite disappointed to see him abandon his business. Beaulieu also learns in this episode that his step-daughter, who is expecting a child, is very unhappy. She informs him that her present husband is not the child's father.

Setting

In this episode, the general setting is once more Montreal, although there are few physical signs of the city. All five scenes occur in the living rooms, either those of the respective families or their friends homes. These are for the most part modern and comfortable settings.

Characters

Unlike many *téléromans*, there is a greater proportion of women (N = 6) than men (N = 3) in this episode. It is a world of adults, except for the presence of one child, Beaulieu's granddaughter. The majority of the characters (N = 6) are married; one couple appear to be living together out of wedlock; there is one single person and the one child. Each family seems to have one or two children, though they are not shown.

Occupational status of the characters:

Male	Female
2 businessmen (1 retired)	1 business woman
1 teacher	1 maid
	3 housewives
	1 without occupation
	1 child

In this episode, the women are generally not working outside the home.

All characters are in good health, although Mr. Beaulieu has had a heart attack in the past.

Interpersonal Relationships

The interactions between the characters are on a very personal basis – that is, between family members. There is an atmosphere of rejoicing and happiness.

Conflictual Interaction

Only one of the five scenes – and one of minor importance – contained any conflictual elements. In this scene, Beaulieu's son questions his father's decision to step down from directing the family business. He raises his voice to his father and states that he does not understand such a "crazy" decision. The father answers back that he wants to enjoy life and that his son will simply have to accept it. The father then wishes his son good luck and leaves.

The type of conflict is of course argumentative in nature and centres on a father-son interaction. The object of conflict involves a personal decision taken by one character. The resolution comes about when one person ceases to participate in the discussion and leaves. There remain, however, no feelings of distrust or vengeance between the two; parental decision has simply won out.

Global Messages

The main theme in this episode is the family structure which has at least two components, one related to the interaction between men and women, and the other related to family business affairs. Although there is a certain amount of talk about work and business, there are no scenes where these are actually depicted. The "bourgeois" ideal which associates work, money, and happiness is also an underlying theme. For example, even though Mr. Beaulieu experiences a change of heart and wants to enjoy life, it is up to his son and daughter to continue in his business footsteps.

Sexuality is handled here with certain restrictions. For some characters it seems secondary; for others it is much more vital, and love is directly related to it. Beaulieu's mistress and his step-daughter personify this in different ways. The step-daughter has slept with a boy she hardly knows because she thought he loved her.

Those who make sex an important part of their life seem punished for doing so; the mistress is constantly lonely and the young girl is now unintentionally pregnant.

In many instances one finds the traditional female stereotype: the mother and the loving wife. There is, however, a new breed of women who are more business-like and who run the family companies. These women are calm, logical, and, in many instances, self-centred; nonetheless their responsibilities are always handed down from either their husbands or their fathers. Thus this series centres on marriage, family, and the work ethic. The family context lends itself well to emotional interactions without which these stories could not exist. And, interestingly enough, most of the intrigues are instigated by women.

Finally, even though themes are quite consistent, different ones also appear. In other episodes, for example, the Berger family, which was not featured in the specific episode we analyzed, is faced with a very contemporary problem; having to move their travel agency office because of the construction of an expressway.

In another episode, Beaulieu's granddaughter is kidnapped, this criminal act being committed by two young strangers. They are, however, apprehended within two or three episodes and the victim is returned to the parents unharmed. This event was in fact quite exceptional for the series by its very violence. There was no blood and gore here; the ransom money was not even paid.

In summary, the writer of this series appears to be introducing a number of societal problems and attempting to de-stereotype some societal roles.

La P'tite semaine

(Radio-Canada) Broadcast at 7 p.m. on Monday
30 minutes
Audience size: 735,400

Description of Series

Even the most serious topics are treated in a light-hearted way; today's problems are taken with a grain of salt. What is most important is to get people to smile rather than cry . . . this is the main goal of *La P'tite Semaine*'s author. Through four main characters, the viewer can see how the average citizen, one who is part of the silent majority, reacts to problems such as excessive advertising, crash-diet courses, free love among the young, disagreements with neighbours, etc.

The episode analyzed was broadcast on Monday. October 4, 1976.

Summary of Episode

Lucien's married daughter (Ginette) decides to help out a friend who is having marriage problems. Ginette invites her friend over for the night, to the dismay of her husband and parents. The friend and her two children take over the home, and living conditions become

unbearable. Finally, things get resolved to everybody's satisfaction – except for the friend's husband, who has to take his wife and children back.

Setting

The general setting is once more Montreal. Of the ten scenes, most take place in the living room (N = 5) or dining room (N = 3). The only exceptions are one scene in the kitchen and one in the variety store.

Characters

An equal number of men (N = 4) and women (N = 4) are portrayed in this predominantly adult world. Two children are also present in this episode, which is rare. Except for the children, all the characters are married.

Occupational status of the characters:

Male	Female
1 store owner	1 businesswoman husband's business)
1 psychiatrist	1 works at an audio-visual centre
1 uncategorizable	1 housewife (looking for work)
1 child	1 child

Apart from the psychiatrist and his wife who could be classified as upper-class, the other characters are mostly upper-middle-class. All the characters are healthy.

Interpersonal Relationships

For the most part there are good relationships between family and friends. Everyone starts out being quite cooperative and understanding under awkward circumstances. With time, the interactions become slightly more tense, but there is always a comic element which dissipates any hard feelings that might have developed.

Conflictual Interactions

Four of the ten scenes in this episode contain minor elements of conflict.

1) In the first encounter, the father wants to intervene in his daughter's plan to have her married friend over for the night. He argues that such things are simply not done. His daughter retorts that those are old principles that no longer stand. She kisses him goodnight and then goes back up to her apartment. Her father realizes that she is now an adult and that there is little he can do about it.

This type of conflict is based on a question of principle between father and daughter. It is reflected through a very mild discussion and is resolved by one of the parties (father) resigning himself to the other's position. No ill feelings remain.

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Area: Montreal
Season: Spring

Networks	Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	2.5	3	1.5	2	0	0
Comedy	20.5	15.5	16	9.5	17.5	11
Drama	7	6	0	0	7	9.5
Crime drama	3	4	15.5	20.5	21	24.5
Medical drama	1.5	2	1.5	2	1.5	2
Soap opera	1.5	1	1.5	1	0	0
Variety	2	3	4.5	3.5	4.5	7.5
Talk show	0	0	8	10	0	0
Game show	5.5	4	3	2	13	9
Music	6	5	11	7	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	2	4	1.5	4	.5	1.5
B) drama	1.5	3	1	3	1	4
C) comedy	0	0	1	3	.5	1
D) other	0	0	1	2.5	.5	1
Total	3.5	7	4.5	12.5	2.5	7.5
Sports A) information program	4	2.5	.5	.5	0	0
B) coverage of events	1.5	3.5	1.5	4	.5	1
Documentary	2.5	3.5	.5	.5	2	1.5
News	22	25	24	20	29.5	25
Public affairs	11.5	10	2.5	1.5	0	0
Cartoons	1	.5	0	0	.5	.5
Other	3.5	3.5	4	3.5	.5	1
Uncategorizable	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Type of programs broadcast during the Fall of 1975 in the Toronto area

Identification:

	CBLT		CFTO		CHCH		CKGN		CBLFT		WGR		WBEN		WKBW	
Call letters	CBLT		CFTO		CHCH		CKGN		CBLFT		WGR		WBEN		WKBW	
Channel	5		9		11		22		25		2		4		7	
City	Toronto		Toronto		Toronto-Hamilton		Uxbridge		Toronto		Buffalo, N.Y.		Buffalo, N.Y.		Buffalo, N.Y.	
Language	English		English		English		English		French		English		English		English	
Network	CBC		CTV		Indep.		Global		Radio-Canada		NBC		CBS		ABC	
Program category	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.
Adventure	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	4	1	1	0	0	0	0
Comedy	25	19	16	11	6	4	25	16	7	4	7	4	20	13	13	9
Drama	7	8	0	0	2	3	1	2	3	2	6	10	2	2	1	1
Crime drama	3	4	17	28	21	27	23	22	0	0	13	17	9	11	13	17
Medical drama	1	2	2	3	2	3	0	0	3	4	2	3	2	3	1	2
Soap opera	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Variety	12	12	8	8	4	6	0	0	0	0	3	5	6	7	1	2
Talk show	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Game show	5	4	19	13	18	12	0	0	6	3.5	9	6	0	0	29	19
Music	10	13	9	7	17	11	3	3	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	3
Movie A) crime drama	0	0	.5	2	2	4	2	6	4	10	1	4	.5	2	1	2
B) drama	0	0	2	6	2	7	3	10	4	12	4	11	2	5	.5	2
C) comedy	0	0	.5	2	0	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	.5	2	0	0
D) other	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	3	2	5	.5	2
Total	0	0	3	10	4	11	8	22	8	22	6	18	5	14	2	6
Sports A) information program	3	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
B) coverage of events	0	0	0	0	2	6	1	2	0	0	15	10	17	13	7	18
Documentary	6	4	1	2	2	2	2	1	15	11.5	12	12	2	2	0	0
News	13	20	14	10	16	10	34	29	31	29	31	21	33	31	30	20
Public affairs	8	8	3	2	3	4	2	1	15	11.5	0	0	2	2	0	0
Cartoons	0	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Others	4	3	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	.5	.5	1	2
Uncategorizable	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by language

Area: Toronto
Season: Fall

Networks	English-Language		French-Language		American	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	1	1	3	4	0	0
Comedy	18	12	7	4	13	9
Drama	2	3	3	2	3	4
Crime drama	18	20	0	0	12	15
Medical drama	1	2	3	4	2	3
Soap opera	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variety	6	6	0	0	3	5
Talk show	1	1	0	0	0	0
Game show	10	7	6	3.5	13	8
Music	9	8	3	2	1	1
Movie A) crime drama	1	3	4	10	1	3
B) drama	2	6	4	12	2	6
C) comedy	1	2	0	0	0	0
D) other	0	0	0	0	1	3
Total	4	11	8	22	4	12
Sports A) information program	1	1	3	2	0	0
B) coverage of events	1	2	0	0	13	14
Documentary	2	2	12	12	2.5	2
News	19	17	31	29	31	24
Public affairs	4	4	15	11.5	.5	1
Cartoons	1	1	3	2	1	1
Other	2	2	0	0	1	1
Uncategorizable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Area: Toronto
Season: Fall

Networks	Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	3	3	0	0	0	0
Comedy	16	11.5	16	10	13	9
Drama	5	5	1	2	3	4
Crime drama	1.5	2	20	26	12	15
Medical drama	2	3	1	2	2	3
Soap opera	1	1	0	0	0	0
Variety	6	6	4	5	3	5
Talk show	0	0	1	1	0	0
Game show	5.5	4	12	8	13	8
Music	6.5	7.5	9	7	1	1
Movie A) crime drama	2	5	2	4	1	3
B) drama	2	6	3	8	2	6
C) comedy	0	0	1	2	0	0
D) other	0	0	1	1	1	3
Total	4	11	7	15	4	12
Sports A) information program	3	1.5	1	1	0	0
B) coverage of events	0	0	1	1	13	14
Documentary	9	8	1	1	2.5	2
News	22	24.5	21	16	31	24
Public affairs	12.5	10	3	3	.5	1
Cartoons	1	1	1	1	1	1
Other	2	1	1	1	1	1
Uncategorizable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Appendix – Table II

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by language

Area: Montreal
Season: Fall

Networks	English-Language		French-Language		American	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	1	1	3.5	3	.5	.5
Comedy	21.5	14.5	8	5	13.5	9
Drama	6.5	6	1.5	1	5.5	7.5
Crime drama	11	16	5	6	20.5	22
Medical drama	.5	1	3	4	3	4
Soap opera	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variety	5	6.5	1.5	1	4	5.5
Talk show	0	0	9	10.5	0	0
Game show	7	4.5	4.5	2.5	13.5	9
Music	11	10.5	7	5	.5	.5
Movie A) crime drama	0	0	2.5	5	1	3
B) drama	.5	1	3	9	1.5	6
C) comedy	.5	1	2	5	.5	1
D) other	.5	1.5	.5	2	.5	1.5
Total	1.5	3.5	8	21	3.5	11.5
Sports A) information program	2	1	1.5	1	0	0
B) coverage of events	1	2	0	0	13	14
	.5	1	.5	1	1	0
Documentary	4	3.5	4	5	2.5	1.5
News	15	20	31	25	30	25
Public affairs	9	7	6	5	1	1.5
Cartoons	2.5	1.5	1.5	1	1	1
Other	2	2.5	1.5	1	1	1.5
Uncategorizable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Appendix — Table III

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Area: Montreal
Season: Fall

Networks	Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
Program category	%unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	3.5	3	1	1	.5	.5
Comedy	17	11.5	12.5	8	13.5	9
Drama	7	6.5	1	.5	5.5	7.5
Crime drama	1.5	2	14.5	20	20.5	22
Medical drama	2	3	1.5	2	3	4
Soap opera	1.5	1	1.5	1	0	0
Variety	1.5	3	5	4.5	4	5.5
Talk show	0	0	9	10.5	0	0
Game show	7.5	4.5	4	2.5	13.5	9
Music	8	8.5	10	7	.5	.5
Movie A) crime drama	1	2.5	1.5	2.5	1	3
B) drama	2.5	7	1	3	1.5	6
C) comedy	0	0	2.5	6	.5	1
D) other	0	0	1	3.5	.5	1.5
Total	3.5	9.5	6	15	3.5	11.5
Sports A) information program	3.5	2	0	0	0	0
B) coverage of events	.5	1	.5	1	0	0
Documentary	7.5	7.5	.5	1	2.5	1.5
News	22.5	25	23.5	20	30	25
Public affairs	10	9	5	3	1	1.5
Cartoons	1.5	1	2.5	1.5	1	1
Other	1.5	2	2	1.5	1	1.5
Uncategorizable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Type of program broadcast during the Spring of 1976 in the Montreal area

Identification:

	CBFT		CBMT		CFTM		CFCF		WCAX		WPTZ	
Call letters	CBFT		CBMT		CFTM		CFCF		WCAX		WPTZ	
Channel	2		6		10		12		3		5	
City	Montreal		Montreal		Montreal		Montreal		Burlington		Plattsburg, N.Y.	
Language	French		English		French		English		English		English	
Network	Radio-Canada		CBC		TVA		CTV		CBS		NBC	
Program category	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.
Adventure	5	6	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0
Comedy	9	6	32	25	6	4	26	15	22	14	13	8
Drama	6	4	8	8	0	0	0	0	8	11	6	8
Crime drama	1	1	5	7	8	11	23	30	12	16	30	33
Medical drama	3	4	0	0	3	4	0	0	3	4	0	0
Soap opera	3	2	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Variety	1	1	3	5	3	2	6	5	3	5	6	10
Talk show	0	0	0	0	16	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Game show	6	4	5	4	3	2	3	2	15	10	11	8
Music	3	2	9	8	13	9	9	5	0	0	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	4	8	0	0	3	8	0	0	0	0	1	3
B) drama	2	5	1	1	2	6	0	0	0	0	2	8
C) comedy	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	1	2	0	0
D) other	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	3	1	2	0	0
Total	6	13	1	1	8	22	1	3	2	4	3	11
Sports A) information program	3	2	5	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
B) coverage of events	3	7	0	0	0	0	3	8	1	2	0	0
Documentary	4	5	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	3	2
News	31	30	13	20	31	20	17	20	31	30	28	20
Public affairs	12	10	11	10	0	0	5	3	0	0	0	0
Cartoons	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Others	2	2	5	5	4	2	4	5	1	2	0	0
Uncategorizable	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by language

Area: Montreal
Season: Spring

Networks	English-Language		French-Language		American	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	1.5	2	2.5	3	0	0
Comedy	29	20	7.5	5	17.5	11
Drama	4	4	3	2	7	9.5
Crime drama	14	18.5	4.5	6	21	24.5
Medical drama	0	0	3	4	1.5	2
Soap opera	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variety	4.5	5	2	1.5	4.5	7.5
Talk show	0	0	8	10	0	0
Game show	4	3	4.5	3	13	9
Music	9	6.5	8	5.5	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	0	0	3.5	8	.5	1.5
B) drama	.5	.5	2	5.5	1	4
C) comedy	0	0	1	3	.5	1
D) other	.5	1.5	.5	1	.5	1
Total	1	2	7	17.5	2.5	7.5
Sports A) information program	2.5	1.5	2	1.5	0	0
B) coverage of events	1.5	4	1.5	3.5	.5	1
Documentary	.5	1	2.5	3	2	1.5
News	15	20	31	25	29.5	25
Public affairs	8	6.5	6	5	0	0
Cartoons	0	0	1	.5	.5	.5
Other	4.5	5	3	2	.5	1
Uncategorizable	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

2) The second conflictual encounter is between husband and wife. In this scene, Lucien (the store owner) is having a discussion with his wife about his right to intervene in their daughter's scheme. His wife argues that it is none of their business and that Nicole (their daughter) should be left to handle her own situation. He considers this unacceptable and says he is going upstairs to talk to her. As he is about to leave the kitchen, his wife asks him if he would peel some potatoes for her. He agrees, suddenly realizing that his dear wife has once more had the last word.

The type of conflict is argumentative in nature and involves a husband-wife interaction. The disagreement is resolved when one party abandons his plan of action.

3) The third conflictual encounter materializes when Christian (Nicole's husband) suddenly realizes that, with his wife's friend moving in with her children, he will have to sleep in the living room with the two women. So he expresses his disenchantment with such a situation. Nicole answers back that he has no cause to complain and that it is perfectly acceptable for all three of them to sleep together as long as he behaves himself. This scene ends with the couple joking together.

The nature of this conflict is also argumentative. It involves a husband-wife interaction where a question of principle is once more at stake. The resolution of the problem is quite similar to the first described above – that is, one party submits to the other's decision.

4) The fourth and last conflict in this episode centres around a dicussion between Nicole's husband (a psychiatrist) and her friend. He argues that she is not using the proper terminology in her description of her husband. This argumentative conflict between acquaintances is resolved by arbitration, when Nicole steps in and tells them both to drop the subject.

Global Messages
The main themes in this episode revolve around family friends and helping out those in need. Between spouses, problems are never insurmountable and are dealt with accordingly. There is a certain reference to work in the episode, although it is not predominant, when the Lajoies are seen in their variety store. Women play a mediating role in the conflict situations. Even though one of the main characters is from France, it appears that he has been around long enough to be completely integrated into French Canada. There is very little in his behaviour that might distinguish him from any other *Québéçois*, except for his slight accent. One interesting point, however, is that the characters, following his example, now have wine regularly at the dinner table.

In summary, *La p'tite semaine* deals with average people reacting to the everyday simple problems of life, with a touch of humour. In other episodes, the Lajoies have disagreements with their neighbours and travel to Europe to visit their children who are studying there. (This series is on repeats this year and has been sold for broadcast in France.)

Y'a pas de problème
(Radio-Canada) Broadcast at 8 p.m. on Monday
30 minutes
Audience size: 994,900

Description of Series
This comical series is set in a small provincial town where the Brunelle family lives. Ordinary people, the Brunelles have a moderate income but lack nothing. Hervé, the father, is a truckdriver with three children; one is a laboratory technician and the two others are students. The action revolves around their extended family and friends.

The episode analyzed was broadcast on Monday, October 4, 1976.

Summary of Episode
Hervé and Charly, two truck drivers, pull into the truck depot and meet a colleague, Henri, with a beautiful blonde he introduces as his wife. The next day they meet Henri again in a restaurant in Chicoutimi. This time he is with a brunette, whom he also introduces as his wife. The following afternoon Charly starts flirting with Henri's blonde friend as she is waiting for him at the truck depot. Henri surprises them and takes Charly into a nearby shed and punches him (off camera) in the eye. In the next scene, Henri asks forgiveness and pleads with Charly to help him so that his two "wives" won't meet at an upcoming truck exposition. Charly agrees but botches the situation and the two "wives" leave Henri (in neither case were they really married). At the end, everybody still remains on good terms and Charly and Henri are still friends.

Setting
Unlike the other *téléromans*, the main setting is not in Montreal but rather in one particular small town, on the road, and in different parts of the province. As one would guess, in this episode, the major part of the action took place at the principal characters' places of work ($N = 4$), that is, at the truck depot and in their trucks. The other scenes were in a restaurant ($N = 4$), in a motel ($N = 3$), and in Hervé's dining room ($N = 1$). The restaurant is a specially frequent back drop used for the truckers on the road. It is in many ways an extension of the home dining room.

Characters
A much greater number of men ($N = 7$) participate in this series. Only four women appear and there are no children. Three of the characters are married, three are living together out of wedlock, two are single, and three are uncategorizable. One couple, the Brunelles, have three children, but they do not appear in this episode.

Occupational status of the characters:

Male	Female
6 truck drivers	2 uncategorizable
1 truck dispatcher	1 housewife
	1 waitress

The characters are all blue-collar workers. In this episode, all the characters are in good health.

Interpersonal Relationships

There is a "camaraderie" atmosphere among working colleagues, with some competition over girlfriends. Although there are some rather violent exchanges, the aggressor and victim always make up and remain buddies. Friends always stand by to assist one another.

Conflictual Interactions

Of the twelve scenes in this episode, four contain conflictual elements. Physical aggression was not shown on camera, however.

1) The first such interaction involved one truckdriver, Charly, flirting with the girlfriend of another, Henri. Charly is caught in the act and goes into a nearby shed to explain himself to Henri. Noise is heard and then the victim, Charly, comes out with a black eye.

The nature of the conflict is one of rivalry. It is reflected by one party physically attacking (off camera and in a bloodless way) the other. The subsequent interaction between these two characters is one of forgive-and-forget.

2) The second conflictual interaction is not physical. It involves Henri and his two girlfriends who, suddenly realizing they have been duped, ask him for an explanation.

Argumentative in nature, this conflict between lovers is simply resolved by two of the parties (two girlfriends) ceasing to have any further contact with the third party (Henri).

3) The third conflictual interaction is a repeat of the first. Henri, angered by the fact that Charly "fumbled" his assignment in keeping the two girlfriends apart, asks him once more to follow him in to the shed. There (off-camera) he administers a second black eye.

This type of conflict is a punishment for having let a friend down. It is resolved by physical aggression, but the victim seems almost ready to receive his punishment. In the next scene both aggressor and victim are willing to let bygones be bygones.

4) The final interaction is exactly the same as the first, except that it involves a character other than Charly. In this situation, another truckdriver is bragging about a cute little redhead he has in Ottawa, who happens to be Henri's girlfriend also. Both men go in to the restaurant washroom to have a little talk and one comes out with a black eye.

The type of conflict is rivalrous. It is resolved by physical aggression. Once more the "violent" act is off camera and bloodless.

All in all, these encounters are presented in a context that is largely humorous.

Global Messages

The principal themes of these episodes are rivalry, men at work, and friendship. Problems are never overly dramatic and are resolved quite easily. Although there is a constant reminder of the characters' occupations, they are seen, not at work, but rather at the end of their day or during lunch breaks. Because of their work, they are more often seen on the road than at home. Even though this might be a hardship to the family, it is important that a man works at what he likes and that he earns an income for his family. There are a number of references to sexuality, especially by Charly, the Don Juan bachelor, but this is more talk than action and everybody jokes about it. Women appear quite stereotyped – faithful wife or duped mistress. There is also the young waitress who must bear the brunt of the usual innuendos of truck drivers.

In summary, each scene, whether serious or funny at the outset, always ends up with a humorous twist. Other programs in this series have featured the "robbery" of a case of apple cider, a portrayal of the characters winning a lottery, a scare when everybody becomes sick with what some think is the "swine" flu, and an encounter with a motorcycle gang. All of these interactions are non-violent, and seldom is there a physical exhange. *Y'a pas de problème* remains a humorous series which treats its themes in a light-hearted fashion.

Symphorien

(TVA) Broadcast at 7:30 p.m. on Tuesday
30 minutes
Audience size: 1,308,300

Description of Series

Symphorien is janitor of a boarding house where both the most realistic and the most looney things happen. He has an uncanny knack of getting into trouble when he wants to help somebody out.

The episode analyzed was broadcast on Tuesday, October 5, 1976.

Summary of Episode

Symphorien introduces a number of his friends to an insurance salesman. Each of his friends then decides, for different personal reasons, to buy insurance – some because they think the attractive young salesman will take them out to dinner. Another, a policeman, would like to be able to collect the $1,000 paid for a broken nose. Finally, each one decides to cancel his insurance and put the blame on Symphorien for having started the whole thing.

Setting

The setting is an east-end Montreal neighbourhood. There are almost equal numbers of scenes showing people at work (N = 4) and at the boarding house (N = 6). In the latter case, the dining room (N = 3) and entry hall (N = 3) are shown. Two other scenes take place outdoors.

Characters

Eight men and three women are portrayed in this episode. Most of the characters are single (N = 6); three are married, one is a widow, and one is uncategorizable.

Although no children appeared in this episode, the married couples have from one to three. [16]

Occupational status of the characters:

Male	Female
2 policemen	2 pensioners
1 funeral director	1 uncategorizable
1 janitor	
1 unemployed	
1 uncategorizable	
2 insurance salesmen	

For the most part, the characters could be classified as covering the spectrum of the middle class. All are in excellent health.

Interpersonal Relationships

In this episode the accent is on the interactions between Symphorien and his pals. Mostly friendly, always humorous, there are sometimes mild outbursts of impatience. Symphorien is often shaken by the scruff of the neck because he is the traditional scapegoat for all misfortunes, but this is done in a light-hearted fashion. At the end of each episode, everybody usually joins in having a good laugh about the latest problems that have been settled.

Conflictual Interactions

Our analysis showed that seven of the 13 scenes contained conflictual elements. The majority of these were of a minor type.

1) In the first conflict interaction, the boyfriend of one of the main female characters grasps Symphorien by the collar and angrily shakes him. This is because Symphorien introduced the insurance salesman to his girlfriend.

The object of this conflict was jealousy between lovers. The victim as not one of the lovers, however, but a friend of both. The manifestation of the conflict was a mild physical aggression on the part of one of the two

lovers. Resolution was brought about by the aggressing party dropping the topic and leaving. No physical harm resulted from this act.

2) The second interaction involves a police sergeant and one of his officers. The problem arose when the sergeant decided to reschedule the officer's day off, thus preventing him from going to play golf.

The object of the argument is a conflict of interest between boss and subaltern. It is resolved by the simple acceptance of authority on the part of the subordinate.

3) The third scene involves three single ladies waiting for their golf date, only to learn that ladies are not permitted to tee off in the afternoon at the club where the insurance salesmen wanted to take them.

The object of the conflict centres on the ladies' disappointment at not being granted their wish. The resolution comes about when one party is forced to accept the situation but retaliates by cancelling the insurance.

This is one of the rare moments where we find any evidence of retaliation on the part of the victims.

4) In the fourth circumstance, the constable is seen stopping a driver for a minor offense and then trying to provoke him to physical violence so that he can collect insurance money for a broken nose. It comes to the point where he is almost pleading with the driver to hit him.

The object of the conflict is one party's hopes for profit and the second party's refusal to accommodate him. It occurs between strangers. The resolution comes about when one party simply gives up and lets the other go.

5) This conflictual encounter is quite similar to the first one described. Symphorien serves as the scapegoat. The officer, angered by not being able to collect insurance money, is shaking Symphorien by the collar when the sergeant appears.

The conflict is one of frustration and is expressed in a physical way at the expense of a second party.

It is resolved by authority when a third party intervenes.

6) The sixth conflictual encounter is probably the most serious of all. The officer who insulted the driver earlier on suddenly runs into him, out of uniform, in an alley, where the driver punches him on the nose. The object of the conflict is revenge between strangers. The resolution comes about through physical assault.

This was shown on camera, but no weapons were used and the consequences were not drastic.

7) The last encounter involves this same officer, with a bandage on his nose, wanting to get at Symphorien because of what had just happened.

The object of the conflict is revenge between friends. It is manifested by a mild physical scuffle. The resolution comes about when Symphorien, taken by the collar, slips out of his coat and runs away.

All of the conflictual encounters have a humorous connotation. There does appear to be, however, a

relatively consistent portrayal of one policeman as an aggressive type of individual. The principal victim, Symphorien, always escapes unharmed.

Global Messages

The principal themes in this episode are friendship and personal gratification. Although these elements are not altogether reconciled, friendship wins over greed. In addition, this episode shares a number of characteristics of the nuclear family, although there is no family as such involved. For example, five of the characters live under one roof and have friendly family-type times around the dining room table.

In a number of scenes the characters are seen at their work. This is especially true of the policeman, although there is very little in common with Kojak here. Women do not work, seem idle, and spend their time thinking up ways to be invited out for dinner. They are chatty, ridiculous, and somewhat hysterical. Nor are the men much better.

In summary, then, this series has burlesque plots and characters intended as superficial amusement.

Avec Le Temps

(Radio-Canada) Broadcast at 8:30 p.m. on Monday
30 minutes
Audience size: 792,700

Description of Series

This series is about young people, young people who have time on their hands. They want to live in accordance with their ideals, not ignoring the reality of having to eat three meals a day. They devise a project that permits them to fulfil their goals and also to help the community. They may refute certain societal norms but not in a passive way. They might be considered drop-outs but they are certainly not idle.

The episode analyzed was broadcast on Monday, May 3, 1976.

Summary of Episode

Julie discovers the fascinating world of mushrooms through a friend who is an expert in the field. She then persuades her lover and child to go along hunting with her. She becomes so infatuated with mushrooms that she decides to cook nothing else. Her lover and child are saturated with her mushroom dishes and arguments follow. At the end, her lover gets sick and she promises never to feed him mushrooms again.

Setting

The setting is once more in the general Montreal area. Most of the scenes are either in Julie's apartment or at the community centre. More specifically there are four scenes in the living room, two in the dining room, five at the community centre, and one outdoors.

Although the characters are often in a work-related area, the centre, only one is actually working.

Characters

A total of five characters – four young adults and one child – are portrayed in this episode. Unlike all the other *téléromans*, not one of these characters could be identified as married. All are single except for Julie, who is divorced and has a young boy. Although Julie and her lover share an intimate relationship for several episodes, later on they will be portrayed as getting married. The viewer is led to think that such an arrangement is tolerable but that it should culminate in a more socially acceptable manner.

Occupational status of the characters:

Male	Female
1 student in psychology	1 secretary
1 child	1 teacher
	1 uncategorizable

The characters, although "drop-outs", appear to have no major financial problems. Work is for keeping busy rather than for financial support. All are healthy, except for one who has food poisoning in this episode.

Interpersonal Relationships

There is a variety of relationships here: between mother and child, between lovers, between brother and sister, and, finally, between peers. Although some of the components of the nuclear family are missing, it nonetheless appears that the different roles represent the elements of total family. Julie's lover, for example, takes on the fatherly role with her son. There are also the sibling interactions of François and Danielle. For the most part, interactions are between friends and siblings who help each other and are sensitive to each other's feelings.

Conflictual Interactions

Of the 12 scenes presented in this episode, five could be considered to have some element of conflict. Only one of these, however, has sinister overtones.

1) In the first such interaction, two characters are no longer interested in pursuing the mushroom hunt and prefer to go back home. The third character believes that the hunt is fascinating and that they should stay. The former decide to leave nonetheless.

The object of conflict is a slight disagreement as to what action should be taken. A discussion follows between lovers, with the child siding with the man against his mother. The conflict is resolved by the man and child simply leaving the scene. None of the parties shows any particular sign of being overly disturbed by the action.

2) The second interaction involves mother and son. The latter is saturated with mushroom dishes and refuses to eat any more. His mother threatens him with

Type of programs broadcast during the Spring 1976 in the Toronto area

Identification:

	CBLT		CFTO		CHCH		CKGN		CBLFT		WGR		WBEN		WKBW	
Call letters	CBLT		CFTO		CHCH		CKGN		CBLFT		WGR		WBEN		WKBW	
Channel	5		9		11		22		25		2		4		7	
City	Toronto		Toronto		Toronto-Hamilton		Uxbridge		Toronto		Buffalo, N.Y.		Buffalo, N.Y.		Buffalo, N.Y.	
Language	English		English		English		English		French		English		English		English	
Network	CBC		CTV		Indep.		Global		Radio-Canada		NBC		CBS		ABC	
	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.
Adventure	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	1	2
Soap opera	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Comedy	27	20	19	13	5	3	24	16	6	4	11	7	22	15	11	8
Drama	8	9	0	0	5	9	2	3	6	3	6	8	8	11	5	6
Crime drama	5	7	19	29	22	24	21	21	1	1	18	25	7	9	9	12
Medical drama	0	0	3	4	3	4	0	0	3	4	0	0	3	4	2	3
Variety	5	8	7	6	6	9	1	2	1	1	6	9	2	3	6	6
Talk show	1	1	0	0	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Game show	5	4	18	12	15	10	3	2	6	3	8	6	1	1	24	17
Music	10	9	8	5	12	9	4	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	0	0	1	2	2	4	1	3	3	6	1	2	0	0	2	5
B) drama	1	1	0	0	1	5	1	2	3	8	1	7	1	2	2	4
C) comedy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	1	2	1	2	0	0
D) other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	2	5
Total	1	1	1	2	3	9	2	5	8	19	3	11	3	8	6	14
Sports A) information program	5	3	1	1	0	0	3	2	3	2	0	0	16	9	0	0
B) coverage of events	0	0	2	8	0	0	7	17	1	2	14	10	2	6	4	10
Documentary	1	2	1	1	4	3	0	0	4	5	6	4	1	1	0	0
News	15	20	15	10	15	10	30	27	31	30	28	20	33	30	29	20
Public affairs	11	10	2	2	2	3	1	1	18	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cartoons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
Others	6	6	2	4	2	3	1.5	1.5	1	2	0	0	1	2	3	2
Uncategorizable	0	0	0	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by language

Area: Toronto
Season: Spring

Networks	English-Language		French-Language		American	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	0	0	3	4	1	1
Comedy	19	13	6	4	15	10
Drama	4	6	6	3	6	8
Crime drama	17	20	1	1	11	15
Medical drama	1.5	2	3	4	2	2
Soap opera	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variety	5	6	1	1	5	6
Talk show	2	1	0	0	0	0
Game show	10	7	6	3	11	8
Music	8	6	3	2	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	1	2	3	6	1	2
B) drama	1	2	3	8	1	4
C) comedy	0	0	2	5	1	2
D) other	0	0	0	0	1	3
Total	2	4	8	19	4	11
Sports A) information program	2	2	3	2	5	3
B) coverage of events	2	6	1	2	7	9
Documentary	1.5	2	4	5	2	2
News	19	17	31	30	30	24
Public affairs	4	4	18	14	0	0
Cartoons	0	0	2	2	0	0
Other	3	4	1	2	1	1
Uncategorizable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Appendix — Table XII

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Area: Toronto
Season: Spring

Networks	Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	2	2	1	1	1	1
Comedy	16.5	12	16	11	15	10
Drama	7	6	2	4	6	8
Crime drama	3	4	21	25	11	15
Medical drama	1.5	2	2	3	2	2
Soap opera	1.5	1	0	0	0	0
Variety	3	4.5	4	6	5	6
Talk show	.5	.5	2	1	0	0
Game show	5.5	3.5	12	8	11	8
Music	6.5	5.5	8	5	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	1.5	3	1	3	1	2
B) drama	2	4.5	1	2	1	4
C) comedy	1	2.5	0	0	1	2
D) other	0	0	0	0	1	3
Total	4.5	10	2	5	4	11
Sports A) information program	4	2.5	1	1	5	3
B) coverage of events	.5	1	3	8	7	9
Documentary	2.5	3.5	2	1	2	2
News	23	25	20	16	30	24
Public affairs	14.5	12	2	2	0	0
Cartoons	1	1	0	0	0	0
Other	3	4	2	3	1	1
Uncategorizable	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Type of programs broadcast during the Fall of 1975 in the Ottawa area

Identification:

	CBOT	CKGN	CBOFT	CJOH	CFVO	WWNY
Call letters	CBOT	CKGN	CBOFT	CJOH	CFVO	WWNY
Channel	4	6	9	13	30	7
City	Ottawa	Ottawa	Ottawa	Ottawa	Hull	Watertown, N.Y.
Language	English	English	French	English	French	English
Network	CBC	Global	Radio-Canada	CTV	TVA	ABC-NBC-CBS

	CBOT % per prog. unit	CBOT % per prog. min.	CKGN % per prog. unit	CKGN % per prog. min.	CBOFT % per prog. unit	CBOFT % per prog. min.	CJOH % per prog. unit	CJOH % per prog. min.	CFVO % per prog. unit	CFVO % per prog. min.	WWNY % per prog. unit	WWNY % per prog. min.
Adventure	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Comedy	24	18	26	17	6	4	18	12	3	2	22	15
Drama	7	7	2	2	3	2	2	1	0	0	8	10
Crime drama	3	4	23	20	0	0	19	28	13	16	8	10
Medical drama	1	2	0	0	3	4	0	0	3	4	3	4
Soap opera	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variety	6	7	0	0	0	0	10	9	0	0	8	10
Talk show	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	20	0	0
Game show	8	6	0	0	3	2	5	3	0	0	6	4
Music	10	13	3	3	3	2	13	8	14	8	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	0	0	3	10	3	7	1	4	3	6	0	0
B) drama	0	0	1	6	4	13	1	2	2	4	2	5
C) comedy	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	4	1	4
D) other	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	3.5	10	1	5
Total	0	0	6	22	7	20	3	8	10.5	24	4	14
Sports A) information program	4	3	1	3	3	2	2	2	0	0	2	2
B) coverage of events	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Documentary	8	6	1	1	8	10	2	2	0	0	1	1
News	13	20	34	28	30	19	16	20	30	20	31	20
Public affairs	11	11	2	2	27	29	3	2	4	2	1	2
Cartoons	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	0	0	1	1
Others	4	2	2	2	3	2	0	0	3.5	1.5	2	3
Uncategorizable	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

in his office. Policemen are seen at the police station (*Symphorien*), truck drivers are seen on the road (*Y'a pas de problème*), and even adolescents are shown at work (*Avec le temps*) at their community centre. Although these are not lengthy scenes they are evident in most of the series. Work is presented as an almost absolute prerequisite to happiness. To be jobless is one of the most dreaded things that can happen to a man. This, of course, applies only to the men, whose absences from the home are usually justified by and related to work.

Social Class

In her study, Line Ross [17] stated that she had found an almost complete absence of real social class consciousness. Although in our sample there are some very easy-going relationships between people of different economic backgrounds, a certain number of class-related references appear in some of the series. There is, for example, in the comical *Symphorien* series, a weekly reference to one highly stereotyped rich couple who live in the west part of town, and to the more modest people in the east end. The "bourgeois" ideal in *Les Berger*, although sometimes questioned, is a very important part of their reality. In *Rue des Pignons*, a young girl from a modest background manages to marry "her" doctor. There are at least three important points that characterize this theme. The first is that relations between the characters from different social-class backgrounds are almost completely conflict-free and harmonious. Characters adjust from one social setting to the other with great ease. Secondly, there is a high mobility potential, especially for older children; it is always possible for the characters, usually through marriage, to climb to a higher point on the social ladder. Thirdly, there is an underlying theme which depicts the rich as lonely and beset by problems that money cannot resolve, whereas those who are less rich are more able to make do with what they have and to create their own happiness. Seldom are there references to credit or money problems in these *téléromans*, although in some of the series a favourite character is the winner (*Y'a pas de problème, Les Berger*), of the Quebec lottery.

There is an almost total consensus on basic values between social groups. Most of the characters do not take elements of social class into consideration in their relationships. The rich always know when and how to express their dependency on their less fortunate counterparts, who in turn usually have the advantages of being exceptionally strong on those human qualities that are needed in hard times.

Women's Roles

Other studies [18, 19] have documented the existence of the traditional image of loving wife and mother which continues to be predominantly presented in these *téléromans*. A women's ultimate joy in life is to have children and see them growing up. She complements her men by being their equal. She is soft, emotional, intuitive, dependent, and sometimes irrational. Although they will never renounce the above ideals, some women at a certain age are presented as more strong-minded and possessing leadership qualities. This is most evident in *Les Berger*, where two women run their family companies, or, in some instances, the wife shares the family business with her husband. In *La P'tite semaine*, both M and Mme Lajoie work in their variety store. In *Les Berger*, both M and Mme Berger run their travel agency. However, these occupational additions do not replace the women's traditional role in the family – they simply supplement it.

Men's Roles

The image of men is just as traditional. They must assume the economic responsibilities of having a family, and their work is their number one preoccupation. There are some exceptions where they share the housework or where they assume less traditional roles, but these are few. They generally leave the responsibility of bringing up the children to their wives while they work. All the same, they retain the ultimate power of decision in most of the situations.

Younger Generation

Except in *Avec le temps* and *Quelle famille*, there are few children and adolescents in the episodes studied. The presence of teenagers is always related to the family environment. Unless the series centres on them (as in the case in *Avec le temps*), they are merely a foil for family activity. When this younger generation is portrayed, it is to illustrate the familial values of love, friendship and affection. As a previous study also found [18], the young from both modest and more bourgeois backgrounds are preoccupied by sentimental attachments. They are totally apolitical and share with their parents the same absence of social conscience.

A number of themes are conspicuously absent from the series we analyzed:

1. Religion, especially when compared with some of the first *téléromans* in the Fifties and Sixties, is not an issue. In today's *téléromans*, we seldom see priests or religious activities other than the occasional bingo or Christmas-time charity. This is not to say that there are no religious references – characters make references to God's blessings or pray for his existence – but religion is no longer a central theme.

2. Economic problems, though not completely absent, are ones than can be resolved. Credit appears not to be a problem. Inflation and unemployment are seldom mentioned.

3. Cultural identity, political controversies, and language are problems that never arise in the world of the *téléromans*.

4. The older generation is seldom portrayed.

5. Although other ethnic groups appear from time to time, English Canadians are never among those portrayed.

6. Leisure-hour activities are also infrequent. The great majority of the characters do not watch television or make references to it.

7. The city and its dangers are seldom mentioned; crime and violence are the exception to the rule, and the only law enforcement depicted with any regularity is in *Symphorien* and *Rue des Pignons*, where the policemen are close friends of the main characters.

8. Finally, the *téléromans* present a world of non-strangers, where family and friends are linked to almost every new situation or new character.

Conclusion

Primarily, the *téléromans* present an image of an average man in a setting of familial security. It is a world of non-strangers. Characters are the sum of the relationships with their family and friends and the total family-and-friends environment becomes a perfect setting for a range of happy and sorrowful events. In this world, the stronger and more fulfilled characters are those who are surrounded by family and friends. Solitude is the worst of all evils. And, yet, this is also an unrealistic world in which the series depicts friends and family as overly understanding and accessible.

The action usually revolves around the day-to-day banalities of life. The characters face events rather than themselves and, when tragedy strikes, we are assured that the problem will be resolved – if not in that episode, at least later on in the season. Although the setting is identified as Montreal, the city is seldom depicted. It is rather the neighbourhood, with all its familial characteristics, which is the predominant setting.

Conflictual encounters are usually verbal and benign. Quite often they are the result of a minor misunderstanding and are usually set in a humorous context. The more serious encounter, which is the exception, usually centres on the victim rather than the crime. The main focus is the effect of such an act on family and friends of the victim. Aggressors are usually strangers or indirect acquaintances.

The most consistent global messages are the virtues of the family, friends, honesty of relationships, and hard work – although money does not buy happiness. Everybody has a chance for success in life, and most of the series analyzed conform to the most traditional models of our society. Although the apparent realism of these series may cloak certain dimensions of some existing social problems, we see in general a confirmation of and an insistence on the societal values of Quebec's middle class.

This year's *téléromans* series appear to show signs of innovation. One of these, *Grand-père*, which replaced the highly popular *Quelle famille*, focuses on an elderly member of a family; it exploits themes such as aging and the death of a spouse of many years. Another series which is more comical than dramatic is *Chère Isabelle*.

Here the main characters are a film producer and his wife who is constantly trying to make it on her own. The producer's neighbour, an English-Canadian character married to a French Canadian, also appears. Another series *Du Tic au Tac*, also depicts the artist, impressario's world. It has at least one principal female character who is an independent, intelligent career woman, and who does not have to be defined in terms of her family relationships.

It is safe to say that there is a gradual evolution in the *téléroman* in Quebec. And yet, the producers also know not to overlook that combination of magic ingredients with which Quebec viewers identify and which assure the *téléromans* huge success in Montreal and Quebec television.

Endnotes

1. Canadian Radio-Television Commission. *Public Preference, Production Source and Amount of Violent and Non-Violent Programming in Selected Canadian Markets.* Symposium on Television Violence. Kingston, Ontario, Queen's University, August, 1975.

2. Vernone M. Sparks, *The Canadian Television Audience: A Study of Viewing Preferences and Attitudes.* Paper presented to the Theory and Methodology Division, Association for Education in Journalism, Ottawa, August, 1975.

3. Even after extensive research, there remained a small number of programs that could not be completely categorized. These are reported in our tables as uncategorizable and include references to identifications such as TBA (program to be announced). Entries for this category, however, never account for more than 5 per cent of the total sample.

4. Canada. Statistics Canada. *1971 Census of Canada: Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts. Montreal, Quebec, A-Series.* Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 95-704, 1974.

5. BBM. *Report.* Spring 1976.

6. The Central Coverage Area population estimates throughout this chapter are derived from the Common Coverage population estimates included in the 1975-1976 BBM reports. These estimates should be regarded as conservative estimates of the true Central Coverage Area population.

7. Canada, Statistics Canada. *1971 Census of Canada: Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts. Toronto, B-Series.* Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 95-751, September 1974.

8. BBM *Report.* Spring 1976.

9. Canada. Statistics Canada. *1971 Census of Canada: Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts. Ottawa-Hull, Ontario,Quebec. A- Series.* Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 95-715, 1974.

10. Although standard sources such as *TV Guide* identify this station as a TVA network affiliate, CFVO was actually an independent, cooperatively run station. For the purposes of this study, however, we shall continue to refer to it as a TVA affiliate since it received most of its programming from the TVA network. It ceased broadcasting in March, 1977.

11. In the material dealing with the Ottawa market, the call letters WWNY will be used to designate this station.

12. Canada. Statistics Canada. *1971 Census of Canada: Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts. Sudbury, Ontario, A-Series.* Ottawa, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 95-719,1974.

13. Complete census information, such as revenue, was not available for the Timmins and North Bay areas.

14. Line Ross. "Les représentations du social dans les téléromans québécois." *Communication et information,* numéro 3 (automne 1976), pp. 215-231.
Line Ross and Hélène Tardif. *Les valeurs dans le téléroman québécois.* Québec, Université Laval, Laboratoire de recherches sociologiques, janvier 1975.

15. Estimated audience size for each episode is based on BBM Common Coverage Area, Spring 1976.

16. The one exception to this is *Symphorien* who has a total of 14 children. None of them, however, were present in the episode we analyzed; in fact, very few ever appear in the series.

17. Ross, op.cit.

18. Ibid.

19. Ginette Deslongchamps. "Dossier T.V. Que ´ bec: Le rôle de la femme dans les téléromans." *Rélations,* (juillet-août 1973), pp. 203-205.

20. Noël Dubé, "Dossier T.V. Québec: Les jeunes adultes bien tranquilles de nos téléromans." *Rélations,* (juillet-août 1973), pp. 201-202.

Appendix — Table I

Type of programs broadcast during the Fall of 1975 in Montreal area

Identification: Call letters Channel City Language Network	CBFT 2 Montreal French Radio-Canada		CBMT 6 Montreal English CBC		CFTM 10 Montreal French TVA		CFCF 12 Montreal English CTV		WCAX 5 Burlington English CBS		WPTZ 3 Plattsburg, N.Y. English NBC	
Program category	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.
Adventure	7	6	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	1
Comedy	10	6	24	17	6	4	19	12	21	14	6	4
Drama	3	2	11	11	0	0	2	1	5	6	6	9
Crime drama	0	0	3	4	10	12	19	28	12	14	29	30
Medical drama	3	4	1	2	3	4	0	0	3	4	3	4
Soap opera	3	2	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Variety	0	0	3	6	3	2	7	7	5	7	3	4
Talk show	0	0	0	0	18	21	0	0	0	0	0	0
Game show	6	3	9	6	3	2	5	3	16	10	11	8
Music	3	2	13	15	11	8	9	6	1	1	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	2	5	0	0	3	5	0	0	1	2	2	7
B) drama	5	14	0	0	1	4	1	2	1	5	2	7
C) comedy	0	0	0	0	4	10	1	2	0	0	1	2
D) other	0	0	0	0	1	4	1	3	1	3	0	0
Total	7	19	0	0	9	23	3	7	3	10	4	13
Sports A) information program	3	2	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
B) coverage of events	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Documentary	8	10	7	5	0	0	1	2	1	1	4	2
News	31	30	14	20	31	20	16	20	31	30	29	20
Public affairs	12	10	8	8	0	0	10	6	1	2	1	1
Cartoons	3	2	0	0	0	0	5	3	1	1	1	1
Others	0	0	3	4	3	2	1	1	0	0	2	3
Uncategorizable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

bed if he doesn't eat his meal. The child prefers bed.

The object of the conflict is the imposition of one party's will on the other. It takes place between mother and child. Parental authority somewhat prevails when the child accepts one of the two alternative solutions he was offered.

3) The third conflictual interaction and the previous one are almost identical. The child is at the community centre when his mother asks him to come home for lunch. When he is told they will be having mushrooms, he takes refuge in a box and refuses to follow. After he makes faces at his mother, she grabs him by the arm and takes him home.

The object of the conflict is once again one party imposing a situation on another. It takes place between mother and child. Parental authority wins out once again, but this time it is expressed with some physical force.

4) The fourth conflict is once again centred on the child having to eat mushroom dishes for supper. He evades it this time by putting his meal in a flower pot when his mother is not looking.

The conflict is once again in terms of imposition. It lies between mother and child, and is resolved by subversive action on the part of the child.

5) The final conflictual encounter is between lovers and centres on the same disagreement described previously. François decides that enough is enough and that he can never see another mushroom on his plate. He tries to tell this to Julie in a mild fashion but it has no effect. They begin to scream at each other and she asks him to leave.

The object of the conflict is once more the imposition of one party's will on the other. It is argumentative in nature and takes place between lovers. It is resolved by one party requesting that the other leave. The latter obeys.

In the next scene both lovers are attempting to resolve their differences of opinion in another fashion. The man attempts to get Julie to see how she has pushed things too far by her mushroom fad. Finally, the true resolution comes about when an outside event, food poisoning, intervenes, and Julie realizes how extreme her behaviour has really been.

Global Messages

Friendship and disagreement between lovers, and between parent and child are the main themes of this episode. These are presented in the context of a group of young adults involved in a collective project. The main message seems to be that it is difficult not to go against someone's wishes when these come into real opposition with normal behaviour. Too much of a good thing is still too much.

As previously stated, although there are work-related activities in this series they do not appear necessary to economic independence. Women play a variety of roles in this episode. On the one hand is Julie, who is quite

dependent on her son and lover; on the other hand is Danielle, who appears more independent, working at the centre. Love and companionship appear to be dominating values of this generation. There is a certain yearning for adventure and fun; they want to be free, while remaining conscious of the realities of life. Young people from both modest and more privileged backgrounds appear to interact without any problems whatsoever.

This series usually has the same type of story line. It centres on themes that preoccupy young people – love, drugs, peer-group relationships, et cetera. Problems are resolved in the same way – usually one member has a certain type of difficulty and his friends come to his aid just in time.

The young people in these episodes commit or take chances, sometimes do things others would consider "wrong", but they seldom have to bear the consequences.

Quelle famille

(Radio-Canada) Broadcast at 7:30 p.m. on Monday
30 minutes
Audience size: 698,800

Description of Series

Quelle famille is the story of a family, a very typical family similar to the thousands that exist here. . . . The Tremblay family are moderately wealthy. They live on the first floor of a house that is comfortable and situated in the Rosemount district of Montreal. Father is an accountant who is well paid but does have problems making ends meet with five children to care for. They go through life with optimism and humour, encountering difficult moments but also happy ones like any other family. They face all the contemporary events most families must face – adolescent love affairs, drugs, alcohol, et cetera.

The episode analyzed was broadcast on Monday, May 3, 1976.

Summary of Episode

The Tremblay family is at home one Saturday morning. Father has brought some papers home for the weekend and is working on them in the kitchen. Mother is preparing the meals. During the day she surprises her oldest girl and oldest boy, both rather involved with friends of the opposite sex. That Saturday night her three oldest children are holding a party in the playroom. She surprises them with all the lights out and asks father to step in. Father decides to intervene and everything finishes on a humorous note.

Setting

The main setting is a Montreal neighbourhood. All the scenes in this episode take place in the Tremblays' home. This *téléroman* is the exception in that many scenes are in the kitchen because mother was cooking

there and father working on the kitchen table. Specifically, there are five scenes in the kitchen, four in the living room, three in the playroom, two in the dining room, and one in a bedroom.

Characters

Compared to other *téléromans*, there are a lot of adolescents and children in this series. All in all, there are six adolescents, two adults, and two children. Thus, all but the two adults are single. The presence of a family with five children (three girls and two boys) is exceptional for this type of program.

Occupational status of the characters:

Male	Female
1 accountant	1 house wife
4 students	4 students
1 dog	

The middle class is depicted here. All the characters are in good health.

Interpersonal Relationships

In this episode, peer, husband-wife, and parent-child relationships are portrayed, with the latter two predominating. All the exchanges are friendly and loving and resemble quite closely those portrayed in such series as *Father Knows Best* and *Ozzie and Harriet*. Mother is overly protective and cannot resist meddling in her children's affairs. Father retains the authority and is preoccupied with his work. The children, although sometimes somewhat rebellious against parental authority, finish by submitting to it and the result is once more one big happy family.

Conflictual Interactions

Of the 15 scenes portrayed in this episode, five contain what might be defined as conflictual elements.

1) Four of these conflictual interactions have exactly the same scenario. The conflict involves either one or the other parent against the children. Parents stress socially acceptable behaviour (not having one's arm around a friend of the opposite sex or dancing in the dark). The children reply that there is nothing wrong with this and that their parents should have more confidence in them.

The conflict is always resolved by parental authority winning out. No physical aggression, not even a shouted word, is apparent. The final outcome is accepted by the children in a completely submissive way.

2) The only conflictual encounter that differs from those described above takes place between spouses. The mother asks her husband to intervene and to assume his responsibilities as a good father. He must put the light back on in the play room. He replies that he has had a long hard day's work and that he doesn't want always to be the one to discipline them. She finally persuades him in a loving way, to do it.

The focus of the conflict is a disagreement about one's responsibilities. It takes place between spouses, the outcome is through negotiation and acceptance by one party of the other's point of view.

Global Messages

The principal themes are family and parent-child interactions. The most traditional norms are portrayed and seldom questioned. The family depicted in this series is traditional: a mother who cares for her husband and children and fully accepts this role; her stereotyped, hard-working husband who has authority over his children; and children who are most accepting of the standards their parents set for them. Social norms and pressures are very real in this world, where a person only adopts socially acceptable behaviour. Sexuality is dealt with only indirectly here and appears to be a delicate subject. Another message that came across is that having a large family is very fulfilling, but also a certain burden, which must be accepted cheerfully.

As the 1975-76 season of *Quelle famille* consisted of repeats, it is somewhat out of date. This series has been sold for broadcast in France.

Part B

Summary of Results

The world depicted in the *téléromans* episodes analyzed above is mostly inhabited by sympathetic characters – city people and a few suburbanites. The sole exceptions to this are the characters in *Y'a pas de problème* who are truck drivers and quite often on the road throughout Quebec.

Physical Setting

There has been a remarkable change in physical setting over the last few years. In the Fifties and most of the Sixties, the interactions in these series took place around the kitchen table. Today the characters are found more and more in the living room (25 per cent) and dining room areas (15 per cent) and at work (23 per cent). Outdoors, restaurants, motels, and other areas of the house account for the remainder of the settings. These vary, from series to series.

Characters

A total of 65 characters (plus one dog) were counted in the analysis. These include all characters with primary and secondary roles – that is, all who have at least one interaction with main characters. The average number is nine per series.

Sex

The proportion of men to women in the sample slightly favoured men (N = 36) over women (N = 29). However, from one series to the other the number varies. In two of the series, *La P'tite semaine* and *Quelle famille*, there are equal numbers of men (N = 9) and women (N = 9). In three other series, *Rue des Pignons*, *Symphorien* and *Y'a pas de problème*, there are more than twice as many men (N = 22) as women (N = 10). Finally, in the last two series, *Les Berger* and *Avec le temps*, there are more women (N = 10) than men (N = 5).

Age

The majority of the characters (N = 33) are between the ages of 21 and 40, followed by those between 40 and 54 (N = 16), adolescents (N = 8), children (N = 6), and people above 55 (N = 2). In percentages this gives the following:

51 per cent between 21 and 40 years old
25 per cent between 40 and 55 years old
12 per cent between 12 and 21 years old
9 per cent between 1 and 12 years old
3 per cent above 55 years old

Health

All the characters in the episodes analyzed, except for one in *Rue des Pignons*, appear to be in good health, at least at the time of the episode.

Marital Status

The marital status of the characters varies from one series to another. In six out of seven series at least one or more married couples have central roles in the story-line. The one exception is in *Avec le temps*, which almost exclusively uses young adults. Overall, 39 per cent (N = 25) of the characters are married, 21 per cent (seven men and seven women) are single, 8 per cent (N = 5) live together out of wedlock, 5 per cent (N = 3) are widowed, 20 per cent (N = 3) are students or children and 7 per cent (N = 5) cannot be categorized.

Number of Children

Except for *Quelle famille* in which there are five children the average number of children per family is one or two.

Occupational Status

Of the 29 women in the series analyzed, the majority do not have work outside the home. They are either house-wives (76 per cent), pensioners, or students and children. Of those who do work, 24 per cent are secretaries (N = 2) maids (N = 1), teachers (N = 1), business women (N = 2), waitresses (N = 1) and one works in an audio-visual centre.

Most of the men are employed:

truck driver	(N = 6)
doctor	(N = 4)
policeman	(N = 3)
store owner	(N = 2)
insurance salesman	(N = 2)
teacher	(N = 1)
businessman	(N = 2)
accountant	(N = 1)
funeral director	(N = 1)
truck dispatcher	(N = 1)
farmer	(N = 1)
janitor	(N = 1)
student	(N = 8)
unemployed	(N = 1)
uncategorizable	(N = 2)

The series depicting truck drivers, *Y'a pas de problème*, and the one in which the action revolves around adolescents and young adults, *Avec le temps*, somewhat affect the distribution of occupations. Notwithstanding these two exceptions, however, it is safe to say that although there is a certain diversity of occupations presented, the upper echelon occupations predominate.

Conflictual Interactions

Of the 85 scenes analyzed, 26 contained conflictual material. All but one series, *Rue des Pignons*, reflected some conflictual element but only 13 per cent had any serious overtone. Of these scenes where conflictual elements appeared, 73 per cent (19 of 26) of the conflicts were simply argumentative in nature and remained at the verbal level. In those scenes where conflict escalated to a more physical level, (27 per cent, or 7 of 26) this always happened in a humorous context. The casualties were three black eyes and one broken nose; one character was also shaken by the collar three times. The latter was comedic rather than really violent. Weapons were never used in these assaults and, in most cases, the actual violence was perpetrated off-camera and the viewer could only hear the action. There are also conflicts of interest and mild insults or put-downs presented in these series; they occur for the most part in a humorous context and could hardly be labelled violent.

In four of the seven series, the conflicts centre on parent-child relationships. It is always a minor conflict of interest (e.g. having to keep the lights on when dancing with a boy friend, or having to eat mushrooms in order to get dessert) and is usually resolved by parental authority winning out. When parents are in conflict with their older children (young adults), however, the latter usually win the point of discussion. Nonetheless, there is never a grudge or vengeance residue.

When conflict arises with friends or strangers, outside the family setting, it tends to become more physical – but always in a comical context. And, as in the family setting, the conflict is quickly settled; in the next scene everybody is friendly again.

In each series there seems to be a set pattern of interactions between characters. The type of conflictual interaction and its resolution is always the same and repeated again and again within the series.

This is not to say that no series ever contains any serious conflictual situations. But in the episodes included in the sample, there was little support for a view that violence is a principal ingredient in the story lines. However, in two (*Rue des Pignons* and *Les Berger*) of the seven series, there were some more serious occurrences in other episodes broadcast in 1976. These ranged from child-kidnapping to assault with a baseball bat. But it is clear that in the *téléroman* approach, such occurrences would be *exceptional* and would last over many episodes. When these more serious conflictual occurrences do materialize, the crime is most often committed by strangers, and the main focus is not on the crime itself but rather on its consequences for the victim and the repercussions this event has on family and friends. When, in rare moments, a violent crime does occur, it is only one of the problems of the episode. The crime in itself is more an excuse for interactions between friends and family than the central issue.

Global Messages

Violence and crime *are not* among the important themes in the *téléromans*, but family and friends are. Both constitute the story nuclei. They offer privileged settings for highly personalized exchanges and confidences. The representation of friendship is exaggeratedly ideal: there is always a friend or member of the family who is available, and who is an understanding and excellent confidant. It is through these exchanged confidences that the author can explain the behaviour of each of his or her characters and thus develop the intrigues. The importance in the *téléroman* of the double theme of "family and friendship" cannot be stressed too strongly. An absence of either one of these two brings unhappiness and the greatest of all evils, solitude.

Work

This theme has been appearing more and more frequently in recent *téléromans*. In our sample from the *Quelle famille* series, father (an accountant) brings work home for the weekend; in *Les Berger* there are continuous references to the merging of companies and discussions about who among the children will administer the family business. In *La P'tite semaine*, Lucien Lajoie (one of the main characters) is often seen with his wife working in his small variety store. In the episode from *Rue des Pignons* there are at least three scenes related to work – one of a farmer on his tractor, another of a small corner-store owner, and the third of a doctor

Appendix — Table XIV

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by language

Area: Ottawa
Season: Fall

Networks	English-Language		French-Language		American	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	1	1	0	0	0	0
Comedy	23	16	4.5	3	22	15
Drama	3	3	1.5	1	8	10
Crime drama	15	17	6.5	8	8	10
Medical drama	1	.5	3	4	3	4
Soap opera	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variety	5	5	0	0	8	10
Talk show	0	0	8	10	0	0
Game show	4	3	1.5	1	6	4
Music	9	8	8.5	5	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	1	5	2.5	6.5	0	0
B) drama	1	3	2.5	7.5	2	5
C) comedy	0	1	.5	1	1	4
D) other	1	1	3.5	7	1	5
Total	3	10	9	22	4	14
Sports A) information program	2	3	1.5	1	2	2
B) coverage of events	0	0	.5	1	0	0
Documentary	4	3	4	5	1	1
News	21	23	30	19.5	31	20
Public affairs	5.5	5	15.5	15.5	1	2
Cartoons	1	1	0	0	1	1
Other	2	1	3	2	2	3
Uncategorizable	.5	.5	0	0	3	4
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Appendix — Table XV

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Area: Ottawa
Season: Fall

Networks	Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	0	0	1	1	0	0
Comedy	15	11	16	10	22	15
Drama	5	4.5	1	1	8	10
Crime drama	1.5	2	18	21	8	10
Medical drama	2	3	1	1	3	4
Soap opera	1.5	1	1	1	0	0
Variety	3	3.5	3	3	8	10
Talk show	0	0	5	7	0	0
Game show	5.5	4	2	1	6	4
Music	6.5	7.5	10	6	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	1.5	3.5	2	7	0	0
B) drama	2	6.5	1	3	2	5
C) comedy	0	0	1	2	1	4
D) other	0	0	2	6	1	5
Total	3.5	10	6	18	4	14
Sports A) information program	3.5	2.5	1	2	2	2
B) coverage of events	.5	1	0	0	0	0
Documentary	8	8	1	1	1	1
News	21.5	19.5	27	23	31	20
Public affairs	19	20	3	2	1	2
Cartoons	0	0	2	1	1	2
Other	3.5	2	2	1	2	3
Uncategorizable	.5	.5	0	0	3	4
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Appendix — Table XVI

Type of programs broadcast during the Spring of 1976 in the Ottawa area

Identification:

Call letters	CBOT		CKGN		CBOFT		CJOH		CFVO		WWNY	
Channel	4		6		9		13		30		7	
City	Ottawa		Ottawa		Ottawa		Ottawa		Hull		Watertown, N.Y.	
Language	English		English		French		English		French		English	
Network	CBC		Global		Radio-Canada		CTV		TVA		ABC-NBC-CBS	
	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.	% per prog. unit	% per prog. min.
Adventure	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0
Comedy	23	17	24	16	6	4	21	13	6	4	23	16
Drama	8	9	2	3	5	4	0	0	0	0	8	8
Crime drama	5	7	21	21	1	1	20	27	9	11	14	19
Medical drama	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	3	4	3	4
Soap opera	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variety	3	5	1	2	1	1	11	9	0	0	5	7
Talk show	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	20	0	0
Game show	8	6	3	2	3	2	3	2	0	0	6	4
Music	9	9	4	3	3	2	12	7	12	9	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	0	0	1	0	4	8	1	2	3	8	0	0
B) drama	0	0	1	5	2	5	1	2	2	5	0	0
C) comedy	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	3	6	2	8
D) other	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	1	2
Total	0	0	3	5	6	13	3	8	10	23	3	10
Sports A) information program	5	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	0	0	3	2
B) coverage of events	0	0	7	17	2	7	0	0	1	1	1	2
Documentary	2	3	0	0	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	1
News	14	20	29	26	30	20	17	20	31	20	29	20
Public affairs	16	14	1	1	26	29	2	1	0	0	0	0
Cartoons	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Others	6	6	1	1	4	4	2	4	7	4	2	4
Uncategorizable	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Appendix — Table XVII

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by language

Area: Ottawa
Season: Spring

Networks	English-Language		French-Language		American	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	1	1	0	0	0	0
Comedy	23	15	6	4	23	16
Drama	3	4	2.5	2	8	8
Crime drama	15	19	5	6	14	19
Medical drama	0	0	2.5	2	3	4
Soap opera	0	0	3	2	0	0
Variety	5	6	.5	.5	5	7
Talk show	0	0	8	10	0	0
Game show	5	3	1.5	1	6	4
Music	8	6	7.5	5.5	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	1	1	3.5	8	0	0
B) drama	1	2	2	5	0	0
C) comedy	.5	1	1.5	3	2	8
D) other	.5	0	1	2.5	1	2
Total	3	4	8	18.5	3	10
Sports A) information program	4	2	1.5	1	3	2
B) coverage of events	2	6	1.5	4	1	2
Documentary	1.5	1.5	2.5	3	1	1
News	20	22	30.5	20	29	20
Public affairs	6.5	5.5	13	15	0	0
Cartoons	1	1	0	0	1	1
Other	3	3	5.5	4	2	4
Uncategorizable	1	1	1	1	1	2
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Area: Ottawa
Season: Spring

Networks	Public Canadian		Private Canadian		Private American	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	0	0	1	1	0	0
Comedy	14.5	10.5	17	11	23	16
Drama	6.5	6.5	1	1	8	8
Crime drama	3	4	17	20	14	19
Medical drama	1	1.5	1	1	3	4
Soap opera	1.5	1	1	1	0	0
Variety	2	3	4	4	5	7
Talk show	0	0	5	7	0	0
Game show	5.5	4	2	1	6	4
Music	6	5.5	9	6	0	0
Movie A) crime drama	2	4	1	3	0	0
B) drama	1	2.5	1	4	0	0
C) comedy	0	0	1	3	2	8
D) other	0	0	1.5	1.5	1	2
Total	3	6.5	4.5	11.5	3	10
Sports A) information program	4	2.5	2	1	3	2
B) coverage of events	1	3.5	3	6	1	2
Documentary	3	4	1	1	1	1
News	22	20	26	22	29	20
Public affairs	21	21.5	1	1	0	0
Cartoons	0	0	1	1	1	1
Other	5	5	3	3	2	4
Uncategorizable	1	1	.5	.5	1	2
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Appendix — Table XIX

Type of programs broadcast during Fall 1975 in the Sudbury-Timmins-North Bay area

Identification:

Call letter	CBST		CKSO		MCTVS	
Channel	9		5		9	
City	Timmins		Sudbury		Sudbury	
Language	French		English		English	
Network	Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
Program category	% per program unit	% per program minutes	% per program unit	% per program minutes	% per program unit	% per program minutes
Adventure	7	6	9	10	4	4
Comedy	10	6	18	12	33	20
Drama	3	2	0	0	3	3
Crime drama	0	0	15	17	0	0
Medical drama	3	4	0	0	2	2
Soap opera	3	2	0	0	0	0
Variety	0	0	8	6	11	11
Talk show	0	0	3	4	0	0
Game show	6	4	6	4	10	7
Music	3	2	13	8	8	9
Movie A) crime drama	3	7	4	10	6	12
B) drama	4	13	3	7	6	14
C) comedy	0	0	3	6	1	2
D) other	0	0	3	8	1	2
Total	7	20	13	31	14	30
Sports A) information program	3	2	3	1	0	0
B) coverage of events	1	2	1	1	0	0
Documentary	8	10	0	0	3	2
News	31	29	3	2	0	0
Public affairs	12	9	3	1	7	6
Cartoons	3	2	2	1	0	0
Others	0	0	1	1	4	4
Uncategorizable	0	0	2	1	1	2
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Appendix — Table XX

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by language

Area:-Sudbury-Timmins-North Bay
Season: Fall 1975

Networks	English Language		French Language	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	6.5	7	7	6
Comedy	25.5	16	10	6
Drama	1.5	1.5	3	2
Crime drama	7.5	8.5	0	0
Medical drama	1	1	3	4
Soap opera	0	0	3	2
Variety	9.5	8.5	0	0
Talk show	1.5	2	0	0
Game show	8	5.5	6	4
Music	10.5	8.5	3	2
Movie A) crime drama	5	11	3	7
B) drama	4.5	10.5	4	13
C) comedy	2	4	0	0
D) other	2	5	0	0
Total	13.5	30.5	7	20
Sports A) information program	1.5	.5	3	2
B) coverage of events	.5	.5	1	2
Documentary	1.5	1	8	10
News	1.5	1	31	29
Public affairs	5	3.5	12	9
Cartoons	1	.5	3	2
Other	2.5	2.5	0	0
Uncategorizable	1.5	1.5	0	0
Total:	100	100	100	100

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by ownership
Area: Sudbury-Timmins-North Bay
Season: Fall 1975

Networks	Public Canadian		Private Canadian	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	5.5	5	9	10
Comedy	21.5	13	18	12
Drama	3	2.5	0	0
Crime drama	0	0	15	17
Medical drama	2.5	3	0	0
Soap opera	1.5	1	0	0
Variety	5.5	5.5	8	6
Talk show	0	0	3	4
Game show	8	5.5	6	4
Music	5.5	5.5	13	8
Movie A) crime drama	4.5	9.5	4	10
B) drama	5	13.5	3	7
C) comedy	.5	1	3	6
D) other	.5	1	3	8
Total	10.5	25	13	31
Sports A) information program	1.5	1	3	1
B) coverage of events	.5	1	1	1
Documentary	5.5	6	0	0
News	15.5	14.5	3	2
Public affairs	9.5	7.5	3	1
Cartoons	1.5	1	2	1
Other	2	2	1	1
Uncategorizable	.5	1	2	1
Total:	100	100	100	100

Type of programs broadcast during the Spring 1976 in the Sudbury-Timmins-North Bay area

Identification:

	CBST		CKSO		MCTVS	
Call letter	CBST		CKSO		MCTVS	
Channel	9		5		9	
City	Timmins		Sudbury		Sudbury	
Language	French		English		English	
Network	Radio-Canada		CTV		CBC	
Program category	% per program unit	% per program minute	% per program unit	% per program minute	% per program unit	% per program minute
Adventure	6	6	13	11	1	1
Comedy	9	6	26	19	27	16
Drama	6	3	0	0	3	4
Crime drama	1	5	16	19	4	5
Medical drama	3	3	0	0	0	0
Soap opera	3	2	0	0	0	0
Variety	1	1	3	2	8	8
Talk show	0	0	1	1	0	0
Game show	6	3	4	2	10	6
Music	3	2	11	7	8	8
Movie A) crime drama	3	6	7	14	2	5
B) drama	2	4	4	9	6	13
C) comedy	0	0	2	4	0	0
D) other	1	3	1	2	5	11
Total	6	13	14	29	13	29
Sports A) information program	3	2	1	0	0	0
B) coverage of events	2	7	0	0	0	0
Documentary	4	5	3	2	4	4
News	31	30	0	0	0	0
Public affairs	12	9	2	2	10	8
Cartoons	2	1	0	0	0	0
Others	2	2	3	3	8	7
Uncategorizable	0	0	3	3	4	4
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by language

Area: Sudbury-Timmins-North Bay
Season: Spring 1976

Networks	English-Language		French-Language	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	7	6	6	6
Comedy	26.5	17.5	9	6
Drama	1.5	2	6	3
Crime drama	10	12	1	5
Medical drama	0	0	3	3
Soap opera	0	0	3	2
Variety	5.5	5	1	1
Talk show	.5	.5	0	0
Game show	7	4	6	3
Music	10	7.5	3	2
Movie A) crime drama	4.5	9.5	3	6
B) drama	5	11	2	4
C) comedy	1	2	0	0
D) other	3	6.5	1	3
Total	13.5	29	6	13
Sports A) information program	.5	0	3	2
B) coverage of events	0	0	2	7
Documentary	3.5	3	4	5
News	0	0	31	30
Public affairs	6	5	12	9
Cartoons	0	0	2	1
Other	5.5	5	2	2
Uncategorizable	3	3.5	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100

Percentage of unit/programs and unit/minutes by main categories by ownership

Area: Sudbury-Timmins-North Bay
Season: Spring 1976

Networks	Public Canadian		Private Canadian	
Program category	% unit/program	% unit/minute	% unit/program	% unit/minute
Adventure	3.5	3.5	13	11
Comedy	18	11	26	19
Drama	4.5	3.5	0	0
Crime drama	2.5	5	16	19
Medical drama	1.5	1.5	0	0
Soap opera	1.5	1	0	0
Variety	4.5	4.5	3	2
Talk show	0	0	1	1
Game show	8	4.5	4	2
Music	5.5	5	11	7
Movie A) crime drama	2.5	5.5	7	14
B) drama	4	8.5	4	9
C) comedy	0	0	2	4
D) other	3	7	1	2
Total	9.5	21	14	29
Sports A) information program	1.5	1	1	0
B) coverage of events	1	3.5	0	0
Documentary	4	4.5	3	2
News	15.5	15	0	0
Public affairs	11	8.5	2	2
Cartoons	1	.5	0	0
Other	5	4.5	3	3
Uncategorizable	2	2	3	3
Total:	100	100	100	100

A Content Analysis of Feature Films

James M. Linton
Garth S. Jowett

The Centre for Canadian
Communication Studies
University of Windsor
Windsor, Ontario

Principal Investigators
James M. Linton
Garth S. Jowett

Research Assistant
Ruth Armour

Research and Stenography
Doreen Truant

Contents

. . . [If we consider] that the motion picture is peculiarly
adapted to all the conditions of the society in which it
occurs, that it is an art which almost perfectly reflects
the needs of an industrial democracy for communi-
cation and social education . . . as well as for effective
recreation, . . . it will be seen that the problem of the
movies is amazingly difficult, both for those who try to
produce them either for the sake of art or profit, and for
those who, seeking the common good and the increase
of human happiness, are forced to weigh the balance of
their clear positive values and great utility against
whatever injurious effects they claim to find and wish to
eliminate by reform.

Mortimer Adler, *Art and Prudence*
    (New York: Longman, Green, 1937), p. 145

Chapter One

A Brief Survey of Motion-Picture Content Research

A. Historical Overview of Motion-Picture Content

It was not long after their introduction in the 1890s that the movies found themselves under investigation: they represented a social and cultural force the likes of which had not been seen to that time. The speed with which movies spread, and the enormous audiences that were immediately attracted to the increasing number of "dream palaces", represented for many a serious threat to late Victorian society's supposedly stable social structure.[1] Before the "threat" could be countered, those who were concerned with the influence of this new kind of entertainment attempted to discover something about its form – its role in the recreational pursuits of the working class, the nature and composition of its audience, and the themes it most often used to attract audiences. While the first two areas were conscientiously pursued, and many studies relating to the effect of movies on health, their effects on children, the types of audience they attracted, and associated moral questions were undertaken, the area of motion-picture content received little systematic attention beyond crude categorization into such supposedly dominant types as "love", "crime" or "adventure".

The failure to examine adequately the use of common themes in early motion pictures can be accounted for in several ways. First, the major interest in movies centred on their supposed ability to "influence" (as well as to entertain), and thus only those films that appeared to contribute to anti-social behaviour received much attention. Second, no one seriously considered that the motion picture could be a force for good until well after the first censorship travails in 1907. By 1912, however, social workers and others were beginning to extol the virtues of the motion picture as a means of combating the evils of alcoholism and other urban vices.[2] Lastly, it was not until the late 1920s that anyone seriously suggested that we could learn something about a society by examining the material aspects of its culture, such as the movies; this eventually resulted in several seminal research undertakings into motion-picture content.

Despite the failure to examine the nature of early movies content in its contemporary social setting, modern scholars have been able to trace a direct link between this content and certain social tensions evident at the time. Film historian Lewis Jacobs has noted of this period:

The Americans rarely left their own backyards and streets even when they were technically able to do so. Fairy tales, fantasies, storybook romances, were far removed from their immediate interests. Subject matter was derived from American life – from the exploits of the policeman and burglar, cowboy and factory worker, farmer and country girl, clerk and politician, drunkard and servant girl, store keeper and mechanic.[3]

Film critic and historian Alexander Walker has suggested that there were valid social reasons for the popularity of much of the "morbid" content evident in these early films:

It is worth emphasizing that the sentimentality of the plots, which jars today, was then very much a fact of life for nickelodeon audiences from the backstreets or immigrant ghettos where drunkenness bred brutish parents, long-lost offspring were the common price of having to leave one's homeland, and the dying babies of melodrama had their statistical reality in the infant mortality rate.[4]

It was precisely this type of content that seemed to disturb the growing number of critics who saw a danger in the increasing popularity of movies. Typical of these responses was an article published in the *Review of Reviews* by an anonymous critic in 1908:

One's regret for such exhibitions is deepened by the reflection that just as much time and effort have been spent in preparing the films for these pictures, as would have been in producing others of a more desirable character. . . . And all the thought, time and energy have been expended for the portrayal of the realism of bloodshed, crime and brutality.

There are, of course, many exhibitions in the moving picture that give praiseworthy entertainments; but there are very many more that pander to low passions and have nothing but the film that will draw the biggest crowd without actually pulling the [movie] house into the policecourt.[5]

After 1908, the content of films appeared to move away from these concerns, and as the size of the middle-class audience increased, the movies expanded their range of interests. Now one could find more plots featuring American history, the early West, and more pretentious literary works and morality dramas. The movie still,

however, represented a means of escape for its audiences, and it was this kind of escapist material that was to emerge as the single most popular form. As the financial investment grew, the film industry concentrated increasingly on the content that was the most acceptable to the general audience. This in turn led to formula plots – a series of dramatic conventions that would dictate the quality of motion pictures up to the present day.

By the 1920s, the influence of the middle-class audience was dominant. The subject matter of films was broadened, and the selection and manipulation of material became more purposeful and self-conscious as "the morality of the nineties was being transformed into the new progressivism."[6] The increasing sophistication of this new audience, which was used to the broader, relevant themes of popular novels or even the live stage, required a profound change in film content in order to maintain interest. The preaching and obvious morality of the movies became less pronounced; films no longer told the working class of its problems, but instead attempted to divert its attention and sought to entertain it by portraying the world of the more fortunate. The combination of this new audience, and the arrival of the First World War, pushed the motion picture towards a greater sophistication; the "moralism and religiousness" of the pre-war period was transformed into the more sophisticated fare offered to post-war audiences.

Throughout the Twenties the motion-picture industry consolidated itself and strengthened its hold on a now world-wide public. Jacobs has noted that movies, "like the Supreme Court, followed the election returns. They took up the cause of business, grew cynical, and participated in the repudiation of a pre-war conventionality."[7] While the old values and sentiments were not entirely swept away, they nevertheless took on a more materialistic viewpoint that was also decidedly feminine in character, and which seemed to "be in equal part due to the effect of female emancipation and of defensive male reaction to it".[8] The importance of women as leading and strong characters in these films has often been noted by film historians, and there is little doubt that the film industry had discovered the box-office appeal of sophisticated "sex".

By the end of the decade, the Depression had made itself felt even in the seemingly impregnable film industry. The economic plight, together with the technical development of sound films, combined to force the studios into more aggressive competition for the shrinking box-office dollar. As a result, the public was inundated with a series of films with such provocative titles as *Why Change Your Wife?*, *Forbidden Fruit* or *Why Women Sin*. After 1930, the addition of sound added immensely to the popularity of gangster films such as *Little Caesar, Public Enemy* and *Scarface*.

In an address delivered in October 1933, Mary G. Hawks, the retiring president of the National Council of Catholic Women, evaluated the current motion-picture situation in these terms:

Public consciousness is now aroused to the fact that the movies as they are produced and distributed today, are a menace to the physical, mental and moral welfare of the nation . . . These injurious effects are greatly enhanced by the shameless sex appeal of the advertising . . . We must face the unpleasant fact that constant exposure to screen stories of successful gangsters and "slick" racketeers, of flaming passion and high power emotionalism, may easily nullify every standard of life and conduct set up at home and at school and will almost inevitably effect a moral decline. . . . [9]

It was against this background that the movies were subjected to the intense pressure of the Catholic Legion of Decency, and the new-found strength of the Production Code Administration of the Hays Office. It was also in this "moral" climate that several important analyses of movie content and "influence" were conducted. Little wonder then that by the mid-Thirties, content analysis studies were mainly aimed at finding out the quantitative aspects of these supposedly recurrent themes, and almost no attempt was made to evaluate content within the context of the entire dramatic presentation. Unfortunately, this perception has continued to cloud film content analyses up to the present time.

During the Thirties the motion picture had what many critics call its "golden age", when, under the strictures of the infamous Production Code, the Hollywood studios turned out a surprising number of excellent films. In spite of its basic dictum to entertain and not educate, the American film industry did manage to face many of the problems of the Depression in productions such as *Our Daily Bread, I am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* and *The Grapes of Wrath*, although these "social realism" efforts were in a minority. Far more numerous were frothy musicals, light-hearted "screwball" comedies, and romantic escapades. By 1939, Hollywood began to recognize the Nazi menace, and the first anti-Nazi films appeared, much to the chagrin of those who wished to see the United States remain totally neutral in the war.[10]

The Second War provided the motion-picture industry with some of its finest hours, as it was called upon to contribute to the war effort by "clarifying, inspiring and entertaining." On the home front, attendance at motion-picture theatres reached an all-time high (as did profits), while the movies provided a welcome relief and a strong link with home for fighting forces throughout the world. Despite what may seem obvious, not all the films made in Hollywood during the years from 1941 to 1945 concerned the war. In fact, the important content analyses work of Dorothy Jones and Russel Shain has demonstrated that in no one year did war films ever constitute more than 33.2 per cent of the total number of productions.[11] The majority of motion pictures continued to provide the staple forms of

content their audiences had come to expect, a fact which Dorothy Jones did not approve of:

> For years producers had been adamant in their opinion that what the American public wants, above all else, is to be entertained. It is small wonder, then, that faced with the task of making films which would educate the public about the war, most Hollywood movie makers did not know where to begin. They lacked experience in making films dealing with actual social problems. And, like the rest of America, they themselves lacked real understanding of the war.[12]

Despite many similar attacks on the performance of the motion-picture industry during this crucial period, in the final analysis the American (and British) motion-picture did what was asked of it during the Second World War. It furthered the military effort by disseminating information about the war to the public; it helped to explain the enemy and his ideology; it emotionalized the public as no other medium was then capable of doing; it told the Allies what they were fighting for; and last, and most important, it continued to entertain millions of people. The therapeutic aspects of the cinema during these years should not be underestimated.

At the conclusion of the war, it was hoped by many of the industry's critics that the industry would be "revitalized" by its vivid war experiences and that some form of amalgam would take place between the purely commercial product and the documentary film. Unfortunately, this was not to be. Faced almost immediately with the threat from the new entertainment medium – television – the motion-picture industry went into a decline, from which it has never fully recovered. Nevertheless, the period from 1946 to 1960 was a particularly rich period for creativity in the American film, and these fifteen years witnessed important new directions in the American motion-picture. While the concept of "Hollywood" still dominated the movie industry, the studio system was breaking down, and together with it, the Production Code and the reliance upon the old box-office "formulae". This presented an ideal opportunity for the more adventurous filmmakers to explore themes and ideas that had not been examined before in the commercial-film medium.

Thus, in the period from 1946 to 1950 a series of "message" films were produced in Hollywood, all examining facets of the American scene that had previously been considered unsuitable for motion-picture fare. In movies such as *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946), *Boomerang* (1947), *Crossfire* (1947), *Gentlemen's Agreement* (1948), *Pinky* (1949) and *Knock on Any Door* (1949), the themes of unemployment, corruption, anti-Semitism, racial prejudice and juvenile delinquency were examined in unprecedented detail for the usually reticent film industry. After 1950, the unfavourable climate caused by the tensions of the Cold War, and the resultant anti-Communist crusade led to a gradual decline in this type of controversial content; the

American film industry reverted to variations on the tried-and-true formulae, as it desperately sought to counter the growing influence of television.

Despite the overwhelming conformity, by the mid-Fifties domestic tensions had relaxed sufficiently to allow the production of such important "message" films as *On the Waterfront* (1954), which looked at union corruption; *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), which dealt with juvenile delinquency; *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1955), which treated the problems of drug addiction realistically; and *The Defiant Ones* (1958), which examined interracial relationships on a more intense plane than before.[13] Mention should also be made of the series of science-fiction films, popular during this period, which exposed the nagging fears of the possibility of atomic conflict.

By the 1960s there was a great deal of uncertainty in the American film industry, and it became difficult to predict, with any accuracy, what types of film would appeal to an audience that was becoming younger and also more educated.[14] Thus, the success of the James Bond films (*Dr. No*, 1962; *To Russia with Love*, 1963; *Goldfinger*, 1964) inspired a succession of dismal spy-thrillers; and later, in the early Seventies, the unexpected appeal of oriental martial-arts films created an enormous number of cheap imitations. In between these two fads, Hollywood went through a variety of cycles, forever searching for the key to the audience's interest. These included a slew of motorcycle gang "cheapies", which attracted their own cult audience; a constant stream of horror films, imported from the dungeons of Hammer Films in England; and an interesting series of "caper" films, in which the entire story centred around the attempt to engineer an improbable theft of some fabulous art treasure or mounds of gold bullion.

It was, however, the increasing use of explicit sex and graphic violence that made the movies of the Sixties and Seventies different from those previous decades. Starting casually (and somewhat innocently) with producer Russ Meyer's *The Immoral Mr. Teas* in 1959, by 1976 neighbourhood theatres in cities all across the United States and Canada were openly exhibiting hard-core pornographic films in double-bill shows. The success of many of the "sexploitation" films encouraged the major studios to increase the amount of sexual frankness in their bigger-budgeted films.[15] However, while the courts and local authorities were primarily concerned with sexual issues, the public seemed to be far more concerned with the violence in movies, which became increasingly more gory and realistic. Films such as *Bonnie and Clyde, The Wild Bunch,* and *Straw Dogs* precipitated serious critical debates about the merit of depicting violence in such graphic terms on the screen.

The fact that motion pictures had not lost their power to influence an audience was dramatically illustrated by the release of *The Exorcist* in late 1973. This film, a mixture of sex, sadism and the occult, created an

enormous public furor. Everywhere the film was shown there were reports of fainting and vomiting in theatres, but of greater significance was the reported increase in the belief in the devil, demonic possession, and serious psychological disorders manifested by people who had seen the film. As might have been expected, movie screens have subsequently experienced an unending procession of films dealing with the occult. Again, in the summer of 1975, the film *Jaws* created a "shark-mania" throughout the United States and Canada and proved to be the greatest box-office attraction of all time. The success of *Jaws* launched the motion-picture industry into a series of similar, if less impressive, films, featuring killer bees, giant rampaging bears, lethal frogs, and even dangerous worms.

The latest cycle to emerge in the mid-Seventies was that of the disaster film. Starting with the surprisingly successful *The Poseidon Adventure* in 1973, the industry has subsequently examined fires, earthquakes, tidal waves, crowd panics, and ecological disasters. Most of these films have proven to be successful money-makers, and, as a result, the unpredictable movie business reported that 1975 was the best in its entire history for gross box-office receipts. (Much of this can, of course, be accounted for by increases in admission prices; nevertheless, the total number of admissions was the highest since the early Sixties.)

Where movie content will venture next is as uncertain as ever. As competition for the leisure dollar increases, the industry will be more and more hard-pressed to continually provide fare that will attract audiences. The swing away from permissive sexual tolerance, evidenced by recent decisions in the courts in the United States, and the increasing clamour against violence may lead to new explorations of older themes. However, the only certain factor in film production at the moment is uncertainty.

It is also worth while noting that the fledgling and struggling Canadian film industry has also come under severe attack for its alleged concentration on sex and violence as guarantors of success. The Canadian Film Development Corporation (CFDC) was established in 1967 to "foster and promote the development of a feature film industry in Canada" and immediately ran into a conflict between culture and economics. On the one hand, the CFDC acts as a bank and is expected to invest only in films in which it believes there is a reasonable chance of making money. On the other hand, the agency reports not to the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, but to the Secretary of State. Thus, its broad aims are supposed to be cultural rather than strictly economic. This incongruity has become more obvious as critics have attacked the CFDC for investing in "sexploitation" films or those that concentrate on violence, although many of these have been amongst the very few financially successful Canadian productions. The Canadian film industry is forced to compete domestically with the Hollywood

product, and thus it is only natural to expect that it often chooses to do so with similar types of content, which have proven box-office appeal.

B. Motion-Picture Content and Its Effects

The relationship between the content of motion pictures and the role that such content plays in shaping the behaviour of the audience is not easily understood. While there have been many attempts to study this relationship, we still cannot explain with absolute certainty what it is. Studies of film content that examine the relationship between the social and cultural ethos of a society and the type of films produced by that society have been far more successful in establishing predictable patterns; but even here there have been disagreements in the interpretation of the available evidence.[16] It is quite clear that more systematic work on these relationships is much needed. As George Gerbner has said:

Mass production and distribution of message systems transforms selected private perspectives into broad public perspectives, and brings mass publics into existence. . . .

The truly revolutionary significance of modern mass communication is its "public-making" ability. That is the ability to form historically new bases for collective thought and action quickly, continuously, and pervasively across previous boundaries of time, space, and culture. . . .

We need to know what general terms of collective cultivation about existence, priorities, values, and relationships are given in collectively shared public message systems before we can reliably interpret facts of individual and social response.[17]

The motion picture, in particular, has been a potent "public message system" for more than 70 years. During this time, it has established itself as both a reflection of the society around it and also as a "leader" in promoting new ideas in that society, although the "reflector" role is by far the more common one. The reasons for the popularity of movies are obvious. Movies provide a vivid visual presentation in which the images are already fully established, easily identified (in most cases), and easily followed. While the complete psychological significance of the filmic presentation still defies analysis, it does seem clear that films are conducive to ready comprehension. This makes it easy for the spectator to assume the role of the characters and to identify with them quickly and effectively. If the aesthetic contributions of the close-up and the dramatic form are added to the vividness of presentation, it is not difficult to explain why motion pictures are such an effective form of communication. In the final analysis, the avowed purpose of the producer of the film is to induce this absorption or identification on the part of the spectator, while to have this experience is the desire of the average movie-goer.

To satisfy this "experience" for the movie-goer, films have traditionally depended on appeals to primary emotions and sentiments. While this is inevitably true of all drama, these simplistic emotional appeals tend to

become exaggerated in the movies. In the commercial cinema, in particular, little use is made of abstract forms or of complicated and remote symbolism (at least at the conscious level, despite what some film scholars might say), but instead there is an exploitation of what is primary and universal in human beings. Thus emotions, passions, and sentiments are over-emphasized. It is precisely because motion pictures deal with a mass of individuals with wide variations in educative and cultural backgrounds that they find common responsiveness on this elemental level.[18]

Herbert Blumer, the noted social psychologist, in his perceptive analysis of motion-picture influence, has suggested that the general influence of movies is a "reaffirmation of basic human values but an undermining of the mores". He elaborates:

Since the appeal of motion pictures depends so much on touching primary sentiments, it is not strange that they should stress those human qualities which are man's universal possession. In the cinema, one finds the constant portrayal and approval of such qualities as bravery, loyalty, love, affection, frankness, personal justness, cleverness, heroism and friendship.. . .

However, the social patterns or schemes of conduct inside of which these primary human qualities are placed are likely to be somewhat new, strange, and unfamiliar . . . This concern with the new, the strange, and the different, is not merely a direction of attention to the outside of local culture; it is an attack upon local culture. . . . This penetration of basic human values into new social forms constitutes one of the most interesting features of motion pictures. It explains why and how they undermine the prevailing patterns of local culture.[19]

The ability of the motion picture to transport an audience outside of its local cultural experience is a significant one and accounts for much of the concern about "movie influence". From another point of view, while movies may alienate people from their own local experiences, they also prepare people for a wider cross-section of society as a whole.[20] As Blumer points out: "motion pictures not only bring new objects to the attention of people but, what is probably more important, they make what has been remote and vague, immediate and clear." [21] In this manner, the movies are most effective in creating and reinforcing stereotypes, for where initial familiarity is least, the depiction in a definitive and familiar way becomes the norm. It is for this reason that so much attention has been paid to movie content and influence, particularly by racial or ethnic minorities who have constantly been the victims of "Hollywood versions".

Perhaps the last word on movie influence should be left, yet again, to Herbert Blumer, who, in his extensive study of *Movies and Conduct* noted:

It is insufficient to regard motion pictures simply as a fantasy world by participating in which an individual softens the ardor of his life and escapes its monotony and hardships, nor to justify their content and "unreality" on this basis. For to many the pictures are authentic portrayals of life, from which they draw patterns of behaviour, stimulation to overt conduct,

content for a vigorous life of imagination, and ideas of reality. They are not merely a device for surcease; they are a form of stimulation.[22]

C. Selected Studies of Film Content

1. Edgar Dale's The Content of Motion Pictures[23]
The first major study of all facets of movie content was undertaken by Edgar Dale (then at Ohio State University) as part of the Payne Fund studies on "Motion Pictures and Youth," and was published in 1935.[23] This study was the first to systematically sample the content of American-produced films in any meaningful way, and it still stands as the most complete study of this type. Analyses of three different intensities were made. The most extensive analysis was that of the major film offerings for the years 1920, 1925, and 1930. Five hundred films each of these years were analyzed in printed synopsis form and classified as to their major theme.

A further in-depth analysis was made of 115 films, which were viewed in their entirety, using three "observers" (coders) in order to obtain more detailed information as to what was actually taking place on the screen. The most intensive level of research was conducted on 40 films, for, as Dale noted:

We felt, further, that we needed a number of accounts which would present almost completely the entire range of content of a motion picture in the context of the narrative itself. To that end, we secured from the producers dialogue scripts and used them in our analysis of 40 motion pictures. The script contains all the dialogue and enough of the settings and action to give each bit of dialogue its proper chronological order.[24]
The coders then viewed the film, taking elaborate notes on settings, content, and changes from the prepared scripts.

In the analysis of the 1,500 films for "major theme", it was not surprising that Dale found that "crime", "sex" and "love" were the most common thematic explorations. However, he was careful to point out that these were definitions of *major* themes, and a "love" film may contain scenes of criminality. Crime, in particular, occurred in a large number of films, and, therefore, the amount of crime for the three years examined is actually under-represented in the data.

The data in Table I.1 is self-explanatory, but it is worthy of note that the triadic group of crime, sex and love as major themes constituted 81.6 per cent in 1920, 79.2 per cent in 1925, and 72 per cent in 1930. As Dale noted of these trends:

The fact that two-fifths of the pictures are concerned with *crime* and *sex* indicate a belief that a purpose of the movies is to deal with life problems and their solution. Certainly these are two problems that are always with us. Are they sufficiently important to warrant the attention they are receiving? . . . Are there no social problems other than those of crime and sex which would lend themselves to dramatic treatment?[25]

The Dale study also examined the locales and settings of movies; the nature of the characters; the type of clothing worn by leading characters; the circumstances

Table I.1

Comparison of the Results of Three Samplings of Motion Pictures

Number and per cent of movies of each type as shown by samples of 500, 115, and 40.

Type of movie	500 movies released in 1930[a]		115 movies analyzed[b]		40 movies analyzed in detail	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Crime	137	27.4	27	23.5	9	22.5
Sex	75	15.0	18	15.6	8	20.0
Love	148	29.6	34	29.6	7	17.5
Mystery	24	4.8	4	3.5	3	7.5
War	19	3.8	4	3.5	3	7.5
Children	1	.2	1	.9	1	2.5
History	7	1.4	1	.9	1	2.5
Travel	9	1.8	2	1.7	1	2.5
Comedy	80	16.0	24	20.9	7	17.5
Social propaganda	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	500	100.0	115	100.0	40	100.0

[a]Fifty-two of the 115 pictures analyzed are included in this sample. These 500 pictures represent the total 1930 production.

[b]This sample includes the 40 pictures analyzed in detail.

Source: Edgar Dale, The Content of Motion Pictures (New York: MacMillan, 1935), p. 8.

of meeting and love-making; the nature of the sex, marriage and romantic love depicted; vulgarity; the use of liquor and tobacco; the goals of the leading characters; and, most important for our purposes, crime in the movies. Much against the common belief, the researchers could find only one plot, in the intensive analysis of the 40 films, where the hero, a criminal, was definitely shown as attractive to adults. Nevertheless, within the context of the films themselves, it was noted that:

movie criminals are not always shown as low, cowardly, weak-minded, and physically repulsive. The evidence suggests that no small proportion of the criminals are accomplished in some of the social graces, and many are well dressed. Not infrequently we see on the screen criminals who are courageous and who meet danger fearlessly.[26]

In regards to the origin of criminals, "only rarely" in the 40 films was any attempt made to Indicate that "criminal patterns of behaviour develop as a product of a long process of interaction between the individual and the successive social situations in which he lives".[27]

In terms of the frequency of crime, the researchers found that they were able to identify 449 crimes in 115 films, an average of 3.9 crimes per film. Also 84 per cent of these films [97 films] had one or more crime depicted. Who commits the crimes? The hero was responsible for causing 21 per cent of violent deaths, while the villain

was responsible for 39 per cent. Deaths by violence occurred in 45 of the 115 films, or 39 per cent. A revolver was most frequently used for committing and attempting murder and was used for 20 murders in 18 different films. Dale concluded from this part of the analysis that "violent means are often used to settle disputes. Further, the hero and other characters are frequently shown as settling their problems in this fashion."[28]

The section on crime in Dale's study is most revealing. Having been the beneficiary of the seminal work done by Blumer and by Peterson and Thurstone in earlier studies,[29] he voiced his objections to the preponderance of this type of content:

There is no objection to showing crime as a social fact, but there is grave danger that due to this excessive and dramatic way of presenting crime, those whose judgements are immature and unformed may be given an acquaintanceship with crime that tends to give them a very incorrect notion about modern life. They are likely to conclude that all life is inconsiderate, intolerant, and brutish. Such a view is likely to breed a lack of confidence in one's fellow men, to develop unwholesome suspicions, to interfere with a normal emotional development, to foster distrust.[30]

These sentiments (which are common throughout all twelve of the Payne Fund studies) are still being echoed today. The importance of the Dale study lies in its attempt to quantify that which had previously been only

myth, and it continues to be a landmark in content analysis research.[31]

2. Dorothy Jones's Content Analyses

As an adjunct to Leo Rosten's seminal study *Hollywood, the Movie Colony, the Movie Makers,* published in 1941, which was concerned with a survey of *who* makes the movies, Dorothy Jones undertook a study of motion-picture content.[32] Having benefited from Dale's study, Jones spent over three months in creating and testing various schedules that would allow for a complete and accurate record of the relevant aspects of film content. No attempt was made to obtain a scientific sample of the Hollywood product, for as she noted: "every film produced by the motion picture industry is, in a sense, unique, so that we seriously question whether it would be possible to make any sample which could be called representative."[33]

Miss Jones studied one hundred films which were released between April 1941 and February 1942. Seventy per cent were part of the fall and winter product of 1941-2. Ninety-five per cent of the pictures analyzed were produced by the seven major motion-picture-producing companies. The breakdown of types is indicated in Table I.2

Table I.2

Motion-Picture Content, 1941–42

Type	Number
Pure romance	15
Current political or social problems	14
General social, economic, or political problems	12
Musicals	12
Romantic comedies	9
Mystery or murder	9
Gangster or racketeer	7
Westerns	4
Children	4
Historical or biographical	4
Slapstick comedies	4
Pure fantasy	3
Other	3

Source: D. Jones, "Quantitative Analysis of Motion Picture Content", Public Opinion Quarterly 6 (September 1942), p. 416.

(a) Whom are the movies about? In the 100 films, there were 188 major characters. Of this total, 126 were men and 62 women. It was also found that approximately 60 per cent of the major characters were "independent adults" – that is, they were shown as economically established, free of parental influence, usually unmarried, and with definitely limited social and economic responsibilities.[34] (Dorothy Jones noted that such people are seldom found in real life, and this unique set of characteristics could well be called "movie age".) In terms of marital status, 69.7 per cent of the major characters were shown as single and 18.6 per cent as married. The remaining 11.7 per cent were either single with a promise of marriage, or divorced, separated or widowed. In terms of ethnic origin or nationality, 81.4 per cent of the heroes and heroines were Americans.

(b) What are the movies about? Dorothy Jones and her researchers developed an index for analyzing the "wants" of major characters, and they came up with an early version of a "cultural index". The study noted:

... if the films reflect at all our changing social and political scene, one would expect that the problems of screen characters would change – that the characters would be shown increasingly as facing problems similar to those which are being faced by people today the world over. . . . We suggest that a study of the "wants" of major characters, if followed over a period of time, might serve as an excellent index of changing film content.[35]

Three "wants" were clearly identified: "Safety" included values concerned with health, bodily integrity, or life. "Income" referred to money and/or material goods. "Deference" (in the sense of response or recognition) included such values as power, fame or reputation, rightness (that is, the self-satisfaction of doing one's duty), idealism (for a way of living), and love or affection.[36] Four-fifths of the values of the 188 major characters fell into one of the three general categories, the other fifth cut across several of these.

(c) *The importance of "love".* Of the total of 188 major characters, 68.1 per cent wanted love; 26.1 per cent wanted fame, reputation or prestige; 15.9 per cent wanted safety (either health, bodily integrity, or safety of life); 13.8 per cent wanted a way of life; 9.6 per cent wanted money or material goods; 9.0 per cent wanted "rightness" – to do their duty. Interestingly enough, the study found that 61.2 per cent of all major characters were indulged with respect to all of their "wants" at the end of the film; while 10.1 per cent were deprived as to all of their "wants" at the close of the picture.

In conclusion, the study raised many significant questions about the movies as a "cultural indicator". For example, the data suggested that the film world holds "ideal marriage" above every other value, yet rarely carries the hero and heroine beyond the marriage ceremony. As Dorothy Jones noted: "If marriage is idealized in the movies, but rarely realistically shown, what effect, if any, does this have upon the success of marriage in our culture?"[37]

3. The War Film

In 1945, Dorothy Jones reported on the second of her

content analyses – this time it was a detailed summary of her research findings while she had been head of the Film Reviewing and Analysis Section of the Hollywood office of the Office of War Information (OWI). This study did not deal with violence as such, but analyzed the contribution of American war films and "the way in which they met their responsibilities to their nation and to the United Nations during wartime".[38] The study examined the content of Hollywood feature films for the years 1942 to 1944, and judged their performance against the criteria established by the OWI under the general rubric, "Will this picture help win the war?"

Dorothy Jones estimated that, in the final analysis, of the 1,313 motion pictures released during the first three important war years, only 45 or 50 "added significantly, both at home an abroad, in increasing understanding of the conflict", and that only one out of ten war films made such a contribution.[39] This study is particularly important, because it represents one of the first major attempts to examine in depth one particular aspect of film content and its cultural and social effects.

4. The Warner Brothers Study

In 1950, Dorothy Jones reported on the study she had undertaken for the Warner Brothers studio. This study still constitutes the most complete content analysis ever made of one film studio's output.[40] The reason for doing this study was to show the wide diversity of content emanating from a studio "factory". As she noted:

There is a saying in Hollywood that any actor, writer, director or producer is only as good as his last picture. This saying might also be applied to the industry as a whole: Hollywood [i.e. the motion picture industry] is usually judged by the public to be as good – or as bad – as its last picture – that is to say, the last picture which caused any stir of attention.[41]

In order to obtain a more accurate picture of their output, Warner Brothers engaged Jones to undertake a two-year survey of all the films the studio had ever produced. The primary purpose was to classify and catalogue the main topics treated on the screen by the studio during its 30 years of production. The final result allowed the studio to see which topics had been treated and which themes had received little exploration. In all, 1,200 films were analyzed, the entire product of the studio for the years 1917 to 1947.

Unfortunately, while the articles described the methodology of the study in great detail, the actual findings were not reported, and as far as can be ascertained, Warner Brothers never did release the material. Nevertheless, the methodology described, particularly as it relates to the typology classification, is most useful.

5. The Wolfenstein and Leites Study

In 1950, Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites published their psychoanalytic study, *Movies: A Psychological Study*. The authors' premise for this study was based upon the hypothesis that "where a group of people share a common culture, they are likely to have certain day-dreams in common. . . . The common day-dreams of a culture are in part the sources, in part the products of its popular myths, stories, plays and films."[42] Thus, they examined all the American-produced major ("A") films having a contemporary urban setting that were released in New York City for the year following September 1945 and all the "A" melodramas released between September 1, 1946, and January 1, 1948.

The result of this research was a remarkable study which attempted to match cultural patterns in America with themes in Hollywood movies. Among their more publicized discoveries was the "good-bad girl" – a female character who appears to be bad, but who is, in actual fact, as virginal as the girl next door. Thus, the hero "has a girl who has attracted him by an appearance of wickedness, and whom in the end he can take home and introduce to Mother".[43] This study is rich in content, and provides a provocative guide to the "subconscious" development of the dominant themes of American films. As the authors noted, "Where these productions gain the sympathetic response of a wide audience, it is likely that their producers have tapped within themselves a reservoir of common day-dreams. The corresponding day-dreams, imperfectly formed and only partially conscious, are evoked in the audience and given more definite shape."[44]

6. The New Zealand Study

In 1950, Gordon Mirams, the chief government censor and registrar of films in New Zealand, reported on a detailed content analysis he had made of 100 feature films which entered New Zealand in the four months between the end of December 1949 and the end of April 1950. (Seventy of these were of American origin)[45] It was in the area of crime and violence that Mirams' findings were most interesting. Taking crime and acts of violence together under one heading, he found that in the 100 films examined, there was a total of 659 recorded instances of crime and violence – an average of 6.6. per film. Only 14 of the films were entirely free from any display of either crime or violence. However, if only the American productions are considered, there were 550 crimes or acts of violence in 70 films – an average of 7.8 such acts per film. (This was exactly double the earlier finding of Dale's survey.) Only eight of the 70 American films were free from violent acts.[46] The 24 British films in the survey averaged 4.3 criminal and violent acts per film.

Mirams found that murder was the most frequent crime portrayed on the screen, but he was shocked to find that one-half of all films contained at least one act of murder committed or attempted, and that the murder rate was more than three per film. (Specifically, there were 168 murders in 47 films. Here again, Dale's findings in 1933 showed the murder rate at roughly two per film.) It should be noted that nearly half of the

murders (73) took place in just 17 western films.[47] What was also noteworthy was that 36 per cent of the total deaths were caused by "heroes", mostly in the course of bringing criminals to justice or retribution, or in self-defence.[48] The gun, once again, was the most favoured weapon, figuring in 147 acts of murder or violence. Mirams noted of guns:

The gun in films is carried almost as a matter of course – as one might carry a cigarette case, and it is produced just about as casually. To judge by Hollywood product, it has been nearly as essential a part of the average American household as an icebox.[49]

. . . Making all allowances for the formal and stereotyped pattern of much screen violence and crime – which could arguably be its most disquieting aspect, since it comes to be accepted as normal – and giving due weight to all familiar arguments about catharsis, escapism, and fictional license, one is still left with a big question mark as to whether the cinema can be as innocent in its influence on social attitudes as its apologists insist.[50]

D. The State of Motion-Picture Content Analysis

Since the mid-1950s and the advent of television, there has been little or no interest in undertaking detailed analyses of movie content. There have been a few specialized exceptions: In 1956, as part of his study of "blacklisting" in the motion-picture industry for The Fund of the Republic, John Cogley prepared detailed tables on the changing thematic content of American films in the period from 1947 to 1954. Essentially, this showed a decline in interest in films dealing with "social and psychological problems" and an increase in "crime and crime investigations", "adventure" and "war and military".[51]

George Gerbner published his comprehensive cross-cultural study in 1969; it examined 341 films from six countries and analyzed 667 "film heroes".[52] The study found that the heroes were mainly male nationals of the producing countries (the United States, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia), while the majority of the leading characters in all countries were under 30 years of age.[53] Films without scenes of physical violence were rare in all countries except Czechoslovakia. Surprisingly, Italian films were the most violent, and the frequency of overt violence was generally higher in the films of Western than of Eastern Europe. As Table I.3 indicates, the films of the Communist countries have less over-all violent content than do the films of Western countries. Quite clearly, the type of social content prevalent in the films affected the portrayal of violence and crime. "Personally motivated criminality and violence were more characteristic of U.S. and Western European films, with Italian films having the largest share of both."[54]

Table I.3

Selected Aspects of Political, Social, Legal, and Patriotic Goals

Important theme	United States	France	Italy	Yugoslavia	Poland	Czecho-slovakia
(Per cent of films)						
Political	6	6	3	14	18	21
Patriotic	5	11	3	10	23	12
Prejudice, intolerance	3	6	–	14	18	3
Struggle for human rights	4	1	4	3	17	9
(Per cent of characters)						
Revolutionary or resistance fighter	2	2	6	12	9	9
Victim of prejudice, discrimination	4	5	4	10	17	7
Habitual or professional lawbreaker	12	14	11	5	6	4
Motivated by:						
Nationalism	3	7	21	12	24	9
Ideal of justice	13	17	33	12	23	62

Source: Gerbner, The Film Hero: A Cross-Cultural Study (Lexington, Kentucky: The Association for Education in Journalism, 1969), p. 47.

Since the Gerbner study, there have been no further studies of movie content of any consequence that deal with violence or crime, a point noted by the United States National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence in 1969.[55] While there have been systematic studies by Jowett of the historical content of films[56] and by Shain of "war movies",[57] these do not deal specifically with crime or violence. The following study, therefore, represents one of the first attempts at a systematic analysis of the violent content in films in over a decade.

Based upon a random sample of films exhibited in 1975, this study achieves a level of analysis unmatched by any of the previous studies of this nature. In particular, the attempt to examine the "aesthetics" of screen violence, or the manner in which the filmmaker has constructed violent scenes, is quite unique.

The motion picture is still a very potent entertainment and socializing medium, and as such deserves wider understanding and investigation. It is hoped that this study will help to restore interest in further research into motion-picture content.

Chapter Two

Characteristics of the Films

A. All Films

1. General Characteristics

Of the 25 films included in the sample (see Appendix A, Table A.2), 20 per cent were Canadian-produced, 60 per cent were produced in the United States, 12 per cent were produced in other countries, and 8 per cent were co-productions (Table II.1). Considering that both co-productions involved American companies, the American percentage could, in reality, be considered to be 68 per cent. These figures vary greatly from the figures for country of origin of films classified for the 1975 fiscal year. Calculations from figures contained in the Theatres Branch's *Annual Report* produced the following: Canada – 3.2 per cent, United States – 57.8 per cent, and other – 39.0 per cent.[1] The large proportion of Canadian films were included to provide sufficient information for comparison with non-Canadian films, and the "other" category contains many films that have a very limited distribution and hence are not very popular (which was a consideration used to stratify and weight the sample).[2]

As for film classifications, the films included in the sample consisted of three "general exhibition", 11 "adult entertainment", and 11 "restricted" films[3] (Table II.2). This composition resulted in a *slight* over-representation of "adult" films at the expense of "general" ones in comparison to the breakdown for these categories for all films classified by the Theatres Branch during the 1975 fiscal year.[4] The sample breakdown is also very close to the distribution of the Motion Picture Association of America movie ratings for the period from November 1974 to October 1975 in the United States, allowing for the slight difference in classification systems[5] (Table II.3). It should be noted that there was no variation whatsoever between Canadian and American films in the sample in terms of classification (Table II.4).

The single largest category of film type represented was the crime film (Table II.5). Drama was the second largest category, followed by comedy and adventure. The remainder of the sample was composed of one documentary, one musical and one children's film.[6]

The vast majority of the films (68 per cent) were set in the present or the immediate past (that is, 1965 to the present). The main mode of depiction was "plausible fiction" (that is, both the setting and characters were plausible, but there was no claim to depict actual events or people) (Table II.6). In fact, a majority of all films (52 per cent) were plausible fictions set in the present or immediate past.

Finally, an overwhelming majority of films [80 per cent] were "closed narratives". This means that all the elements of the narrative have been drawn together, all questions arising from the film have been answered, and all situations presented in the film have been resolved by the time of its conclusion. In effect, these films present closed or self-contained experiences for the viewer. They are not meant to, and do not, arouse or stimulate the viewer (emotionally, intellectually, or otherwise) beyond the viewing experience itself. The implications of this phenomenon will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 6.

2. Tone

The films were coded for the variety of tones or moods that they conveyed. The films were assessed as to whether or not they were funny, exciting, interesting, educational, accurate, serious, plausible, predictable, violent, suspenseful, entertaining, sensual or tragic.

Table II.7 gives the results for all the films.[7] They were found to be quite interesting and entertaining;

Table II.1

Production Source for All Films (per cent)

Canada	20.0
United States	60.0
Co-operation	8.0
Other	12.0
	100.0

Table II.2

*Ontario Theatres Branch's Classifications
for Films in the Sample and for All Films
Classified in Ontario for the 1975 Fiscal Year*

	Sample	Fiscal Year 1975
General exhibition	16.0	20.2
Adult entertainment	44.0	39.1
Restricted	40.0	40.7
	100.0	100.0

Source: *Annual Report,* Theatres Branch, Ministry of Consumer and Corporate Relations, April 30, 1976.

Table II.4

Ontario Theatres Branch's Classifications for Canadian and American Films in the Sample (per cent)

	Canada	United States
General exhibition	20.0	20.0
Adult entertainment	40.0	40.0
Restricted	40.0	40.0
	100.0	100.0

Table II.3

Motion Picture Association of America Film Ratings for the Period from November 1974 to October 1975 (per cent)

General	13.0
Parental guidance	35.0
Restricted	48.0
X-Rated	4.0
	100.0

Source: Variety, November 5, 1976

Table II.5

Categories of Film Type (in per cent)

Documentary	4.0
Musical	4.0
Children	4.0
Comedy	16.0
Drama	24.0
Crime	36.0
Adventure	12.0
	100.0

Table II.6

Film Reality by Date of Major Action (in per cent)

	1900 to W.W.2	W.W.2 to 1965	1965 to present	Future	Other time periods and shifts over time periods
Completely fantastic	–	–	5.9	100.0	–
Fantastic and plausible	–	–	17.6	–	–
Plausible fiction	75.0	–	76.5	–	50.0
Specific depiction	25.0	100.0	–	–	50.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

somewhat serious, exciting, and violent: and slightly plausible, accurate, and suspenseful. They were also slightly unpredictable, somewhat non-tragic and "unfunny", and very non-educational and non-sensual.

3. Global Messages
The films were also assessed as to the evidence they presented on a long list of general messages about society (42 items). It was found that just over half of the messages were only very weakly supported or negated in the films, but that there was a range of strong and weak evidence for and against the remainder[8] (Table II.8).

The picture presented by these films is of a world in

Table II.7

Scores for All Films on "Tones"

Tones	
Funny	– 9
Exciting	7
Interesting	13
Educational	–17
Accurate	1
Serious	9
Plausible	3
Predictable	– 3
Violent	5
Suspenseful	3
Entertaining	15
Sensual	–21
Tragic	– 7

which there is a substantial element of danger and a certain amount of clandestine plotting by politicians, of which most people are unaware. It is a world in which crime does not pay. Perhaps as a result, it is a difficult place in which to succeed. None the less, people do seem to like their jobs, despite the fact that bosses must be strict in order to gain respect.

The films display a rather confined social environment, however, in that while the family is important and people get support from it and their friends, they cannot really rely on others. In such an environment, people are seen as being either weak or strong. The best ways of interacting with people are to be straightforward but also assertive, aggressive, pushy and strict. In addition, the best way of dealing with conflict is to take some form of aggressive or violent action, such action being justified if one believes one is morally right.

The area of social relations is pictured somewhat less schematically: relations with others are not simple, direct, or conflict-free, and marriage problems associated with living together are not easily handled.

4. Portrayal of Groups

The films were also judged on their portrayal or presentation of a range of different "groups". The only groups assessed that were universally portrayed in the films were "men" and "women". Of the others, minority groups[9] were portrayed in 80 per cent of the films, the police in 68 per cent, teen-agers and old people both in 48 per cent, career people[10] in 40 per cent, politicians in 32 per cent, and spouses of career people in four per cent.

Men were portrayed most positively overall, followed very closely by old people. Women occupied third

Table II.8

Scores on Global Messages for All Films

* The world is dangerous.	14
Downtown is dangerous.	3
* Crime doesn't pay.	11
Children aren't safe.	3
Aggression and violence are good for dealing with conflict.	6
Family is important.	6
Police need force.	5
* People get support from family and friends.	10
* People like their jobs.	11
People are happy.	0
* Any action is justified if one believes one is morally right.	12
Marriage is easy.	– 7
* Relations are simple.	–17
Be kind.	– 4
Be thoughtful.	– 3
* Be pushy.	11
* Be strict.	11
* Be aggressive.	15
Tell white lies.	0
* Be straightforward.	12
Be sarcastic.	0
Be tactful.	1
* Be assertive.	19
Officials are indifferent.	3
One must live for today.	– 4
People's lot is getting worse.	3
It is not fair to have children.	1
* People are undependable.	12
Children should be taught absolute obedience to parents.	1
Bosses should be strict to gain respect.	7
Authoritarian police are best against crime.	1
* People are either weak or strong.	10

* Messages worthy of note.

place, followed by career people, teen-agers, and minority groups, with police and politicians trailing behind. It should be noted that politicians had a negative presentation overall (Table II.9).

Old people are the only group that does not have at least one negative rating; old people tend to conform to

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Table II.9

Presentation of Groups on Various Attributes for All Films

Groups	Per cent of films portrayed in*	Attributes							
		Power	Compe-tence	Interest-ingness	Stability	Satis-faction	Activity	Wisdom	Total
Women	100	− 4.0	12.0	20.0	9.0	− 1.0	10.0	− 1.0	45.0
Men	100	14.0	9.0	23.0	− 3.0	− 5.0	21.0	− 2.0	57.0
Teen-agers	48	−10.4	2.1	10.4	10.4	6.3	6.3	0	25.1
Old people	48	0	16.7	14.6	10.4	2.1	4.2	8.3	56.3
Minority groups	80	− 2.5	8.6	12.5	0	− 6.3	6.3	2.5	21.1
Career people	40	− 4.2	5.0	10.0	12.5	− 2.5	10.0	2.5	33.3
Spouses of career people	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Police	68	14.7	− 2.9	2.9	1.5	−10.3	13.2	− 5.9	13.2
Politicians	32	15.6	− 6.3	9.4	− 9.4	− 9.4	9.4	−15.6	− 6.3
Total		23.2	44.2	102.8	31.4	−26.1	80.4	−11.2	

* These percentages have been used to adjust the totals for groups not represented in all films so that for purposes of comparison the range for each attribute is −25 to + 25.

the image of the old sages on whom one can depend (both in terms of ability and predictability). Men are much more active and powerful, and possibly more interesting as a result, but they are also slightly unstable, dissatisfied, and foolish.

Women are slightly weak but basically stable and competent, although they are not completely satisfied with their situation. Teen-agers, on the other hand, are even weaker than women and considerably less competent, but are quite stable and satisfied – in fact they are the most satisfied of all the groups.

Minority groups and career people are remarkably similar in the distribution of their scores on the attributes, the main difference being career people's much greater stability.

Both groups are pictured as somewhat competent, interesting, active and slightly wise; however, they are also portrayed as slightly weak and dissatisfied.

The two groups portrayed least positively, the police and politicians, also have scores quite similar to each other on almost all attributes. The only difference is the slight stability of the police in comparison to that of the somewhat unstable politicians. As the prime representatives, among the groups coded, of authority in society, the police and politicians are portrayed as quite powerful, fairly active, and somewhat interesting, but as slightly incompetent, somewhat dissatisfied, and foolish (the politicians being the most foolish of all the groups).

A comparison of the scores for the groups on each attribute showed some interesting patterns. All groups are interesting and active, for example, although there are substantial variations in degree, and men are most highly rated on both attributes. There is a general degree of competence, with only the police and politicians being presented as incompetent. Similarly, most groups are stable, with the exception of men and politicians, who are unstable, and minority groups, who are neutral on that attribute. There is also some consistency with regard to satisfaction: most groups are dissatisfied, with the exception of teen-agers and old people. The greatest variations are in terms of power and wisdom,[11] and there *almost* seems to be an inverse relationship between the two attributes (that is, the more powerful the group is, the less wise it is).

5. Conflict and Non-Conflict Incidents

The study examined a number of different types of incidents, the detailed study of which is laid out in Chapter IV. The films can be described in general terms, however, on the basis of the rates of occurrence for the various incident types.[12]

The definition and the delineation of an incident was adapted from Gerbner's work on television violence.[13] Various rules were employed to determine what, in fact, constituted an incident and how the onset and termination of such incidents were to be recognized.

A basic distinction was made between conflict and non-conflict incidents. Conflict incidents were those in which something was at issue between two or more parties whose objectives with regard to that "something-at-issue" were not compatible. Grouped under the title

Table II.10

The Number of Various Incident Types and the Percentage of Total Number of Incidents

Incident type	Number	Per cent
Violence	338	50.4
Argument	125	18.6
Non-violent, non-argument conflict	62	9.2
Irrational violence	42	6.3
Verbal abuse	27	4.0
Harm to self	12	1.8
Destruction of property	53	7.9
Theft	12	1.8
	671	100.0

"conflict incidents" were violent incidents, argument incidents, and non-violent, non-argument conflict incidents. The non-conflict incidents did not revolve around situations involving such incompatible objectives and could be characterized as occurences in which a single "agent" was active, while conflict incidents involved two (or more) active parties. Non-conflict incidents included irrational violence, verbal abuse, harm to self, destruction of property and theft.

The total number of incidents recognized and coded was 671, for an average of 26.8 per film. (The range was very large, however, the smallest number of incidents for a single film being two and the largest 59, with considerable variation between those extremes.) The composition of the total number of incidents was as follows:

From this table it can be seen that an overwhelming majority of the incidents (525 or 78.2 per cent or an average of 21 per film) is made up of conflict incidents. This would seem to be understandable, if one remembers that conflict is generally *a*, if not *the*, major element of drama.[14] An examination of the incident types comprising the conflict category, however, reveals that the violent-conflict incidents alone account for better than 50 per cent of all incidents. In addition, there is an average of 13.5 violent incidents, five argument incidents, and 2.5 non-violent, non-argument conflict incidents per film (Table II.11). This means that for every reasoned discussion there are roughly two arguments and five-and-a-half violent conflicts, and for every argument there are more than two-and-a-half violent incidents.

The non-conflict incidents number only 146 or 21.8 per cent of the total, for an average of 5.8 per film. Of these incidents, irrational violence and destruction of property are the two largest categories (28.8 per cent or

1.7 incidents per film and 36.3 per cent or 2.1 incidents per firm respectively). Together, they constitute close to two-thirds of all non-conflict incidents and 14.2 per cent of all incidents. By these standards, verbal abuse, harm to self, and theft would seem to be rather insignificant in the scheme of things.

Table II.11

The Average Number of Incidents per Film for Various Incident Types

Incident type	
Violence	13.5
Argument	5.0
Non-violent, non-argument conflict	2.5
Irrational violence	1.7
Verbal abuse	1.0
Harm to self	0.5
Destruction of property	2.1
Theft	0.5
Total	26.8

6. Ratings and Incidence of Violence

Each film was rated as to the violence involved on a seven-point scale (1 being least violent, 7 most violent).[15] The average violence rating for the films was 4.4, which would suggest that the films were somewhat violent overall (the score being almost 63 per cent of the highest possible score). There was a large variation among the films on the violence rating, as might be expected. The violence ratings for various breakdowns of the films are examined below.

The average number of violent-conflict incidents per film was 13.5. If irrational-violence incidents are combined with these, the average rises to 15.2 violent incidents per film. When compared to the figures presented by Dale and Mirams (even allowing for possible differences in the conceptualization of "violence" and "incident"), it would appear that the number of violent incidents in films doubles approximately every 20 years.[16]

An examination of the violence ratings and the number of violent incidents per film for individual films suggest that there is a highly positive correlation between the violence rating and the average number of violent-conflict incidents per film. The lack of perfect correlation can be accounted for by the failure of the *number* of violent incidents to reflect the severity and/or graphicness of the violence involved (a factor that could contribute to an over-all impression of the violence of a film) and by slight differences among coders' percep-

tions of violence. Nevertheless, both measures of violence would indicate considerable violence in the films.

B. Comparison of Canadian and Non-Canadian Films

1. Tone

The differences in tone for Canadian and non-Canadian films can be derived from Table II.12.[17] While the non-Canadian films are even less funny, educational and sensual than the Canadian ones, the Canadian films are more accurate and serious. There are greater contrasts for violence and tragedy, however: the Canadian films tend to be non-violent and tragic, while the non-Canadian ones are violent and not tragic. Finally, the Canadian films are less exciting, but no less interesting and entertaining.

Table II.12

Scores on "Tones" by Production Source

Tones	Canadian films	Non-Canadian films
* Funny	– 5	–10
* Exciting	– 5	10
Interesting	15	12.5
* Educational	– 5	–20
* Accurate	5	0
* Serious	15	7.5
Plausible	5	2.5
Predictable	– 5	– 2.5
* Violent	– 5	7.5
Suspenseful	5	2.5
Entertaining	15	15.0
* Sensual	–25	–20.0
* Tragic	5	–10.0

* Differences worthy of note.

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2. Global Messages

An examination of the scores for the global messages of Canadian and non-Canadian films suggests that the non-Canadian films tend to have more support for messages dealing with the use of force, and also for those that paint a picture of optimism in the face of a somewhat hostile social environment (Table II.13). There was more support, in non-Canadian films, for the ideas that the world is dangerous, that people are undependable, and that people are unaware of politicians' clandestine plots. In addition, non-Canadian films suggested more strongly that police often

needed to use excessive force; that aggression and violence are good ways of dealing with conflict (this was not the case in Canadian films); that the best ways of interacting with people are to be pushy, aggressive, and assertive, but not kind; that any action is permissible if one believes oneself to be right; that an insult to one's honour must always be punished; and that force might be necessary to preserve the true American way of life.

The picture of the interpersonal relations of the social world was more positive in other areas in the non-Canadian films, however: people received support from their family and friends and liked their jobs. These films were also somewhat more realistic in showing that relations with others were not simple, direct, and conflict-free. In addition, they were slightly more optimistic, since people did not live just for today, concerned citizens did not get into more trouble than it was worth, and good things were not necessarily hard to come by. (The latter two were contrary to the impression created by the Canadian films.)

The Canadian films suggested more strongly that the family is important and that children should be taught absolute obedience to their parents, but *not* that children should be only seen and not heard. They also suggested that people talked but did not work, that poorly bred people would not be accepted (contrary to the impression of non-Canadian films), and that telling white lies was *not* a good way to interact with people.

Table II.13

Scores for Global Messages, by Production Source

	Canadian films	Non-Canadian films
* The World is dangerous.	5	16.3
Downtown is dangerous.	0	3.8
Crime doesn't pay.	10	11.3
Children aren't safe.	0	3.8
* Aggression and violence are good for dealing with conflict.	– 5	8.8
* Family is important.	10	5.0
* Police need force.	0	6.3
* People get support from family and friends.	5	11.3
* People like their jobs.	5	12.5
People are happy.	0	0
Any action is justified if one believes one is morally right.	5	13.8
Marriage is easy.	–10	– 6.3
* Relations are simple.	– 5	–20.0
* Be kind.	0	– 5.0

Scores for Global Messages, by Production Source

	Canadian films	Non-Canadian films
Be thoughtful.	0	− 3.8
* Be pushy.	5	12.5
Be strict.	10	11.3
* Be aggressive.	5	17.5
* Tell white lies.	−10	2.5
Be straightforward.	15	11.3
Be sarcastic.	0	0
Be tactful.	0	1.3
* Be assertive.	5	22.5
Officials are indifferent.	5	2.5
* One must live for today.	0	− 5.0
People's lot is getting worse.	5	2.5
It is not fair to have children.	− 5	2.5
People are undependable.	0	15.0
* Children should be taught absolute obedience to parents.	5	0
Bosses should be strict to gain respect.	5	7.5
Authoritarian police are best against crime.	0	1.3
People are either weak or strong.	10	10.0
* Poorly bred people are not accepted.	20	− 2.5
* People talk but don't work.	10	0
* An insult must be punished.	0	6.3
Youth needs strictness.	0	0
* People are unaware of politicians' plots.	5	10.0
* Force is necessary to preserve the American way.	0	5.0
Business is more important than humanities.	0	− 1.3
* Children should be unobtrusive.	−10	0
* Involvement isn't worth it.	5	− 5.0
* Good things are hard to come by.	−15	10.0

* Differences worthy of note.

3. Portrayal of Groups

The comparison of the portrayal of groups for Canadian and non-Canadian films is presented in Table II.14. If a notable difference in portrayal is considered to be one in which the production sources differ by five units (or 20 per cent of the highest possible absolute score) in their portrayal of a group, the comparison can be further facilitated by reducing the information to that presented in Table II.15.

An examination of that table makes it clear that Canadian films present a more positive image in almost all cases, and in most cases a *considerably* more positive image. Career people would seem to be the only group that non-Canadian films portray more positively than Canadian ones. Minority groups and police are only slightly more positively presented in Canadian films; but women, men, old people, politicians, and especially teen-agers are all considerably more positively presented.

4. Conflict and Non-Conflict Incidents

The comparison of the various types of incidents for the production sources can be derived from Table II.16. The average number of total incidents per Canadian film was 17.0 while for each non-Canadian film it was 29.3 (United States – 27.9). The difference between the average number of conflict incidents per film was not quite as large, but was still significant (14.0 as opposed to 22.8). Further, while the total number of conflict incidents as a percentage of all incidents was higher for Canadian than non-Canadian films (82.4 per cent as opposed to 77.8 per cent), the more important ratio of violent conflict to reasoned discussion was much lower. In non-Canadian films, for every reasoned discussion there were 5.7 violent conflicts (5.6 for American films), while in Canadian films there were only 4.6 such violent conflicts for every reasoned discussion. There were more arguments, however: 4.4. arguments per reasoned discussion in Canadian films compared to 1.7 in non-Canadian ones (2.0 in the United States).

When we compare the non-Canadian and Canadian films in terms of the average number of incidents per film for each incident type, we find that the non-Canadian films had a greater number of incidents for all types except arguments and irrational violence. There were 6.2 arguments in every Canadian film, but only 4.7 in every non-Canadian one (5.1 in every American one, however), and there were 2.0 irrational-violence incidents in every Canadian film but only 1.6 in every non-Canadian one (even lower at 1.2 for American films). The average number of violent incidents was much greater for the non-Canadian films, however (15.4 as opposed to 6.4).

5. Ratings and Incidence of Violence

An examination of the characteristics of the films on the basis of source of production suggests that violence on movie theatre screens is basically an imported phenomenon (Table II.17). Non-Canadian films received a violence rating of 4.6, while Canadian films received one of only 3.8. In addition, there were more than twice as many violent incidents per film for non-Canadian (17.0) as compared to Canadian films (7.8).

What was somewhat surprising was the fact that co-productions and films from non-North American

Table II.14

Comparison of Presentation of Groups on Various Attributes, by Production Source

Groups	Power Canadian	Non-Canadian	Competence Canadian	Non-Canadian	Interestingness Canadian	Non-Canadian
Women	−10.4	− 3.8	15.0	11.3	15.0	21.3
Men	10.4	16.3	5.0	10.0	20.0	23.8
Teen-agers	−12.5	−10.0	12.5	0	24.9	7.5
Old people	0	0	25.0	13.9	16.6	13.9
Minority groups	− 6.3	− 1.4	12.5	8.3	12.5	12.5
Career people	−	2.5	0	5.0	−	10.0
Police	12.5	15.4	0	− 3.8	− 6.3	5.8
Politicians	0	17.9	−25.0	− 3.6	−25.0	14.3
Total	− 6.3	36.9	45.0	41.1	57.7	109.1

Table II.15

Number of Attributes for the Presentation of Groups

Groups	For Canadian films More positive	More negative	Similar	For non-Canadian films More positive	More negative
Women	3	1	2	1	2
Men	3		2	2	2
Teen-agers	5		2		
Old people	3		4		
Minority groups	2	1	4	1	
Career people			3	4	
Police	2	1	3	1	1
Politicians	5	1		2	

Table II.16

Humanity of Parties to Violence (per cent)

	Aggressor	Object of Aggression
Human	96.3	97.4
Human with extra-human powers	1.3	1.1
Animal	1.1	0.5
Symbolic representation	−	0.3
Mixed	1.1	0.5
Unclear	0.3	0.3
	100.1	100.1

countries were even more violent than American films (having violence ratings of 6.5 and 24.5 respectively and 5.0 and 20.0 violent incidents respectively). The comparable American figures were 4.3 and 15.3. Considering that both co-productions[18] involved American production companies, the two figures should probably be combined to yield figures of 4.5 and 16.4 for United States-related films. The very high figures for the non-North American films can be discounted somewhat given the small number of films involved (three), and the fact that they consisted of two crime films (whose high ratings will be described below) and a particularly violent comedy.

Table II.17

Violence Rating and Incidence of Violence for Various Production Sources

Production source	Violence rating	Average number of violent incidents per film*
Canada	3.8	7.8
United States	4.3	15.3
Co-productions	6.5	24.5
Other	5.0	20.0
United States—related (United States and co-productions)	4.5	16.4
Non-Canadian (United States, co-productions, and other combined)	4.6	17.0

* Violent incidents include violent-conflict incidents plus irrational-violence incidents.

C. Comparison of Popular and Not-So-Popular Films

1. Tone

A comparison of the tones for popular and not-so-popular films produce differences on all but two tones (Table II.18). Popular films are more interesting, serious and entertaining, but less educational and tragic than not-so-popular films. On the other hand, not-so-popular films are less funny than popular films, but more exciting and violent.

In terms of the attributes of accuracy, plausibility, and suspense the situation is more complex, in that the popular and not-so-popular films tend in opposite directions on these attributes. The popular films are accurate and plausible while the not-so-popular films are not; the not-so-popular films are suspenseful while the popular are not.

2. Global Messages

There were a number of interesting differences between the popular and not-so-popular films regarding global messages. The not-so-popular films suggested more strongly that the world is a dangerous place in which crime does not pay. This category also had more substantial evidence to the effect that people are either weak or strong, that poorly bred people will not be accepted, and that people talk but do not work. Contrary to popular films, they suggested that tact and thoughtfulness were not the best methods of interacting with others.

Table II.18

Scores on "Tones" by Popularity

Tones	Popular films	Not-so-popular films
* Funny	– 7.4	–12.5
* Exciting	5.9	12.5
* Interesting	16.2	6.3
* Educational	–19.1	–12.5
* Accurate	4.4	– 6.3
* Serious	13.2	0
* Plausible	7.4	– 6.3
Predictable	– 1.5	– 6.3
* Violent	1.5	12.52
* Suspenseful	– 1.5	12.52
* Entertaining	19.1	6.26
Sensual	–22.1	18.8
* Tragic	–10.3	0

* Differences worthy of note.

The popular films presented a world in which people like their jobs, although bosses must be strict to gain respect. Also, people are less likely to live only for today. Relations with others are not simple, direct and conflict-free, however, and the problems associated with marriage are not easily dealt with. In addition, being strict is a good way of interacting with others, and

Table II.19

Scores for Global Messages, by Popularity

	Popular films	Not-so-popular films
* The world is dangerous.	11.8	18.8
Downtown is dangerous.	2.9	3.1
* Crime doesn't pay.	8.8	15.7
Children aren't safe.	2.9	3.1
* Aggression and violence are good for dealing with conflict.	8.8	0
Family is important.	7.4	3.1
Police need force.	4.4	6.3
People get support from family and friends.	10.3	9.4

Scores for Global Messages, by Popularity

	Popular films	Not-so-popular films
* People like their jobs.	14.7	3.1
People are happy.	2.9	− 6.3
Any action is justified if one believes one is morally right.	13.2	9.4
* Marriage is easy.	−11.8	3.1
* Relations are simple.	−19.1	−12.5
Be kind.	− 2.5	− 3.1
* Be thoughtful.	1.3	−12.5
Be pushy.	11.8	9.4
* Be strict.	13.2	6.3
Be aggressive.	14.7	15.7
Tell white lies.	0	0
Be straightforward.	11.8	12.5
Be sarcastic.	− 1.5	3.1
* Be tactful.	3.8	− 6.3
* Be assertive.	20.6	15.7
Officials are indifferent.	1.5	6.3
* One must live for today.	− 5.8	0
People's lot is getting worse.	1.5	6.3
It's not fair to have children.	1.5	0
People are undependable.	13.2	9.4
Children should be taught absolute obedience to parents.	1.5	0
* Bosses should be strict to gain respect.	8.8	3.1
Authoritarian police are best against crime.	2.9	− 3.1
* People are either weak or strong.	7.4	15.7
* Poorly bred people are not accepted.	0	6.3
* People talk but don't work.	0	6.3
An insult must be punished.	5.9	3.1
Youth needs strictness.	0	0
People are unaware of politicians' plots.	10.3	6.3
* Force is necessary to preserve the American way.	7.4	− 3.1
Business is more important than humanities.	− 1.5	0
Children should be unobtrusive.	− 1.5	− 3.1
Involvement isn't worth it.	− 4.4	0
Good things are hard to come by.	7.4	3.1

* Differences worthy of note.

aggression and violence are pictured more positively as ways of dealing with conflict. Finally, the popular films differ from the not-so-popular ones in suggesting that force may be necessary to preserve the true American way of life.

3. Portrayal of Groups

The attribute-by-attribute comparison of the portrayal of various groups by popular and not-so-popular films is presented in Table II.20 and the over-all comparison in Table II.21.

From Table II.21 it can be seen that the differences between popularity levels are not as clear-cut as they were for the production sources. Teen-agers and career people are clearly more positively portrayed in not-so-popular films, while men are more positively portrayed in popular films. Beyond that, the differences are small and move in both directions, although, in balance, the popular films appear more positive for the remainder. Old people, minority groups, police, and politicians are all very slightly more positively portrayed in popular films, while women are slightly more positively portrayed in not-so-popular films, and politicians are much more negatively portrayed.

4. Conflict and Non-Conflict Incidents

Comparisons of the various incident types produce some interesting results in terms of popularity levels. It should be noted at the outset of the analysis, however, that the "popularity" construct, for certain portions of the analysis at least, contains elements of "production source". This is a result of the method by which the sample was stratified on the basis of the popularity of Canadian and non-Canadian films (see Appendix).

An examination of Table II.22 discloses that an inverse relationship between popularity and total number of incidents per film holds for non-Canadian films but not for Canadian ones. The average number of conflict incidents per film displayed a similar pattern, but the Canadian films were at a much lower level. The number of conflict incidents for categories one to five (as so designated in Table II.22) were 20.9, 21.8, 27.0, 17.5, and 11.7 respectively. It was found, however, that higher percentages of conflict incidents occurred in the least-popular non-Canadian (81.3 per cent) and the not-so-popular Canadian (85.3 per cent) than in the very popular non-Canadian, moderately popular non-Canadian, and popular Canadian films (75.2, 77.7, and 79.5 per cent respectively).

The ratios between violent-conflict incidents and reasoned discussion demonstrated an inverse relationship with popularity for both non-Canadian and Canadian films. For the very popular, moderately popular, and least-popular non-Canadian films these ratios were 3.8, 5.0, and 12.4 respectively; for popular Canadian films the ratio was 2.6; and for not-so-popular Canadian films it was 9.0. There was no such systematic relationship for the argument/reasoned-discussion ratios. The highest occurred in the not-so-popular Canadian films (6.7).

Table II.20

Comparison of Presentation of Groups on Various Attributes, by Popularity

Groups	Power Popular	Power Not-so popular	Competence Popular	Competence Not-so-popular	Interestingness Popular	Interestingness Not-so-popular
Women	− 1.5	− 9.4	11.8	12.5	23.5	12.5
Men	16.2	9.4	11.8	3.1	25.0	18.8
Teen-agers	−11.1	− 8.3	− 2.8	16.6	8.3	16.6
Old people	2.8	− 8.3	19.4	8.2	16.6	8.3
Minority groups	0	8.3	12.5	0	14.3	8.3
Career people	6.3	0	3.1	12.5	9.4	12.5
Police	16.7	10.0	− 4.2	0	6.2	− 5.0
Politicians	16.7	12.5	0	−25.0	16.7	−12.5
Total	46.1	14.2	51.6	27.9	120.0	59.5

Table II.21

Number of Attributes for the Presentation of Groups

Groups	For popular films More positive	For popular films More negative	Similar	For not-so-popular films More positive	For not-so-popular films More negative
Women	1	1	3	2	1
Men	3		4		
Teen-agers		1	3	4	
Old people	3		1	3	1
Minority groups	2		4	1	
Career people	1	1	2	4	
Police	2		4	1	1
Politicians	2		1		5

The other ratios (in descending order) were popular Canadian, 3.4; moderately popular non-Canadian, 2.3; least-popular non-Canadian, 1.5; and very popular non-Canadian, 1.4.

As for the other types of incidents, there is an inordinate amount of irrational violence in popular Canadian films. Also notable was the low amount of irrational violence in the least popular non-Canadian films and the higher amounts for very popular and especially for moderately popular non-Canadian films. The remaining incident types were almost nonexistent for Canadian films. For the non-Canadian films, the inverse relationship holds only for harm to self and is reversed for verbal abuse and theft. The least popular non-Canadian films had the highest rates of destruction of property, followed first by the very popular and then by the moderately popular films.

5. Ratings and Incidence of Violence

If one looks initially at the "purer" divisions on popularity (bottom of Table II.23), it can be seen that the tendency towards inverse relationships noted above also holds for degree of popularity and level of violence: the less popular the film, the more violent it was.[19] This relationship existed for both three-level and two-level divisions of popularity, and for both violence ratings and number of violent incidents per film as measures of violence.[20]

When one examines the "mixed" division of popularity, however, the inverse relationship between popularity and level of violence holds for the non-Canadian films only. For the Canadian films, the reverse was true: the more popular the film, the more violent it was. Table II.22 would seem to indicate that this difference was largely a result of the much larger number of

Table II.22

Average Number of Incidents per Film for Various Incident Types, by Popularity Levels

Incident types	(1) Very popular non-Canadian	(2) Moderately popular non-Canadian	(3) Least-popular non-Canadian	(4) Popular Canadian	(5) Not-so-popular Canadian
Violence	12.9	13.1	22.4	6.5	6.3
Argument	4.6	6.1	2.8	8.5	4.7
Non-violent, non-argument conflict	3.4	2.6	1.8	2.5	0.7
Irrational violence	1.5	2.3	0.8	4.0	0.7
Verbal abuse	1.8	1.4	0	0.5	0.3
Harm to self	0.3	0.6	1.2	0	0
Destruction of property	2.5	1.6	3.8	0	1.0
Theft	0.9	0.4	0.4	0	0
Total	27.9	28.1	33.2	22.0	13.7

Table II.23

Violence Rating and Incidence of Violence for Various Popularity Levels

Popularity level	Violence rating	Average number of violent incidents per film*
1. Very popular non-Canadian	3.6	14.4
2. Moderately popular non-Canadian	4.6	15.4
3. Least-popular non-Canadian	6.2	23.2
4. Popular Canadian	4.5	10.5
5. Not-so-popular Canadian	3.3	7.0
Popular (1 + 4)	3.8	13.6
Moderately popular (2)	4.6	15.4
Not-so-popular (3 + 5)	5.1	17.1
Popular (1 + 2 + 4)	4.1	14.4
Not-so-popular (3 + 5)	5.1	17.1

* Violent incidents include violent-conflict incidents plus irrational-violence incidents.

irrational-violence incidents in popular as opposed to not-so-popular Canadian films (4.0 as opposed to 0.7), since the number of violent-conflict incidents for these two categories of Canadian films was almost the same (6.5 and 6.3 respectively).

D. Comparison of Action and Non-Action Films

In order to facilitate comparisons of tones, global messages, and portrayals of groups for film types, "collapsing" (or combination) of "film type" categories was required.[21] Since crime and adventure films rely in large part on action to maintain viewer interest and to develop the narrative, it was decided to combine them into an "action" category.[22] The other films were felt to be somewhat different in this regard and were consequently grouped as "non-action" films.[23]

1. Tone

The comparison of the action and non-action films produces a large number of contrasts in tones (Table II.24). Differences in degree rather than nature of tone are seen for the tones "sensual", "tragic", "interesting" and "educational"; action films are even less sensual, tragic and educational than non-action ones, but they are more interesting.

The more notable differences include the fact that the non-action films are funny (but very slightly), accurate and plausible while the action films are not, and also that action films are suspenseful, exciting, and violent while the non-action ones are not.

Table II.24

Scores on "Tones" by Film Type

Tones	Action films	Non-action films
* Funny	−20.8	1.9
* Exciting	20.8	− 5.8
* Interesting	16.6	9.6
* Educational	−20.8	−13.4
* Accurate	− 8.3	9.6
Serious	8.3	9.6
* Plausible	− 4.2	9.6
Predictable	− 4.2	− 1.9
* Violent	20.8	− 9.6
* Suspenseful	16.6	− 9.6
Entertaining	16.6	13.4
* Sensual	−25.0	−17.3
* Tragic	−12.5	− 1.9

* Differences worthy of note.

2. Global Messages

Comparisons of the action and non-action films produce greater *contrasts* for the general images they create of the world than did either the production source or the popularity comparisons. Force, aggression, and violence are noticeably more frequent themes in the action films. The world of the action film tends to be more dangerous and one in which police often need to use excessive force and in which force may be necessary to preserve the true American way of life (which is not the situation in non-action films).

It is also more strongly the case in action films that violence and aggression are good ways of dealing with conflict, in contrast to the case in non-action films, and that any action is justified if one believes oneself morally right. Thus, characters that interact best with others tend to be pushy, assertive and aggressive, not kind and thoughtful as is the case in non-action films. But while relations are even less simple, direct and conflict-free in action films than in non-action films, it is even more the case that people are undependable and are either weak or strong. In contrast to non-action films, good things are not hard to come by in the world of action films.

In addition to the differences already noted for them, non-action films demonstrate more strikingly that people like their jobs. They also tend to negate the idea that marital problems are easily dealt with, and despite the fact that they exhibit more evidence that people's lot is getting worse, they demonstrate that people do not live just for today while forgetting about tomorrow.

Table II.25

Scores for Global Messages, by Film Type

	Action films	Non-action films
* The world is dangerous.	22.9	5.8
Downtown is dangerous.	4.2	1.9
Crime doesn't pay.	10.4	11.5
Children aren't safe.	2.1	3.8
* Aggression and violence are good for dealing with conflict.	16.6	−3.8
Family is important.	4.2	7.7
* Police need force.	8.3	1.9
People get support from family and friends.	8.3	11.5
* People like their jobs.	8.3	13.4
People are happy.	− 4.2	3.8
* Any action is justified if one believes one is morally right.	16.6	7.7
* Marriage is easy.	0	−13.4
* Relations are simple.	−22.9	−11.5
* Be kind.	−16.6	7.7
* Be thoughtful.	−16.6	9.6
* Be pushy.	20.8	1.9
Be strict.	12.5	9.6
* Be aggressive.	20.8	9.6
Tell white lies.	2.1	− 1.9
Be straightforward.	12.5	11.5
Be sarcastic.	2.1	− 1.9
Be tactful.	2.1	0
* Be assertive.	22.9	15.4
Officials are indifferent.	4.2	1.9
* One must live for today.	0	− 7.7
* People's lot is getting worse.	0	5.8
It's is not fair to have children.	2.1	0
* People are undependable.	16.6	7.7
Children should be taught absolute obedience to parents.	2.1	0
Bosses should be strict to gain respect.	8.3	5.8
Authoritarian police are best against crime.	0	1.9
* People are either weak or strong.	16.6	3.8
Poorly bred people are not accepted.	4.2	0
People talk but don't work.	2.1	1.9

	Action films	Non-action films
An insult must be punished.	6.2	3.8
Youth needs strictness.	0	0
People are unaware of politician's plots.	10.4	7.7
* Force is necessary to preserve the American way.	10.4	– 1.9
Business is more important than humanities.	0	– 1.9
Children should be unobtrusive.	0	– 3.8
Involvement isn't worth it.	– 4.2	– 1.9
* Good things are hard to come by.	– 4.7	7.7

* Differences worthy of note.

3. Portrayal of Groups

The comparison of the portrayal of groups in action and non-action films, as presented in tables II.26 and II.27, reveal some interesting differences. In the following cases there are no, or only marginal, differences: teen-agers, career people, men, and old people. There are other, more significant differences, however, with polarized presentations in several cases. Minority groups, police, and politicians tend to be considerably more positive in action films and negative in non-action films (with the exception of politicians), while women tend to be more negative in action films but considerably more positive in non-action films.

4. Conflict and Non-Conflict Incidents

A comparison of the full range of film types for total number of incidents (Table II.28) shows that crime and

Table II.26

Comparison of Presentation of Groups on Various Attributes, by Film Type

	Power		Competence		Interestingness	
Groups	Action	Non-action	Action	Non-action	Action	Non-action
Women	−11.5	3.8	4.2	19.2	16.7	23.1
Men	18.7	10.4	10.4	8.3	22.9	23.1
Teen-agers	−10.0	−10.6	5.0	0	10.0	10.7
Old people	0	0	15.6	18.7	15.6	12.5
Minority groups	2.8	– 6.9	11.1	6.8	13.9	11.4
Career people	5.0	5.0	0	10.0	10.0	10.0
Police	18.7	11.1	3.1	– 8.3	3.1	2.8
Politicians	25.0	10.0	– 8.3	– 5.0	16.7	5.0
Total	48.7	22.8	41.1	49.7	108.9	98.6

Table II.27

Number of Attributes for the Presentation of Groups

	For action films			For non-action films	
Groups	More positive	More negative	Similar	More positive	More negative
Women		2	1	6	
Men	1		5	.	1
Teen-agers	2	1	4	1	
Old people		1	6	1	
Minority groups	2		4		3
Career people	2		2	2	1
Police	3		3		3
Politicians	3		3	1	1

adventure head the list, followed by comedy with drama and "other" far behind. The same ordering emerges when the average number of conflict incidents per film is determined: crime (26.0) adventure (25.6), comedy (17.1), drama (16.4), and "other" (15.3). Crime, adventure, drama, and "other" films all had conflict-incidents-as-percentages-of-total-incidents at or slightly above 80 per cent (82.0, 81.7, 80.8 and 81.8 per cent respectively]. The percentage, with respect to comedy, however, was much lower at only 60.4 per cent. This was in large part the consequence of the large role that irrational violence and destruction of property play in the frantic world of film comedy.

When the violence-to-reasoned-discussion ratios are examined, the ordering of the categories was altered substantially. Adventure led the way with 14.8 incidents of violence for every reasoned discussion, followed by "other" with 12.3, crime with 7.6, comedy with 5.1, and drama with 1.4. The large figures for the adventure and "other" films were obviously the result of relatively few reasoned discussions in those film types. This is also the fact that adventure films had the largest argument-to-reasoned-discussion ratio at 3.8. The remaining figures were crime (2.2), "other" (2.0), drama (1.9), and comedy (1.3). The very low violence and argument ratios for drama films indicates a very high tendency for conflict to take the form of reasoned discussion and for argument to be a much more preferable way to deal with conflict than violence is in drama.

As for the other types of incidents, there is little of major importance to observe. The large amount of irrational violence and destruction of property in comedies has already been noted. A similar but less pronounced trend is evident for crime films. The only other noteworthy figures would seem to be the rate of verbal abuse for dramas, harm to self for adventures, destruction of property for "other", and theft for comedy.

A similar comparison for all incident types for the action/ non-action film-type differentiation reveals that the action films had higher rates for all the conflict-incident types and for irrational violence and harm to self (Table II.29). The total average number of incidents per film for action films was also higher, as was the percentage of conflict incidents (82.6 per cent as opposed to 73.2 per cent) and both the violence and argument ratios (8.4 and 2.4 for action films, and 3.3. and 1.7 for non-action films).

5. *Ratings and Incidence of Violence*

Crime and adventure films were far and away the most violent types. Comedy was the next most violent, followed by "other". (The "other" category is probably a typically violent documentary, *Hearts and Minds,* a retrospective look at the involvement of the United States in Vietnam.[24]) Dramas were the least violent films, having only half the violence rating and one-third the number of violent incidents per film of crime films.

This progression parallels the ordering for total number of incidents and number of conflict incidents with only drama and "other" changing places at the bottom of the list.

A comparison of the action and non-action groupings on violence ratings and incidence of violence shows that the action films were considerably more violent than the non-action films (in effect, almost twice as violent on the basis of number of incidents).

E. Summary

In examining the characteristics of the films in this particular sample, we find both obvious and not-so-obvious results. As might be expected, the largest single category of motion pictures represented was the crime film, with drama, comedy, and adventure as the next most frequent categories. The recent propensity to the crime film is a phenomenon that many social critics have noted; in the past, crime was only one of several important film categories, while today crime movies make up more than one-third of all movies. The decline of musicals and comedies is especially notable, Children's films have never been an important segment of the American film market.

The high percentage of crime films is significant in that these films constitute a large portion of the action-film category. And it is action films, as a group, that have the highest ratings and incidence of violence for all production sources, popularity levels, and film-type groupings. In addition, action films stress most emphatically the necessity of using force, violence, and aggression in the conduct of social relations.

On the whole, then, what do films tell us about the world around us? The examination of the "world view" is important, for it reflects not only what filmmakers think of the world, but also what audiences may want to believe about the condition of their environment. While most films, regardless of their box-office popularity, were considered to be quite interesting and entertaining, they also gave an over-all impression that life contained a substantial element of danger. In addition, certain groups were particularly singled out – teen-agers were shown as weak and incompetent and police and politicians as powerful and incompetent – for strong stereotyping, although there were variations of degree. Nevertheless, the basic structure of the family was still considered important, although beyond the inner circle of family and friends the world was seen as rather "nasty and brutish", and indeed a difficult place in which to succeed.

When the specific issue of violence and its portrayal was examined, it was found that violent incidents formed the bulk of the coded activity in the films. Of the 671 incidents counted in the 25 films, 525 or 78.2 per cent were conflict incidents, and of those, 338 or 50.4 per cent of all incidents were violent conflicts. While this is partly explained by the necessities of dramatic action, which forms the basis of most drama, the sheer

amount of conflict in films is nevertheless overwhelming. Canadian films were less violent but more tragic than non-Canadian films; they also contained more irrational violence. Canadian films tended to portray a more "positive" image on all levels and to provide less support for the use of force than did non-Canadian films.

One interesting discovery was that popular films are more interesting, serious and entertaining, while not-so-popular films are less funny, but more exciting and violent. Surprisingly, the more-popular films projected a more positive image of the world, while the not-so-popular films contained more violence. This last fact belies the popular myth that violence as a staple ingredient is a strong box-office attraction.

Perhaps the most important finding was that the overwhelming majority of films were "closed narratives". This means that all the elements of the film's narrative have been drawn together by the end of the film, that all questions arising from the film have been answered, and that all situations presented in the film have been resolved. As was noted earlier, these films present closed or self-contained experiences for the viewer. They are not meant to, and do not, arouse or stimulate the viewer (emotionally, intellectually, or otherwise) beyond the viewing experience itself. The implications of this concept of "closure" have yet to be fully explored by behavioural scientists, but it is a point well worth further examination.

Chapter Three

Characters and Relationships

A. *Characters*

1. General Characteristics for All Characters

The 370 codable characters
- were almost evenly divided between leading characters' and nonleading violent disputants (Table III.1)
- consisted of over 80 per cent males (Table III.2)
- were almost exclusively human (Table III.3)
- were concentrated in the adult-age (19-40) and middle-age (41-64) ranges with a virtual absence of young and old people[2] (Table III.4)
- were largely indeterminate (almost two-thirds) as to marital status, with those who could be specified almost evenly divided between singles and those who were, had been, were going to be, or were *de facto* married (Table III.5)
- were predominantly well off, although there was an element of uncertainty about the income level of a substantial proportion of characters (Table III.6)
- were, as a group, overwhelmingly white (77.8 per cent) with white Americans being the single largest group (42.7 per cent) (Table III.7) (They are probably even more prominent since "White Non-North Americans" includes white Americans who are identifiable "ethnics".)
- were scattered among the various occupational categories with the largest ones being generally legal, illegal, and law enforcers, with a considerable proportion uncertain (Table III.8)
- were virtually devoid of physical handicap or illness (Table III.9)
- tended to be moderate users of tobacco and alcohol (Table III.10)
- did not use drugs (Table III.11)
- contained few who suffered from psychological disorders (Table III.12)
- contained more "bad guys" than "good guys", although the single largest category was "mixed" and there was a substantial proportion that could not be coded (Table III.13)
- consisted of characters that were perceived mostly as

successful (50.3 per cent), although close to one-third could not be coded (Table III.14)
- did not deserve punishment in over 50 per cent of the cases, but when they did, one-third of them escaped without any form of punishment while almost another third (29.4 per cent) ended up being killed (Table III.15)
- consisted of almost twice as many losers as winners, while close to one-third neither won nor lost (Table III.16)

2. Comparison of Leading and Non-Leading Characters

The principal characters of the films and those who are basically only minor contributors to various incidents and events in the flow of the plot differed in some interesting respects. Their distribution according to sex was not one of those interesting differences, however, the high percentages of males in each category simply being a reflection of the over-all predominance of males in the films (Table III.17).

The non-leading characters were somewhat younger than the leading characters, who were concentrated more in the adult-age range (19 to 40) and less in the middle-age range (41 to 64) (Table III.18).

An examination of characters who could be coded as to marital status showed that there were no major differences between leading and non-leading characters (Table III.19). It should be noted, however, that only about 20 per cent of the non-leading characters could be so coded, the comparable figure for leading characters being about 52 per cent.[3]

A similar difference arose with regard to determining income level, but it was not quite as great: 80.8 per cent

Table III.1

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Status

Leading	49.7
Non-leading violent disputants	50.3
	100.0

Table III.2

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Sex

Male	81.9
Female	18.1
	100.0

Table III.3

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Humanity

Human	99.2
Human with extra-human powers	0.8
	100.0

Table III.4

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Age

Child (to 11 years)	1.4
Adolescent (12-18)	1.4
Adult (19-40)	57.6
Middle age (41-64)	34.9
Old (65 and over)	3.2
Uncodable	1.6
	100.1*

* Tables do not always add up to 100 per cent due to rounding.

Table III.5

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Marital Status

Married	10.5
Was married at one time	3.0
Marries in story or expects to marry	1.6
Is in the process of breaking up	1.4
Common-law relationship	1.4
Single	17.6
Unspecified	64.6
	100.1

Table III.6

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Income Level

Upper	28.6
White collar	28.9
Blue collar	9.7
Lower	4.9
Student	2.2
Uncertain or other	25.7
	100.0

Table III.7

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Racial Group

White Americans	42.7
White French Canadians	0.3
White English Canadians	4.3
White North Americans (nationality not clear)	2.4
White non-North Americans	28.1
Black North Americans	1.6
Black non-North Americans	1.1
Orientals	9.7
Native North Americans (Indians, Inuit, Metis, et cetera)	1.4
Spanish-speaking	1.4
Other non-white	1.1
Other	5.9
	100.0

Table III.8

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Occupation

Housewife	2.4
Law enforcement (public)	13.8
Law enforcement (private)	2.7
Military	5.7
Legal—boss	14.1
Legal–underling	12.2
Extra-legal	5.9
Illegal–boss	5.9
Illegal–underling	11.1
Unemployed	4.6
Other	3.2
Uncertain	18.4
	100.0

Table III.9

Percentage Distribution of Characters for Physical Handicap and Illness

	Physical handicap	Physical illness
No evidence	98.1	99.2
To some degree	1.4	0.8
Impairment	0.5	
	100.0	100.0

Table III.10

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Tobacco and Alcohol Use

	Tobacco use	Alcohol use
No evidence of use	88.4	75.1
Moderate use	11.1	23.5
Heavy use	0.5	1.4
	100.0	100.0

Table III.11

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Prescription and Illegal-Drug Use

	Prescription drugs	Illegal drugs
No evidence of use	98.6	97.3
Moderate use	1.1	1.9
Heavy use	0.3	0.8
	100.0	100.0

Table III.12

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Phychological Disorder

No evidence	92.7
Moderate	3.2
Severe but not hospitalized	4.1
Severe (institutionalized)	
	100.0

Table III.13

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Role Type

Protagonist	20.0
Mixed	34.3
Antagonist	26.2
Cannot be coded	19.5
	100.0

Table III.14

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Character Image

Total success	12.2
Not quite total success	17.8
Qualified success	20.3
Qualified failure	6.5
Unqualified failure	10.5
Cannot be coded	32.7
	100.0

Table III.15

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Punishment

Punishment not deserved	52.2
Punishment deserved but not received	15.9
Indirect punishment (retribution by "forces" within the plot)	9.7
Unclear	1.1
Physical	4.1
Death	14.1
Imprisonment (no indication of term)	1.9
Long-term imprisonment	0.5
Reprimand	0.3
Withdrawal of privileges	0.3
	100.1

Table III.16

Percentage Distribution of Characters by Final Outcome

Clear winner	17.8
Qualified winner	6.8
Neither winner nor loser	32.4
Qualified loser	2.4
Clear loser	40.5
	99.9

of leading characters could be so coded while only 67.7 per cent of non-leading ones could be. An examination of those characters who could be coded as to income showed that leading characters tended to be more upper class, while the non-leading ones were spread more widely over the categories, although a majority were still white collar or above (Table III.20).

There were differences for racial groups, with a higher percentage of whites as leading characters and a higher percentage of other non-whites and others as non-leading characters (Table III.21).

The only notable differences (and they are slight) for occupations were the higher percentage of law enforcers among leading characters and of "illegals" among non-leading ones (Table III.22).

The leading characters exhibited a slightly greater degree of psychological disorder (Table III.23), and a greater use of tobacco (Table III.24) and alcohol (Table III.25) than did non-leading characters.

An examination of Table III.26 reveals that the leading characters were almost evenly split on the role-type categories, but slightly more were "good guys" than were "bad guys". The just over 60 per cent of non-leading characters who could be coded on this variable tended to fall mainly into the "mixed" category, but more were "bad guys" than were "good guys".

"Character image" is another variable that seems to fall victim to lack of information about non-leading characters: 53.2 per cent of them could not be coded for it, while only 12 per cent of leading characters could not be so coded. Of the characters that could be coded, over half of the leading characters had good images, while non-leading characters were concentrated in the "mixed" category, but were slightly more "good" than "bad" (Table III.27).

An examination of punishable behaviour indicates that slightly *under* 50 per cent of leading and slight *over* 50 per cent of non-leading characters did *not* exhibit such behaviour. For characters who did exhibit punishable behaviour, however, leading characters escaped punishment at a rate almost twice that of non-leading characters (Table III.28). In addition, non-leading characters experienced more physical punishment and death while leading characters experienced greater retribution via the plot and imprisonment.

As to final outcome, leading characters were almost evenly divided between winners and losers, but non-leading characters were much more likely to be losers or to remain unchanged than to be winners (Table III.29).

3. Comparison of Males and Females

Another major variable on which to compare the nature of the characters is sex. As Table III.30 indicates, there was a higher proportion of female than male leading characters, but the difference between the sexes in this regard is only very slight. More noteworthy is the relative youth of the females in comparison to the males (Table III.31). Females had a marked tendency to be

Table III.17

Sex of Characters by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
Male	78.8	84.9
Female	21.2	15.1
	100.0	100.0

Table III.18

Age of Characters by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
Child (to 11)	2.2	0.6
Adolescent (12-18)	0.5	2.2
Adult (19-40)	51.1	66.1
Middle age (41-64)	40.2	30.6
Old (65 and over)	6.0	0.6
	100.0	100.1

Table III.19

Marital Status by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
Single	49.0	50.0
Common-law relationships	5.2	–
Various stages of marriage	45.8	50.0
	100.0	100.0

Table III.20

Income Level by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
Upper	58.4	15.1
White collar	30.9	48.4
Blue collar	6.7	20.6
Lower	2.0	11.9
Student	2.0	4.0
	100.0	100.0

Table III.21

Racial Group by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
White North Americans	59.2	40.3
White non-North Americans	27.2	29.0
Black	3.3	2.2
Other non-white	8.7	18.3
Other	1.6	10.2
	100.0	100.0

Table III.22

Occupation by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
General	31.3	33.1
Law enforcement	23.8	16.2
Illegal	16.9	25.4
Extra-legal	6.9	7.7
Military	7.5	6.3
Housewife	4.4	1.4
Other	3.1	4.9
Unemployed	6.3	4.9
	100.2	99.9

Table III.23

Psychological Disorder by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
No evidence of disorder	91.3	94.1
Moderate disorder	3.3	3.2
Severe disorder but not hospitalized	5.4	2.7
	100.0	100.0

Table III.24

Tobacco Use by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
No evidence of use	82.6	94.1
Moderate use	16.8	5.4
Heavy use	0.5	0.5
	99.9	100.0

Table III.25

Alcohol Use by Status

	Leading	Non-leading
No evidence of use	63.6	86.6
Moderate use	34.2	12.9
Heavy use	2.2	0.5
	100.0	100.0

Table III.26

Role Type by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
Protagonist	32.6	12.3
Mixed	37.5	50.9
Antagonist	29.9	36.8
	100.0	100.0

Table III.27

Character Image by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
Good	52.5	29.9
Mixed	35.8	47.1
Bad	11.7	23.0
	100.0	100.0

Table III.28

Punishment by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
Appropriate but no punishment	41.9	23.8
Retribution via the plot	23.7	16.7
Physical method	3.2	14.3
Death	20.4	39.3
Imprisonment	9.7	–
Admonitions or warnings	–	2.4
Unclear punishment	1.1	3.6
	100.0	100.0

Table III.29

Final Outcome by Status (per cent)

	Leading	Non-leading
Winner	39.7	9.7
Neither winner nor loser	22.8	41.9
Loser	37.5	48.4
	100.0	100.0

located in the 19 to 40 age range. The majority of the males were in this range as well, but they were represented in the middle-age category (41 to 64) to a much greater extent than the females.   As regards marital status, the major difference between males and females was the high percentage of males whose marital status could not be specified (73.7 per cent) as compared to the females (28.4 per cent). For those characters for whom marital status could be specified, however, there was very little difference between the sexes (Table III.32). Males and females also differed little in terms of racial group membership, although there tended to be an even more overwhelming proportion of white females than white males (83.6 per cent as opposed to 76.5 per cent); there was a slightly higher proportion of "other non-white" males than females (Table III.33).

Roughly one-quarter of both the males and the females could not be specified as to income level. For those who could be so specified, there were no large differences (Table III.34).

As might be expected, there was a greater proportion of female housewives, although it is notable that this percentage for females is very low in comparison to the actual situation of women in society (Table III.35).[4] Women were also more prominent in "general" occupations (but predominantly as underlings rather than bosses) and in "other" occupations. Men tended to be

more prevalent in military, extra-legal, law enforcement, and illegal occupations.

There were no substantial differences between the sexes for the use of drugs (either prescription or illegal), for the use of tobacco, or for the incidence of psychological disorder. Women did tend to be somewhat greater consumers of alcohol, however (Table III.36).

When the roughly 20 per cent of each group that could not be coded as to role type were excluded, some substantial differences emerged between the sexes in terms of their place among the forces of good and evil (Table III.37). Women were protagonists to a greater extent than men were, but men were even more markedly antagonists than women were. The results were similar for the somewhat related variable, "character image" (Table III.38). Character image was a much more difficult phenomenon to identify, given that almost one-third of the male and over two-thirds of the female characters could not be coded for it. Of those who could be coded, females had a much more positive image while males had a more negative one; however, the negative image of the males was not as distinctive as the positive image of the females.

When it comes to punishment, 73.1 per cent of the females did not engage in behaviour that was deserving of punishment while only 47.5 per cent of the males were in a similar position. When punishment was appropriate, 55.6 per cent of the females escaped punishment while only 30.8 per cent of the males did. However, when punishment was meted out to males, it was almost as likely to come as some form of natural retribution through the plot as it was to come as death; but for females, it was most likely to come as death (Table III.30).

Finally, in terms of the final outcome for male and female characters, males were more often losers while females were more often winners (Table III.40).

4. Comparison of Protagonists, Antagonists, and "Mixed" Role Types

Another major variable on which the characters were compared was "role type". The nature of "good guys" and "bad guys" is obviously an important determinant of the viewer's perception of "the preferred structure traits, values and powers", as Gerbner observed.[5]

The greater tendency for protagonists to be leading characters and for "mixed" and antagonists to be non-

Table III.30

Status of Characters by Sex (per cent)

	Male	Female
Leading	47.9	58.2
Non-leading	52.1	41.8
	100.0	100.0

Table III.31

Age of Characters by Sex (per cent)

	Male	Female
Child (to 11)	1.3	1.5
Adolescent (12-18)	1.3	1.5
Adult (19-40)	55.2	73.1
Middle age (41-64)	38.7	20.9
Old (65 and over)	3.4	3.0
	99.9	100.0

Table III.32

Marital Status by Sex (per cent)

	Male	Female
Single	50.0	47.9
Common-law relationship	2.4	6.3
Various stages of marriage	47.6	45.8
	100.0	100.0

Table III.33

Racial Group by Sex (per cent)

	Males	Females
White North Americans	48.8	53.7
White non-North Americans	27.7	29.9
Black	2.6	3.0
Other non-white	14.5	9.0
Other	6.3	4.5
	99.9	100.0

Table III.34

Income Level by Sex (per cent)

	Male	Female
Upper	39.9	32.7
White collar	38.1	42.3
Blue collar	13.5	11.5
Lower	5.8	9.6
Student	2.7	3.8
	100.0	99.9

Table III.35

Occupation by Sex (per cent)

	Male	Female
General	29.6	44.9
Law enforcement	22.9	6.1
Illegal	22.9	10.2
Extra-legal	7.9	4.1
Military	8.3	–
Housewife	0.4	16.3
Other	2.4	12.2
Unemployed	5.5	6.1
	99.9	99.9

Table III.36

Alcohol Use by Sex (per cent)

	Male	Female
No evidence of use	78.9	58.2
Moderate use	20.1	38.8
Heavy use	1.0	3.0
	100.0	100.0

Table III.37

Role Type by Sex (per cent)

	Male	Female
Protagonist	21.8	38.2
Mixed	39.9	54.5
Antagonist	38.3	7.3
	100.0	100.0

Table III.38

Character Image by Sex (per cent)

	Male	Female
Good	38.7	71.1
Mixed	42.6	26.7
Bad	18.6	2.2
	99.9	100.0

Table III.39

Punishment by Sex (per cent)

	Male	Female
Appropriate but no punishment	30.8	55.6
Retribution through the plot	22.0	5.6
Physical method	8.8	5.6
Death	29.6	27.8
Imprisonment	5.0	5.6
Admonitions or warnings	1.3	–
Unclear punishment	2.5	–
	100.0	100.2

Table III.40

Final Outcome by Sex (per cent)

	Male	Female
Winner	21.1	40.3
Neither winner nor loser	33.7	26.9
Loser	45.2	32.8
	100.0	100.0

leading characters is demonstrated in Table III.41.

While males dominated all role types, they were more markedly present as antagonists (Table III.42).

Protagonists were younger than either "mixed" or antagonists (Table III.43) and were also more often single (Table III.44).[6]

Protagonists had the lowest rate of "non-codability" for income at 14.9 per cent, while antagonists had the highest (33.0 per cent), with "mixed" in between at 29.7 per cent. The results for the codable characters revealed that while all role types tended to be upper income or white collar, protagonists were more white collar and antagonists more upper income, with "mixed" between them in both instances (Table III.45).

While there were no major differences for racial-group membership among role types (Table III.46), a large proportion of both protagonists and antagonists were in law-enforcement occupations, with a large percentage of antagonists also in illegal occupations (Table III.47).

Antagonists (and to a lesser extent "mixed") exhibited a greater incidence of psychological disorder (Table III.48).

Although there was little difference in tobacco use (Table III.49), protagonists and "mixed" were more prone to use alcohol (Table III.50) than were antagonists.

An examination of the distribution of punishment reveals some striking differences (Table III.51). A most significant 94.6 per cent of all protagonists never exhibited behaviour that would warrant punishment. Of the four who did, three escaped punishment altogether. Such was not the case for antagonists: only 8.2 per cent did not warrant punishment; and of those who deserved punishment, only 22.5 per cent escaped it. The largest proportion of punishment involved death and retribution through the plot.

The character images for the role types exhibited quite a systematic linear correlation: protagonists had the highest percentage of "good" images and the lowest percentage of "mixed" and "bad" images (Table III.52). Antagonists had exactly the opposite distribution, while "mixed role" characters consistently fell between the protagonists and antagonists. This phenomenon is even more pronounced for "final outcome" (Table III.53).

Table III.41

Status by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
Leading	81.1	54.3	56.7
Non-leading	18.9	45.7	43.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.42

Sex by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
Male	71.6	76.4	95.9
Female	28.4	23.6	4.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.43

Age by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
Child (to 11)	4.1	–	1.0
Adolescent (12-18)	1.4	0.8	–
Adult (19-40)	63.5	50.4	50.0
Middle age (41-65)	28.4	44.1	44.8
Old (65 and over)	2.7	4.7	4.2
	100.1	100.0	100.0

Table III.44

Marital Status by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
Single	64.6	39.3	41.7
Common-law relationship	6.3	3.6	
Various stages of marriage	29.2	57.1	58.3
	100.1	100.0	100.0

Table III.45

Income Level by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
Upper	34.9	44.1	53.8
White collar	47.6	40.2	29.2
Blue collar	7.9	6.9	9.2
Lower	4.8	7.8	4.6
Student	4.8	1.0	3.1
	100.0	100.0	99.9

Table III.46

Racial Group by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
White North American	51.4	55.1	50.5
White non-North American	29.7	27.6	29.9
Black	5.4	1.6	1.0
Other non-white	12.2	11.0	13.4
Other	1.4	4.7	5.2
	100.1	100.0	100.0

Table III.47

Occupation by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
General	32.8	41.5	13.3
Law enforcement	32.8	16.0	22.2
Illegal	3.1	14.2	46.7
Extra-legal	9.4	8.5	4.4
Military	–	10.4	7.8
Housewife	4.7	4.7	1.1
Other	6.3	1.9	1.1
Unemployed	10.9	2.8	3.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.48

Psychological Disorder by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
No evidence	98.6	92.1	87.6
Moderate	1.4	3.9	3.1
Severe disorder but not hospitalized	–	3.9	9.3
	100.0	99.9	100.0

Table III.49

Tobacco Use by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
No evidence of use	89.2	81.9	88.7
Moderate use	10.8	16.5	10.3
Heavy use	–	1.6	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.50

Alcocol Use by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
No evidence of use	63.5	59.8	88.7
Moderate use	36.5	37.8	10.3
Heavy use	–	2.5	1.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.51

Punishment by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
Appropriate but no punishment	75.0	52.2	22.5
Indirect punishment (retribution by "forces" within the plot)	–	13.4	24.7
Physical	–	9.0	10.1
Death	–	20.9	32.6
Imprisonment	–	3.0	7.9
Reprimand	–	1.5	–
Unclear punishment	25.0	–	2.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.52

Character Image by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
Good	82.6	44.7	10.7
Mixed	15.9	39.4	62.7
Bad	1.4	16.0	26.7
	99.9	100.1	100.1

Table III.53

Final Outcome by Role Type (per cent)

	Protagonist	Mixed	Antagonist
Winner	60.8	32.3	5.2
Neither loser nor winner	20.3	30.7	30.9
Loser	18.9	37.0	63.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0

5. Comparison of the Sexes for Leading and Non-Leading Characters

It was felt that the status of a character might be related to or might influence the way in which the sexes were portrayed. Table III.54 demonstrates, for example, that the age differential between males and females was greater among leading than among non-leading characters.

While a "non-codability" rate of 88.0 per cent on marital status for non-leading males prevented a comparison on that variable, the rate of one-third "non-codability" for income for the same group allowed a comparison to be made on income (Table III.55). The leading males tended to be more upper class, while the non-leading females were more heavily concentrated at the white-collar level and had a relatively large percentage located in "lower" as well. Non-leading males were significantly blue collar, and "lower" to a lesser extent.

There was also a greater tendency for non-leading males to be non-white and leading males to be white, while both leading and non-leading females were predominantly white (Table III.56).

Housewives constituted a larger percentage of leading females than they did the non-leading ones (Table III.57). In addition, leading males were more frequently law enforcers than were non-leading males. Both non-leading males and females had proportionately more of their numbers in the illegal occupations than did the leading males.

Non-leading female characters tended to have a greater incidence of psychological disorder (Table III.58) than had other characters.

The pattern of a preponderance of male antagonists and female protagonists for leading characters did not apply to non-leading characters (Table III.59). Although non-leading males were often antagonists, females tended to be "mixed" rather than protagonists.

A similar tendency was evident for "character image" (Table III.60). While leading female characters had a much better image than leading male characters, non-leading male and female characters had similar images. As a consequence of this and the even more pronounced bad image of non-leading males, the balance of "mixed" image swung to the females.

This tendency also existed for "final outcome" (Table III.61). While leading female characters tended to be winners more often than leading males, there were virtually no differences for the sexes for non-leading characters. As a consequence, the non-leading female characters had a higher proportion of "neither winner nor loser" than the male characters, a relationship that was reversed for the leading characters.

Finally, punishment was also different for the sexes in the two categories (Table III.62). Females tended to have a greater incidence of non-punishable behaviour for both categories, but the rates were higher for both males and females among the non-leading characters. Females also escaped punishment more often than males for both leading and non-leading characters, but the difference was greater (and at a higher level) for the leading characters. When punishment was meted out, it was more likely to be death for the non-leading characters with females being more likely candidates than males – the reverse of the situation for leading characters.

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Table III.54

Age by Sex and Character Status (per cent)

	Leading characters		Non-leading characters	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Child (to 8)	2.8	–	–	3.6
Adolescent (9-18)	0.7	–	2.0	3.6
Adult (19-40)	44.1	76.9	65.8	67.9
Middle age (41-64)	45.5	20.5	32.2	21.4
Old (65 and over)	6.9	2.6	–	3.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1

Table III.55

Income Level by Sex and Character Status (per cent)

	Leading characters	Non-leading characters		
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Upper	61.9	45.2	15.2	14.3
White collar	29.7	35.5	47.6	52.4
Blue collar	5.1	12.9	22.9	9.5
Lower	1.7	3.2	10.5	19.0
Student	1.7	3.2	3.8	4.8
	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.56

Racial Group by Sex and Character Status (per cent)

	Leading characters		Non-leading characters	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
White North Americans	60.0	56.4	38.6	50.0
White non-North Americans	26.9	28.2	28.5	32.1
Black	2.8	5.1	2.5	–
Other non-white	9.0	7.7	19.6	10.7
Other	1.4	2.6	10.8	7.1
	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9

Table III.57

Occupation by Sex and Character Status (per cent)

| | Leading characters | | Non-Leading characters | |
	Males	Females	Males	Females
General	27.5	48.3	32.0	40.0
Housewife	0.8	20.7	–	10.0
Law enforcement	27.5	6.9	18.0	5.0
Military	9.2	–	7.4	–
Extra-legal	7.6	3.4	8.2	5.0
Illegal	19.8	3.4	26.2	20.0
Unemployed	6.1	6.9	4.9	5.0
Other	1.5	10.3	3.3	15.0
	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0

Table III.58

Psychological Disorder by Sex and Character Status

| | Leading characters | | Non-leading characters | |
	Males	Females	Males	Females
No evidence of disorder	91.0	92.3	95.6	85.7
Moderate disorder	3.4	2.6	2.5	7.1
Severe disorder but not institutionalized	5.5	5.1	1.9	7.1
	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9

Table III.59
Role by Sex and Character Status (per cent)

| | Leading characters | | Non-leading characters | |
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Protagonist	29.0	46.2	11.2	18.8
Mixed	35.2	46.2	46.9	75.0
Antagonist	35.9	7.7	41.8	6.3
	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.1

Table III.60

Character Image by Sex and Character Status (per cent)

| | Leading characters | | Non-leading characters | |
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Good	33.1	64.1	10.1	7.1
Mixed	26.9	7.7	39.9	53.6
Bad	40.0	28.2	50.0	39.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.61

Final Outcome by Sex and Character Status (per cent)

| | Leading characters | | Non-leading characters | |
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Winner	33.1	64.1	10.1	7.1
Neither winner nor loser	26.9	7.7	39.9	53.6
Loser	40.0	28.2	50.0	39.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.62

Punishment by Sex and Character Status (per cent)

| | Leading characters | | Non-leading characters | |
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Appropriate but no punishment	39.0	63.6	22.1	42.9
Retribution through the plot	25.6	9.1	18.2	–
Physical method	3.7	–	14.3	14.3
Death	20.7	18.2	39.0	42.9
Imprisonment	9.8	9.1	–	–
Admonition or warnings	–	–	2.6	–
Unclear punishment	1.2	–	3.9	–
	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1

6. Comparison of Role Types for Leading and Non-Leading Characters

The status of a character was also felt to have some relevance for the way the role type would be depicted. Table III.63 shows that the percentage of males in role-type categories increased as one moves across from protagonist to antagonist, but that the level of "maleness" for the non-leading characters was higher across the board.

The high "non-codability" rate of non-leading characters on marital status precluded the comparison of the role types between categories on that variable. While income exhibited some "non-codability", it was not sufficient to preclude comparison. Table III.64 presents this comparison and points out that antagonists tended to be mainly "upper" when they were leading characters, while non-leading characters were mainly "mixed" (at a much lower level, however). Antagonists among non-leading characters also tended to be more blue collar and "lower" than were antago-

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nists among leading characters. There is also a slight tendency in this direction for protagonists.

An interesting contrast emerges in the area of age (Table III.65). While the protagonists among leading characters tended to be younger than the antagonists, the relationship was reversed for non-leading characters: antagonists were younger and protagonists were older.

There were also great differences in the distribution among racial groups (Table III.66). All three role categories for leading characters had high percentages of whites (especially the antagonists at 90.9 per cent). The only role type for non-leading characters to come close to these percentages was "mixed", with non-leading antagonists almost 25 per cent below the percentage of leading ones. Also notable was the very high percentage of "other non-whites" among non-leading protagonists.

As for occupations, non-leading protagonists were much more prominent as law enforcers than were leading protagonists (Table III.67). This was also the case for non-leading antagonists in illegal occupations. There was also an inordinately high percentage of leading protagonists who were unemployed.

In examining psychological disorders, we find that leading antagonists were clearly the most heavily afflicted (Table III.68).

The presentation of the "character image" of leading characters tended to create greater differences between protagonists and antagonists than was the case for non-leading characters (Table III.69). This was mainly the result of the more positive image of leading protagonists. The image of "mixed" role types for leading characters also tended to be more positive than for non-leading characters.

A similar sharpening of differences between protagonists and antagonists for leading characters was evident for "final outcome" (Table III.70).

As for punishment, the differences in severity of treatment between role types were greater for non-leading than for leading characters (Table III.71). No non-leading protagonists exhibited behaviour that warranted punishment. Even though a higher percentage of non-leading than of leading antagonists were in a similar situation, when punishment was appropriate, non-leading antagonists were less likely to escape punishment than were leading antagonists. In addition, the non-leading antagonists were more likely to be punished physically or put to death than were their leading counterparts. A somewhat similar situation held for the non-leading "mixed" when compared to the leading "mixed".

Table III.63

Sex by Role Type and Character Status (per cent)

| | Leading characters | | | Non-leading characters | | |
	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists
Male	70.0	73.9	94.5	78.6	79.3	97.6
Female	30.0	26.1	5.5	21.4	20.7	2.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.64

Income Level by Role Type and Character Status (per cent)

| | Leading characters | | | Non-leading characters | | |
	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists
Upper	40.0	62.5	74.4	15.4	21.7	13.6
White collar	44.0	26.8	20.9	61.5	56.5	45.5
Blue collar	8.0	7.1	4.7	7.7	6.5	18.2
Lower	2.0	3.6	–	15.4	13.0	13.6
Student	6.0	–	–	–	2.2	9.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0

Table III.65

Age by Role Type and Character Status (per cent)

	Leading characters			Non-leading characters		
	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists
Child (to 11)	5.0		1.8	–	–	–
Adolescent (12-18)	1.7		–	–	1.7	–
Adult (19-40)	66.7	46.4	40.0	50.0	55.2	63.4
Middle age (41-64)	23.3	46.4	50.9	50.0	41.4	36.6
Old (65 and over)	3.3	7.2	7.3	–	1.7	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.66

Racial Group by Role Type and Character Status

	Leading characters			Non-leading characters		
	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists
White North Americans	58.3	59.4	60.0	21.4	50.0	38.1
White non-North Americans	26.7	24.6	30.9	42.9	31.0	28.6
Black	6.7	2.9	–	–	–	2.4
Other non-white	8.3	8.7	9.1	28.6	13.8	19.0
Other	–	4.3	–	7.1	5.2	11.9
	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.67

Occupation by Role Type and Character Status (per cent)

	Leading characters			Non-leading characters		
	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists
General	32.7	44.6	15.4	33.3	38.0	10.5
Law enforcement	28.8	16.1	26.9	50.0	16.0	15.8
Illegal	1.9	12.5	36.5	8.3	16.0	60.5
Extra-legal	11.5	3.6	5.8		14.0	2.6
Military	–	10.7	11.5	–	10.0	2.6
Housewife	3.8	7.1	1.9	8.3	2.0	
Other	7.7	1.8	–		2.0	2.6
Unemployed	13.5	3.6	1.9	–	2.0	5.3
	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9

Table III.68

Psychological Disorder by Role Type and Character Status (per cent)

	Leading characters			Non-leading characters		
	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists
No evidence of disorder	98.3	94.2	80.0	100.0	89.7	97.5
Moderate disorder	1.7	2.9	5.5	–	5.2	–
Severe disorder but not institutionalized	–	2.9	14.5	–	5.2	2.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9

Table III.69

Character Image by Role Type and Character Status (per cent)

	Leading characters			Non-leading characters		
	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists
Good	85.7	54.4	12.2	69.2	29.7	7.7
Mixed	12.5	36.8	61.2	30.8	43.2	65.4
Bad	1.8	8.8	26.5	–	27.0	26.9
	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0

Table III.70

Final Outcome by Role Type and Character Status (per cent)

	Leading characters			Non-leading characters		
	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists
Winner	65.0	44.9	5.5	42.9	17.2	4.8
Neither winner nor loser	18.3	21.7	29.1	28.6	41.4	33.3
Loser	16.7	33.3	65.5	28.6	41.4	61.9
	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0

Table III.71

Punishment by Role Type and Character Status (per cent)

	Leading characters			Non-leading characters		
	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists	Protagonists	Mixed	Antagonists
Appropriate but no punishment	75.0	59.5	26.9	–	43.3	16.2
Retribution through the plot	–	18.9	28.8	–	6.7	18.9
Physical method	–	2.7	3.8	–	16.7	18.9
Death	–	13.5	26.9	–	30.0	40.5
Imprisonment	–	5.4	13.5	–	–	–
Admonition and warnings	–	–	–	–	3.3	–
Unclear punishment	25.0	–	–	–	–	5.4
	100.0	100.0	99.9	–	100.0	99.9

7. Comparison of Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels and Film Types

An examination of the differences in characters for Canadian and non-Canadian, popular and not-so-popular, and action and non-action films was also of interest. Table III.72 demonstrates that non-Canadian, popular, and action films all had larger proportions of non-leading than leading characters. In addition, the difference in the distribution for the two status categories is most pronounced for "film type".

Males dominated both categories of all three variables (Table III.73). The largest difference between percentages of males (and of females as well, of course) occurred between popular and non-so-popular films, although the lowest percentage of males and the highest percentage of females appeared in non-Canadian films.

Adults and middle-aged characters were present in overwhelming proportions in both categories for all three variables as well, with adults more prominent than the middle-age group (Table III.74). Canadian, not-so-popular, and action films were even more heavily "adult" than were non-Canadian, popular, and non-action films.

The percentage of characters for whom marital status could not be specified was high for each category of all variables, ranging from 41.9 per cent of all characters in Canadian films to 75.2 per cent in not-so-popular films. In examining those characters who could be specified, Canadian and not-so-popular films had a majority of married characters, while non-Canadian and popular films had a slight majority of single characters (Table III.75). Action and non-action films were almost identical in their distributions and had close to a 50-50 split between marrieds and singles.

Approximately one-quarter of all characters for each category could not be coded for income with the exception of those in Canadian films at 41.9 per cent. If we consider only those characters who could be coded for income, we find that non-Canadian films had a much greater percentage of upper-income characters than did Canadian films, while the latter tended to have relatively larger proportions of blue-collar and lower-income characters (Table III.76). The differences were less pronounced for "film type" in this regard and least pronounced for "popularity level".

Canadian, popular, and non-action films all had greater proportions of white characters than did their counterparts (Table III.77). Non-white characters tended to be found in the not-so-popular films.

Between 15.1 per cent (popular films) and 27.9 per cent (Canadian films) of the characters could not be coded for occupation. If we consider those who could be so coded, we find that Canadian and not-so-popular films had a greater proportion of law enforcers than did non-Canadian and popular films (action and non-action being about even) (Table III.78).

However, non-Canadian films and action films had greater proportions of "illegals" than their counterparts, while popular and not-so-popular films did not differ much in this regard. This means that the ratio of law enforcers to illegals is greater in Canadian, not-so-popular, and non-action films; in comparing the ratios within each variable, we find that the most pronounced difference exists between Canadian and non-Canadian films.

In terms of psychological well-being and the use of tobacco and alcohol, characters in Canadian films were more psychologically disordered but smoke and drank less than did characters in non-Canadian films; characters in popular films were more pronounced in their behaviour for all three aspects than were those in not-so-popular films; and characters in action films were more psychologically disordered than those in

non-action films but differed little in terms of the use of tobacco and alcohol (Table III.79, III.80, and III.81).

Roughly 20 per cent of the characters for both categories of production source and of popularity level could not be coded for role type. This percentage rose to 26.5 per cent for action films and fell to 11.5 per cent for non-action films. An examination of the results for the ones who could be coded revealed that the strongest polarization of "good guys" and "bad guys" took place in Canadian films (Table III.82). The "mixed" category was relatively large in all other situations, the only other case in which the percentage of protagonists and/or antagonists was greater than that for "mixed" being not-so-popular films.

There was a somewhat higher (approximately one-third) "non-codability" rate for "character image", with the exception of Canadian films (23.3 per cent). For the characters who could be coded, there was a considerably higher rate of good images than bad images, and of mixed categories equal to or larger than one-third, for all classifications except Canadian films (Table III.83). This is interesting, given the greater prominence of protagonists in Canadian films as just noted above. Also noteworthy is the comparatively large percentage of bad-image characters in non-action films.

The rate of non-punishable behaviour exhibited in the films hovered around 50 per cent for all classifications, except for the Canadian films which had a very high 74.4 per cent. When punishment was appropriate, however, it was most often escaped in non-action films and least often escaped in Canadian and action films (Table III.84). Retribution through the plot was a fairly prevalent method of punishment in non-Canadian, both popular and not-so-popular, and action films. Death was the most prevalent method in non-Canadian, popular, and action films (especially so in the latter). The use of imprisonment to any great extent was only evident in Canadian films.

Finally, with regard to "final outcome", losers and those who neither gained nor lost were generally more evident than were winners (Table III.85). The characters in Canadian, popular, and non-action films tended to be winners somewhat more often than the characters in the other classifications, while losers were more evident in non-Canadian (but only slightly so), popular, and, most noticeably, in action films.

Table III.72

Status of Characters for Production Source, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

	Production source		Popularity level		Film type	
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
Leading	62.8	48.0	45.7	57.6	39.3	61.5
Non-leading	37.2	52.0	54.3	42.4	60.7	38.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.73

Sex of Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

	Production source		Popularity level		Film type	
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
Male	82.6	76.7	78.8	88.0	82.7	81.0
Female	17.4	23.3	21.2	12.0	17.3	19.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.74

Age of Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

	Production source		Popularity level			Film type	
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular		Action	Non-action
Child (to 11)	4.7	0.9	1.6	0.8		1.0	1.7
Adolescent (12-18)	2.3	1.2	1.6	0.8		1.6	1.2
Adult (19-40)	65.1	57.6	56.0	63.6		64.4	62.0
Middle age (41-64)	25.6	36.8	39.1	28.1		31.9	39.3
Old (65 and over)	2.3	3.4	1.6	6.6		1.0	5.8
	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9		99.9	100.0

Table III.75

Marital Status of Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

	Production source		Popularity level		Film type	
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
Single	36.0	52.3	46.5	58.1	49.2	49.3
Common-law relationships	–	4.7	3.0	6.5	3.2	4.3
Various stages of marriage	64.0	43.0	50.5	35.5	47.6	46.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0

Table III.76

Income Level of Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

	Production source		Popularity level		Film type	
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
Upper	8.0	41.6	42.2	31.6	29.5	48.8
White collar	48.0	38.0	37.2	42.1	44.5	32.6
Blue collar	28.0	11.6	11.7	15.8	15.1	10.9
Lower	12.0	6.0	4.4	10.5	6.8	6.2
Student	4.0	2.8	4.4	–	4.1	1.6
	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.77

Racial Group of Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

| | Production source | | Popularity level | | Film type | |
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
White North American	65.1	47.7	55.1	39.2	41.3	59.2
White non-North American	25.6	28.4	34.7	15.2	30.6	25.3
Black	4.7	2.4	1.2	5.6	2.6	2.9
Other non-white	4.7	14.7	6.5	27.2	15.3	11.5
Other	–	6.7	2.4	12.8	10.2	1.1
	100.1	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.78

Occupation of Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

| | Production source | | Popularity level | | Film type | |
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
General	29.0	32.5	34.6	26.6	27.7	36.7
Law enforcement	29.0	19.2	16.3	28.7	20.0	20.4
Illegal	12.9	21.8	20.2	22.3	25.8	15.6
Extra-legal	3.2	7.7	9.1	3.2	12.9	1.4
Military	–	7.7	3.4	14.9	3.2	10.9
Housewife	9.7	2.2	3.4	2.1	1.3	4.8
Other	6.5	3.7	5.8	–	2.6	5.4
Unemployed	9.7	5.2	7.2	2.1	6.5	4.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0

Table III.79

Psychological Disorder for Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

| | Production source | | Popularity level | | Film type | |
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
No evidence of disorder	88.4	93.3	90.6	96.8	88.8	97.1
Moderate disorder	7.0	2.8	3.7	2.4	3.6	2.9
Severe disorder but not hospitalized	4.7	4.0	5.7	0.8	7.7	–
	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

Table III.80

Tobacco Use for Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

	Production sources		Popularity levels		Film type	
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-r popular	Action	Non-action
No evidence of use	97.7	87.2	86.9	91.2	88.8	87.9
Moderate use	2.3	12.2	12.2	8.8	10.7	11.5
Heavy use	–	0.6	0.8	–	0.5	0.6
	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.81

Alcohol Use for Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

	Production sources		Popularity levels		Film type	
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
No evidence of use	95.3	72.5	70.2	84.8	77.6	72.4
Moderate use	4.7	26.0	27.8	15.2	21.4	25.9
Heavy use	–	1.5	2.0	–	1.0	1.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.82

Role Type of Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

	Production sources		Popularity levels		Film type	
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
Protagonist	50.0	21.6	20.4	33.3	28.5	21.4
Mixed	11.8	46.6	48.5	31.4	36.1	48.7
Antagonist	38.2	31.8	31.1	35.3	35.4	29.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.83

Character Image of Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

| | Production source | | Popularity levels | | Film type | |
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
Good	39.4	45.4	46.5	40.5	43.8	45.5
Mixed	27.3	41.7	38.2	43.0	46.1	33.1
Bad	33.3	13.0	15.3	16.5	10.2	21.5
	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.1

Table III.84

Punishment of Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

| | Production source | | Popularity levels | | Film type | |
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
Appropriate but no punishment	18.2	34.3	30.8	38.3	18.3	50.0
Retribution through the plot	9.1	21.1	20.5	20.0	24.7	15.5
Physical method	9.1	8.4	8.5	8.3	5.4	11.9
Death	18.2	30.1	35.9	16.7	48.4	8.3
Imprisonment	45.5	2.4	1.7	11.7	1.1	9.5
Admonitions or warnings	–	1.2	1.7	–	2.2	–
Unclear punishment	–	2.4	0.9	5.0	–	4.8
	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

Table III.85

Final Outcome of Characters for Production Sources, Popularity Levels, and Film Types (per cent)

| | Production source | | Popularity level | | Film types | |
	Canada	Non-Canadian	Popular	Not-so-popular	Action	Non-action
Winner	25.7	16.3	27.3	19.2	20.9	28.7
Neither winner nor loser	31.5	39.5	26.5	44.0	21.9	44.3
Loser	42.8	44.2	46.1	36.8	57.1	27.0
	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0

8. Traits Scores

The characters were coded for traits on a list of 42 polar scales.[7] Of the 370 characters, only 247 were coded for these scales since a large number of non-leading violent disputants were on screen too briefly for an adequate assessment to be made. The trait scores for all characters and for status, sex, and role comparisons follow.

(a) All characters. An examination of Table III.86 reveals that the characters taken as a whole were not terribly distinctive. Of the 42 traits, 22 had absolute values of "5" or less and only six had absolute values of "10" or more (out of a possible total of 25). The only distinctive traits for the characters overall, then, were unusualness, masculinity (largely as a result of the overwhelming majority of male characters, one would assume), cleanliness, boldness, interestingness and activity.

Table III.86

Trait Scores for All Characters

Youthfulness	0.1
Height	0.4
* Usualness	−13.6
Unemotionality	−6.3
Honesty	1.9
* Masculinity	10.5
Happiness	−1.9
Attractiveness	7.4
Toughness	6.8
Morality	1.1
Predictability	−0.1
Wholesomeness	0.2
Rationality	3.7
Sensitivity	1.8
Efficiency	6.2
Kindness	−1.6
Knowledgeableness	6.7
* Cleanliness	14.2
Logicality	4.2
* Boldness	11.2
Sociability	7.3
Humility	−8.3
Wealth	6.9
Goodness	1.7
Non-violence	−0.7
Sophistication	8.3
Sexual attractiveness	9.5
Non-materialism	−9.4
Competence	8.5
* Interestingness	12.9
Satisfaction	−3.7
Fairness	0.2
Warmth	1.2
Strength	1.5
Power	6.1
* Activity	12.0
Intelligence	5.9
Stability	3.9
Non-sarcasm	0.2
Accommodativeness	2.8
Wisdom	−3.3
Non-flirtatiousness	−2.4

* Traits worthy of note.

(b) Leading and non-leading characters. There was not a tremendously large number of differences between leading and non-leading characters in terms of traits (Table III.87). In addition, almost all the differences were of degree rather than kind (with the exception of the leading characters being smart and the non-leading stupid), and in almost all cases the leading characters were the more distinctive (the sole exception being the fact that the non-leading characters were more foolish). The leading characters, then, were more unusual, attractive, efficient, knowledgeable, sophisticated, competent, interesting, active, cleaner and wealthier.

Table III.87

Trait Scores by Status

	Leading	Non-leading
Youthfulness	− 0.6	1.1
Height	0.3	0.8
* Usualness	−15.2	− 9.1
Unemotionality	− 6.8	− 4.9
Honesty	2.4	0.8
Masculinity	11.6	7.6
Happiness	− 3.1	1.1
* Attractiveness	8.9	3.4
Toughness	6.5	7.6
Morality	1.4	0.4
Predictability	− 2.1	5.3
Wholesomeness	1.5	− 3.4

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Rationality	4.7	0.8
Sensitivity	3.6	− 3.1
• Efficiency	8.2	0.8
Kindness	− 0.7	− 4.2
• Knowledgeableness	8.4	1.9
• Cleanliness	17.0	6.4
Logicality	5.4	0.8
Boldness	10.9	12.1
Sociability	8.3	4.6
Humility	− 9.0	− 6.5
• Wealth	8.4	2.7
Goodness	1.7	1.9
Non-violence	− 0.3	− 1.9
• Sophistication	10.5	2.3
Sexual attractiveness	10.5	6.8
Non-materialism	−10.1	− 7.6
• Competence	10.4	3.4
• Interestingness	15.1	6.8
Satisfaction	− 4.8	− 0.4
Fairness	1.4	− 3.0
Warmth	2.1	− 1.1
Strength	1.4	1.9
Power	8.6	− 0.8
• Activity	14.4	5.3
Intelligence	9.1	− 3.1
Stability	3.8	3.8
Non-sarcasm	1.0	− 1.9
Accommodativeness	4.8	− 2.7
Wisdom	− 1.9	− 6.8
Non-flirtatiousness	− 2.4	− 2.7

* Differences worthy of note.

(c) Male and female characters. The male/female comparison produced more numerous differences in kind than did the leading/non-leading comparison, and females tended to predominate in differences of degree (Table III.88). As would be expected, the males were masculine and the females feminine, with the females being more feminine than the males were masculine. In addition, the females were sensitive while the males were slightly insensitive; the males were tough while the females were slightly delicate; the males were violent while the females were non-violent; and the females were warm while the males were slightly cold.

The females were also more emotional, honest, attractive, sociable, sexually attractive,[8] accommodating and flirtatious.[9]

Table III.88

Trait Scores by Sex

	Male	Female
Youthfulness	− 1.1	3.2
Height	0	1.8
Usualness	−14.2	−11.4
• Unemotionality	− 4.6	−12.3
• Honesty	0	8.6
• Masculinity	20.1	−22.7
Happiness	− 2.5	0
• Attractiveness	5.0	15.9
• Toughness	9.0	− 0.9
Morality	− 0.3	5.9
Predictability	0.1	− 0.9
Wholesomeness	− 1.7	6.8
• Sensitivity	− 0.7	10.5
Efficiency	5.5	8.6
Kindness	− 3.1	3.6
Knowledgeableness	6.5	7.3
Cleanliness	14.3	13.6
Logicality	5.6	− 0.9
Boldness	11.2	11.3
• Sociability	5.5	13.6
Humility	− 8.6	− 7.3
Wealth	7.6	4.6
Goodness	− 0.1	8.2
• Non-violence	− 4.1	10.9
Sophistication	7.4	11.4
• Sexual attractiveness	7.3	17.3
Non-materialism	− 9.5	− 9.1
Competence	8.0	10.5
Interestingness	12.5	14.1
Satisfaction	− 3.5	− 4.1
Fairness	− 1.7	6.8
• Warmth	− 1.7	11.4
Strength	3.3	− 4.6
Power	8.2	− 1.4
Activity	12.8	9.1
Intelligence	6.0	5.5
Stability	4.0	3.2
Non-sarcasm	− 0.3	1.8
• Accommodativeness	1.4	7.7
Wisdom	− 3.7	− 1.8
• Non-flirtatiousness	− 1.1	− 7.3

* Differences worthy of note.

(d) *Protagonists and antagonists.* A comparison of trait scores for protagonists and antagonists (with "mixed" roles excluded) produced the greatest contrast of all the comparisons. Differences in kind occurred for 19 of the 42 traits, and differences in degree occurred in an additional 13. The nature of the differences would seem to indicate that the forces of good and evil are fairly clearly delineated in the film world.

The traits on which the protagonists were positive while the antagonists were negative included honesty, happiness, attractiveness, morality, wholesomeness, rationality, sensitivity, kindness, knowledgeableness, sociability, goodness, non-violence, sophistication, fairness, warmth, stability, "non-sarcasm", accommodativeness, and wisdom. In addition, protagonists were also more positive than antagonists in terms of efficiency, cleanliness, sexual attractiveness, competence, interestingness, and intelligence, and they were more emotional. The antagonists, on the other hand, tended to be more unusual, masculine, bold, proud, materialistic, and powerful.

Table III.89

Trait Scores by Role

	Pro-tagonists	An-tagonists
Youthfulness	3.2	– 1.9
Height	– 0.7	0
*Usualness	–11.8	–18.4
*Unemotionality	– 6.8	– 1.1
*Honesty	19.6	–19.5
*Masculinity	7.5	18.1
*Happiness	6.1	– 6.3
Attractiveness	21.4	– 9.6
Toughness	8.9	9.2
*Morality	17.2	–17.3
Predictability	5.0	– 4.4
*Wholesomeness	17.2	–16.6
*Rationality	10.0	– 2.6
*Sensitivity	12.2	–14.7
*Efficiency	11.4	1.5
*Kindness	11.1	–17.3
*Knowledgeableness	14.7	– 0.4
*Cleanliness	18.2	12.5
Logicality	6.1	3.3
*Boldness	9.7	14.7
*Sociability	14.7	– 2.6
*Humility	– 3.9	–12.5
Wealth	4.7	9.2
*Goodness	18.9	–18.0
*Non-violence	8.2	– 9.2
*Sophistication	9.3	5.2
*Sexual attractiveness	13.9	4.1
*Non-materialism	– 5.0	–15.5
*Competence	16.1	1.1
*Interestingness	16.8	9.9
Satisfaction	1.8	– 7.7
*Fairness	15.7	–15.8
*Warmth	15.0	–16.6
Strength	3.6	0.4
*Power	3.6	13.6
Activity	13.9	14.7
*Intelligence	13.6	1.1
*Stability	12.5	– 4.4
*Non-sarcasm	5.4	– 5.5
*Accommodativeness	9.7	– 5.2
*Wisdom	7.2	–12.5
Non-flirtatiousness	– 1.4	– 1.5

* Differences worthy of note.

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9. The Character Structure of Characters

(a) *All characters.* In an attempt to discover if there was an underlying character structure for all characters, a factor analysis of the trait scores was performed.[10] Table III.90 presents the six main factors that were discovered. Together these six factors accounted for 87.5 per cent of all variation in the data.

The first personality trait was what might be called "basic humanity". The second trait, "rugged assertiveness", was a combination of physical stamina and extroversion, "intellect" combined elements of thinking ability and knowledge as the third factor. The fourth factor was "contentment", the fifth "ability", and the sixth was "materialistic *savoir faire*."

(b) *Males and females.* The character structure for males is presented in Table III.91 and for females in Table III.92. The first factors for both males and females are fairly similar to the first factor for all characters, but somewhat more complex in the case of the males and less complex in the case of the females.[11] This first factor for females can be considered to be a "pleasant humanity", while the one for males is more of a "sensible humanity".

Rather large differences begin to emerge beyond this first trait, however. Men are characterized by the "rugged assertiveness" seen earlier for all characters, while women are "knowing". Men are next "thoroughly worldly" and women "reticently non-materialistic". There is some basic similarity in the fourth factor with men being "content" and women "restrainedly content". Next, men are "able" and women

Table III.90

Factor Analysis of Traits for All Characters

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Goodness	.78					
Morality	.78					
Fairness	.77					
Warmth	.77					
Kindness	.77					
Sensitivity	.75					
Wholesomeness	.74					
Honesty	.73					
Sociability	.60					
Toughness		.79				
Strength		.74				
Boldness		.61				
Activity		.56				
Rationality			.65			
Logicality			.63			
Knowledge			.62			
Intelligence			.51			
Happiness				.82		
Satisfaction				.77		
Efficiency					.83	
Competence					.80	
Wealth						.73
Sophistication						.54
Non-materialism						-.51
Per cent of total variation	40.0	16.1	10.3	8.7	7.3	5.2

Table III.91

Factor Analysis of Traits for Male Characters

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Morality	.85					
Goodness	.84					
Honesty	.83					
Wholesomeness	.81					
Fairness	.79					
Kindness	.78					
Attractiveness	.75					
Sensitivity	.75					
Warmth	.68					
Rationality	.55					
Stability	.54					
Wisdom	.52					
Toughness		.75				
Strength		.71				
Boldness		.68				
Activity		.55				
Sophistication			.71			
Cleanliness			.58			
Knowledge			.56			
Intelligence			.56		.54	
Logicality			.54			
Satisfaction				.83		
Happiness				.77		
Competence					.85	
Efficiency					.78	
Sociability						−.55
Non-flirtatiousness						.51
Per cent of total variation	42.3	15.5	10.4	8.4	7.5	5.2

Table III.92

Factor Analysis of Traits for Female Characters

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Warmth	.86					
Kindness	.80					
Sensitivity	.73					
Fairness	.72					
Goodness	.66					
Attractiveness	.61					
Sociability	.56					
Knowledge		.84				
Intelligence		.71				
Rationality		.64				
Sophistication		.53				
Wisdom		.51				
Non-materialism			.77			
Non-flirtatiousness			.72			
Boldness			-.58			
Satisfaction				.85		
Happiness				.83		
Unemotionality				.59		
Masculinity					-.78	
Sexual attractiveness					.69	
Strength						.78
Toughness						.75
Activity						.66
Power						.64
Per cent of total variation	27.7	15.6	11.4	9.0	7.3	6.2

"pulchritudinous". Finally, as men seem "withdrawn", women are "robust". The character profiles of males and females can be summarized (in order of importance) as follows:

Males
    sensibly humane
    ruggedly assertive
    thoroughly worldly
    content
    able
    withdrawn

Females
    pleasantly humane
    knowing
    reticently non-materialistic
    restrainedly content
    pulchritudinous
    robust

    (c) Protagonists, antagonists, and "mixed" role types. Tables III.93 through III.95 give the character structures for the various role types. The protagonists, as would be expected, exhibited positive characteristics. The antagonists, however, were not simply negative mirror-images of the protagonists as one might expect on the basis of the stereotypes of "good guys" and "bad guys" in films. This phenomenon may perhaps be accounted for by the even greater predominance of males among antagonists than any other role type (Table III.40) and the overwhelmingly positive character structure that males exhibit (Table III.91). It could also mean, perhaps, that the forces of good and evil are less clearly delineated in modern films than they were in the era of "white hats" and "black hats". Recalling the comparison of trait scores for protagonists and antagonists (Table III.89), however, the results of this factor analysis can most likely be accounted for by the fact that all the negative attributes for the antagonists are positively intercorrelated, thereby reducing their impact. Nevertheless, this is an area that certainly warrants further investigation given the way in which it flies in the face of conventional assumptions and expectations.

    The "mixed' characters were positive as well and were a sort of amalgam of male and female characteristics. A listing of the character structures for all three role types is given below:

Protagonists
    good-naturedly upright
    shrewdly capable
    non-violently strong
    restrainedly content
    open
    worldly ambitious
    virtuous

Mixed
    staidly upright
    appealingly open
    ruggedly assertive
    content
    able
    non-materialistic
    youthfully sexy

Antagonists
    restrainedly content
    well-heeled
    interestingly capable
    concerned
    erratic
    fresh

B. Relationships

Another area of concern in the study was the manner in which characters related to each other in interpersonal situations. This was examined by employing an additional unit of analysis, "the relationship". Only relationships that occurred between codable characters (that is, leading and/or non-leading characters) were considered. If one wanted to differentiate between this kind of relationship and more long-term, intense ones, one could probably conceive of the relationship discussed here as "interactions".[12]

1. The Nature of Relationships for All Films

Tables III.96 to III.98 reveal the nature of relationships for the films considered as a whole. The single largest category of relationships is among friends, co-workers, and acquaintances, followed by opponents and public authorities (Table III.96). There is almost an even division between close relationships (marital through friends, et cetera) and more distant ones.

When one looks at the quality of relationships, there is almost an even division among "positive", "negative", and other forms (Table III.97). The very small percentage for "neutral" relationships would indicate a very small measure of indifference in social interactions in the film world.

As for the power element in relationships, Table III.98 indicates that slightly more than half of the codable relationships are those in which one party exerts its will over another.

Table III.99 presents the quality of relationships for the various relationship types (excluding unclear relationships and those that could not be coded according to type). As might be expected, the closer relationships were more positive and less negative than the more distant ones. Marital relationships, however, were much more evenly divided in the "positive" and "negative" categories than were the other close relationships.

Table III.93

Factor Analysis of Traits for Protagonists

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
Morality	.81						
Honesty	.75						
Wholesomeness	.72						
Non-Sarcasm	.71						
Intelligence		.77					
Efficiency		.77					
Knowledge		.74					
Wisdom		.68					
Competence		.64					
Rationality		.54					
Logicality		.52					
Toughness			.88				
Strength			.84				
Masculinity			.57				
Violence			-.56				
Power			.53				
Happiness				.87			
Satisfaction				.86			
Unemotionality				.60			
Warmth					.77		
Sociability					.58		
Sophistication						.72	
Non-materialism						-.52	
Goodness						.51	.56
Non-flirtatiousness							.55
Per cent of total variation	27.7	18.1	10.5	9.3	8.4	6.8	5.4

Table III.94

Factor Analysis of Traits for "Mixed" Role Characters

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
Morality	.64						
Wholesomeness	.63						
Predictability	.61						
Rationality	.59						
Stability	.58						
Honesty	.57						
Warmth		.80					
Sensitivity		.68					
Sociability		.62					
Attractiveness		.51					
Boldness			.82				
Toughness			.80				
Strength			.71				
Activity			.62				
Happiness				.85			
Satisfaction				.78			
Efficiency					.88		
Competence					.77		
Intelligence					.55		
Wealth						−.72	
Non-materialism						.73	
Sexual attractiveness							.66
Age							.64
Per cent of total variation	24.5	15.2	13.0	9.2	7.7	6.9	4.4

Table III.95

Factor Analysis for Traits for Antagonists

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Satisfaction	.75					
Happiness	.74					
Unemotionality	.50					
Cleanliness		.81				
Wealth		.65				
Sophistication		.65				
Efficiency			.82			
Competence			.80			
Interestingness			.63			
Intelligence			.55			
Sensitivity				.65		
Attractiveness				.64		
Kindness				.51		
Warmth				.50		
Non-materialism				.50		
Predictability					−.72	
Activity					.56	
Non-flirtatiousness						−.85
Sociability						.66
Per cent of total variation	22.1	15.4	11.0	8.3	6.4	6.1

Relationships between opponents were overwhelmingly negative, while almost half of those with public authorities were negative with a further large percentage mixed. Professional and service relationships showed the greatest neutrality and were close to being evenly split among all four categories. Relationships with strangers were the most mixed.

There was a similar pattern of differences between close and distant relationships for extent of dominance (Table III.100). Close relationships tended to be more equitable, while distant ones were more inequitable, with the exception of romantic relationships. It is interesting to note that romantic relationships were slightly inequitable, while two-thirds of marital ones were equitable.

The differences between the close and distant relationships, then, would tend to be in line with the general impression that the films convey of individuals' receiving support from family and friends but not being able to rely on others.

Table III.96

Percentage Distribution of Relationship Types for All Films

Marital	2.5
Family	6.8
Romantic	3.0
Friends, co-workers, and acquaintances	37.4
Professional and service	9.1
Public authorities	14.5
Opponents	20.7
Strangers	4.8
Other	0.5
Unclear	0.7
	100.0

Table III.97

Percentage Distribution of Quality of Relationships for All Films

Positive	32.1
Neutral	8.5
Negative	29.7
Mixed	19.1
Not appropriate, could not be coded	10.6
	100.0

Table III.98

Percentage Distribution of Extent of Dominance in Relationships for All Films

Equality	39.5
Inequality	46.7
Not codable	13.8
	100.0

Table III.99

Quality of Relationship by Relationship Type (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Friends, co-workers, acquaintances	Professional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Other
Positive)	47.4	74.0	66.7	66.1	20.3	4.0	0.7	16.1	–
Neutral	5.3	–	4.8	7.9	30.5	13.1	6.1	9.7	–
Negative	36.8	6.0	4.8	7.0	27.1	48.5	85.0	16.1	50.0
Mixed	10.5	20.0	23.8	19.0	22.0	34.3	8.2	58.1	50.0
	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.100

Extent of Dominance in Relationships by Relationship Type (per cent)

	Martial	Family	Romantic	Friends co-workers acquaintances	Professional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Others
Equality	66.7	55.3	47.6	77.9	20.4	20.8	14.7	34.5	–
Inequality	33.3	44.7	52.4	22.1	79.6	79.2	85.3	65.5	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

2. Relationships in Canadian and Non-Canadian Films

When the quality of relationships for the two basic production sources were compared, a major contrast appeared (Tables III.101 and III.102). Non-Canadian films tended to be more positive in their portrayal of close relationships than did Canadian films, with the exception of romantic relationships (but there was only one such case in Canadian films). On the other hand, distant relationships were more negatively presented in non-Canadian films, while Canadian films had a predominance of "mixed" relationships with public authorities and positive relationships with strangers. It should also be noted that a much greater percentage of all distant relationships took place with public authorities in Canadian films (42.2 per cent) than was the case for non-Canadian films (27.4 per cent).

A somewhat different pattern emerges for the extent of dominance in a relationship (Tables III.103 and III.104). Close relationships tended to be relationships of equality in both Canadian and non-Canadian films, with the exception of romantic relationships for non-Canadian films. Distant relationships, on the other hand, were predominantly inequitable for both production sources, except for the relationship between strangers which was exclusively equitable for Canadian films.

Table III.101

Quality of Relationships by Relationship Type for Non-Canadian Films (per cent)

	Martial	Family	Romantic	Friends Co-workers, Acquaintances	Professional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Other
Positive	57.1	77.5	65.0	68.0	20.3	3.8	0.8	–	–
Neutral	7.1	–	5.0	6.4	30.5	15.0	6.9	8.3	–
Negative	28.6	7.5	5.0	6.4	27.1	55.0	86.3	20.8	50.0
Mixed	7.1	15.0	25.0	19.2	22.0	26.3	6.1	70.8	50.0
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.1	99.9	100.0

Table III.102

Quality of Relationships by Relationship Type for Canadian Films (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Friends, Co-workers, acquaintances	Professional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Other
Positive	20.0	60.0	100.0	47.8	–	5.3	–	71.4	–
Neutral	–	–	–	21.7	–	5.3	–	14.3	–
Negative	60.0	–	–	13.0	–	21.1	75.0	–	–
Mixed	20.0	40.0	–	17.4	–	68.4	25.0	14.3	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	–	100.1	100.0	100.0	

Table III.103

Extent of Dominance in Relationships by Relationship Type for Non-Canadian Films (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Friends, co-workers, acquaintances	Professional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Other
Equality	69.2	53.6	45.0	78.4	20.4	24.7	14.8	13.6	–
Inequality	30.8	46.4	55.0	21.6	79.6	75.3	85.2	86.4	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.104

Extent of Dominance in Relationships by Relationship Type for Canadian Films (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Friends, co-workers, acquaint-ances	Profes-sional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Other
Equality	60.0	60.0	100.0	72.7	–	5.3	13.3	100.0	–
Inequality	40.0	40.0	–	27.3	–	94.7	86.7	–	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	–	100.0	100.0	100.0	–

3. Relationships in Popular and Not-So-Popular Films

The quality of relationships by relationship type demonstrated a pattern similar to that for Canadian and non-Canadian films for both popular and not-so-popular films, although there were some variations between the two (Tables III.105 and III.106). Close relationships were generally positive for both popularity levels with the exception of marital relations in not-so-popular films; however, the popular films had an even higher rate of negative marital relationships. The distant relationships were generally negative in both popularity levels. Exceptions were highly "neutral" and somewhat "positive" and "mixed" professional-and-service relationships in popular films; highly "mixed" relation-ships with strangers in popular films; and highly "mixed" relationships with public authorities in not-so-popular films. Opponents, as usual, had the highest "negative" relationships in both.

The tendency for close relationships to be more equitable and distant ones to be more inequitable was more or less in evidence for both popularity levels (Tables III.107 and III.108). Romance relationships for popular films, and marital relationships and those between strangers for not-so-popular films, all deviated from these trends, however.

It also seemed to be the case that distant relationships were even more inequitable than close ones were equitable.

Table III.105

Quality of Relationships by Relationship Type for Popular Films (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Friends, co-workers, acquaint-ances	Profes-sional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Other
Positive	50.0	73.9	56.3	64.2	29.7	5.0	1.0	–	–
Neutral	6.3	–	6.3	7.4	40.5	15.0	6.7	8.3	–
Negative	37.5	6.5	6.3	6.8	2.7	53.8	81.7	20.8	50.0
Mixed	6.3	19.6	31.3	21.6	27.0	26.3	10.6	70.8	50.0
	100.1	100.0	100.2	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0

Table III.106

Quality of Relationships by Relationship Type for Not-So-Popular Films (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Friends, co-workers, acquaintances	Professional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Other
Positive	33.3	75.0	100.0	71.2	4.5	–	–	71.4	–
Neutral	–	–	–	9.1	13.6	5.3	4.7	14.3	–
Negative	33.3	–	–	7.6	68.2	26.3	93.0	–	–
Mixed	33.3	25.0	–	12.1	13.6	68.4	2.3	14.3	–
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Table III.107

Extent of Balance in Relationships by Relationship Type for Popular Films (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Friends, co-workers, acquaintances	Professional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Others
Equality	73.3	52.9	43.8	80.4	24.2	24.7	18.6	13.6	–
Inequality	26.7	47.1	56.3	19.6	75.8	75.3	81.4	86.4	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.108

Extent of Balance in Relationships by Relationship Type for Not-So-Popular Films (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Friends, co-workers, acquaintances	Professional and services	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Others
Equality	33.3	75.0	60.0	69.1	14.3	5.3	4.9	100.0	–
Inequality	66.7	25.0	40.0	30.9	85.7	94.7	95.1	–	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	–

4. Relationships in Action and Non-Action Films

For action and non-action films, the quality of relationships by relationship type follows what has come to be the usual pattern: positive in the close relationships and negative in the more distant ones (tables III.109 and III.110). The pattern is broken by the negative quality of marital relationships for action films and the mixed relationships between strangers for the non-action films, as well as by the relatively even spread of professional-and-service relationships among the four categories for both. It should be noted, perhaps, that the difference in split between close and distant relationships is greater for film type than it was for either popularity level or production source. Close relationships constitute 56.5

per cent of all relationships for non-action films while they constitute only 45.2 per cent of relationships for action films. The breakdown is much closer to 50-50 for these two broad categories than for popular/not-so-popular and Canadian/non-Canadian comparisons.

As for the equitability of relationships, the close-equitable/distant-inequitable pattern seemed to hold, with the exception of marital and romantic relationships, the relationships between strangers for action films, and romantic relationships for non-action films (tables III.111 and III.112). In addition, the close relationships were considerably more equitable and the distant ones somewhat more inequitable in non-action films than in action films.

Table III.109

Quality of Relationship by Relationship Type for Action Films (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Family, co-workers, acquaint-ances	Profes-sional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Other
Positive	33.3	74.3	63.6	61.8	26.9	7.9	–	11.1	–
Neutral	–	–	–	10.8	30.8	10.5	6.3	11.1	–
Negative	66.7	8.6	9.1	6.9	26.9	50.0	85.9	55.6	–
Mixed	–	17.1	27.3	20.6	15.4	31.6	7.8	22.2	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	–

Table III.110

Quality of Relationship by Relationship Type for Non-Action Films (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Friends, co-workers, acquaint-ances	Profes-sional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Other
Positive	53.8	73.3	70.0	69.3	15.2	1.6	5.3	18.2	–
Neutral	7.7	–	10.0	5.7	30.3	14.8	5.3	9.1	–
Negative	23.1	–	–	7.1	27.3	47.5	78.9	–	50.0
Mixed	15.4	26.7	20.0	17.9	27.3	36.1	10.5	72.7	50.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table III.111

Extent of Dominance in Relationships by Relationship Type for Action Films (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Friends, co-workers, acquaint-ances	Profes-sional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Other
Equality	20.0	52.2	45.5	70.5	12.0	40.5	13.8	57.1	–
Inequality	80.0	47.8	54.5	29.5	88.0	59.5	86.2	42.9	–
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	–

Table III.112

Extent of Dominance in Relationships by Relationship Type for Non-Action Films (per cent)

	Marital	Family	Romantic	Friends, co-workers, acquaint- ances	Profes- sional and service	Public authorities	Opponents	Strangers	Other
Equality	84.6	60.0	50.0	83.5	27.6	8.5	20.0	27.3	–
Inequality	15.4	40.0	50.0	16.5	72.4	91.5	80.0	72.7	100.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

C. Summary

After the extensive and detailed analysis of the characters and relationships found in these films, there were few real surprises. Perhaps it can be said that in this area the accepted stereotypes are most evident, with strong indications that producers do not feel that audiences expect a great deal of subtlety in the depiction of characters.

Of the characters coded, nearly half (49.7 per cent) were identified as being leading characters, the rest being minor characters who were involved in some form of conflict or violent behaviour. As to the sex of characters, the movies are becoming more and more a male preserve, as many recent commentators have noted, with 81.9 per cent of the identified characters in these 25 films being male. The predominant age of the characters was in the 19 to 40 age group, followed by those in the 41 to 64 age group, with 57.6 per cent and 34.9 per cent respectively. Only 7.5 per cent of all characters were outside these two age brackets. In particular, the 12 to 18 group (1.4 per cent) was vastly under-represented when compared to the attendance level of this age group. Most characters (64.6 per cent) had an "unspecified" marital status, with 17.6 per cent clearly single and 10.5 per cent married. This again reflects an important deviation from "real-life" situations; but characters with an "unattached" status have always predominated in popular culture, as it is easier to place them into a variety of situations (romantic and action) without the encumbrances of a family.

In terms of discernible income level, 28.6 per cent were identified as being "upper income", and 28.9 per cent as white collar. Blue-collar workers (9.7 per cent) and students (2.2 per cent) were again under-repre-sented when gauged against the true demographic distribution of the population. In terms of racial groups, 42.7 per cent of all characters were white Americans, followed by white non-North Americans (which included North American ethnics) at 28.1 per cent. Thus, 70.8 per cent of all characters were white, while 9.7 per cent were oriental and only 2.7 per cent were blacks. The distribution of racial groups by role type showed no appreciable differences, however, suggesting that here, at least, heroes and villains are spread evenly across all racial types.

One major stereotypical confirmation was the relatively high number of characters who were identified as law enforcers (13.8 per cent public, 2.7 per cent private); this is quite understandable in terms of current motion-picture plots. (Interestingly, only 16.3 per cent of female characters were identified as house-wives, with 44.9 per cent employed in "general" occupa-tions. Here, at least, some women are escaping the kitchen.)

The "positive" tone noted in motion pictures overall is reflected in the fact that 50.3 per cent of the characters were judged to be successful in one degree or another, while only 17.0 per cent were clearly identifiable as failures. Nevertheless, 42.9 per cent of all characters ended up being judged as "losers" in the final outcome. This apparent difference can be accounted for by pointing out that "success" as a positive character image does not always guarantee success in the final outcome of the plot. Thus, 18.9 per cent of all protago-nists were considered to be "losers" in the final outcome.

An examination of the differences between leading and non-leading characters showed that the leading characters were somewhat older, were more likely to be whites, included more law-enforcement officers, had a slightly greater degree of psychological instability, and used more alcohol and tobacco than the non-leading characters. The leading characters also included slightly more "good guys" than "bad guys", and non-leading characters were much more likely to be losers than winners.

In fact, there were a large number of minor characters who were not on screen long enough for us to learn much about them and ended up being "losers" (most often by being put to death). This suggests the existence of a class of movie characters who act as foils to the leading protagonists much in the way that Pringle describes the role of non-regulars to regulars in television series, but which he feels to be "a direct result of the [television] series as a form".[13]

When Canadian and non-Canadian films were compared, there were discernible differences. Canadian

films had a larger proportion of leading characters (reflecting smaller cast budgets no doubt); were more "adult" in character composition; and, as expected, had more white characters. Interestingly, Canadian characters were much more difficult to code for income and occupation, but were shown to be more psychologically disordered. Also, the use of imprisonment as a final punishment for wrong-doing was much more prevalent than the use of extermination in Canadian films.

The data derived from the "trait scores" is most interesting although it tends to confirm one's expectations in this area. While the characters as a whole were not terribly distinctive, those traits clearly identified gave graphic evidence of the perpetuation of stereotypes. Thus, leading characters tended to be more unusual, attractive, efficient, knowledgeable, sophisticated, competent, interesting, active, cleaner and wealthier than non-leading characters. The stereotypes were especially strong in the identified traits of males (insensitive, tough, cold, violent) when compared to females (sensitive, delicate, warm, non-violent).

It is in comparison of the traits for "role type" that the greatest differences were observable, with protagonists being happier, kinder, more honest, attractive, moral, wholesome, rational, sensitive, knowledgeable, sociable, non-violent, et cetera. Antagonists tended to be more masculine, bolder, prouder, more materialistic, and more powerful.

In performing a factor analysis of the trait scores for all characters, six main factors were discovered, which accounted for 87.5 per cent of all the variation in the data. Here again, the differences between males and females were stereotyped, but, more interestingly, the differences between protagonists and antagonists did not emerge as simple contrasts on the same characteristics. An initial assessment would seem to indicate that this could be a result of the high intercorrelation of the negative attributes of the antagonists, but this is an area deserving of further study.

The examination of the relationships between characters revealed nothing startling, with the single largest category of relationships being between friends, co-workers, and acquaintances. As might be expected, the closer relationships were more positive and less negative than the more distant ones. Marital relationships were much more evenly divided on the positive and negative attributes, however. As noted in the body of the study: "The differences between the close and distant relationships, then, would tend to be in line with the general impression that the films convey of individuals receiving support from family and friends but not being able to rely on others."

Chapter Four

Incidents

A. All Incidents

1. General Presentation

In total, there were 671 "incidents" identified in the 25 films included in the sample. [1] Of these, 293, or 43.7 per cent, were identified as realistic violent conflict, the next highest category being realistic argument (18.0 per cent). Overall, realistic portrayals of conflict incidents accounted for almost all of these incidents (89.7 per cent). A comparison of incident types as to their treatment revealed that violent conflict and destruction of property and theft were the most stylized (Table IV.1). Irrational violence and harm to self had the highest "mixed" approaches. Most incident types were heavily realistic, with the verbal ones tending to be even more so than the physical ones.

In terms of the details of such incidents, violent conflicts were portrayed in great detail 56.6 per cent of the time, in some detail 28.3 per cent of the time, and sketchily only 15.0 per cent of the time (Table IV.2). Irrational violence was even more sketchily presented. Arguments were portrayed in great detail 90.3 per cent of the time. In the 12 cases of harm to self, these incidents tended to be presented in lesser detail. Surprisingly, theft tended to be portrayed in lesser detail, with great detail being presented in only 41.7 per cent of the cases presented. There seems to be a distinct difference between verbal and physical incidents: verbal incidents are presented in greater detail and physical ones somewhat more sketchily.

Table IV.1

Method of Treatment by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argument	Non-violent non-argument conflict	Irrational violence	Verbal abuse	Harm to self	Destruction of property	Theft
Realistic	86.4	97.6	100.0	81.0	100.0	91.7	81.1	91.7
Stylized	10.3	–	–	2.4	–	–	15.1	8.3
Mixed	3.2	2.4	–	16.7	–	8.3	3.8	–
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

If we combine just those categories that involve conflict incidents (violent conflict, argument, and non-violent, non-argument conflict), this would encompass 525 incidents. Of these, 68.0 per cent were portrayed in great detail, 22.1 per cent in some detail, and 9.9 per cent were sketchy. Thus, overall, conflict situations are portrayed in more detail than non-conflict incidents.

The question of whether the situations under examination were essential to the structure or plot of the films was also examined. Of the 671 incidents, 308 (45.9 per cent) were considered to be essential, or "incidents that play a major role in the plot"; 20.1 per cent were considered to be factorial, that is, "minor incidents that provide the necessary causal conditions for the major

ones"; 28.5 per cent were representational, or those "that make the plot more probable or effective"; and 5.5 per cent were ornamental, or those "that are necessary neither to the plot nor the representation".[2] However, within incident type there were a few interesting cross-comparisons (Table IV.3). Irrational violence was considered to be essential only 23.8 per cent of the time, being portrayed as representational 42.9 per cent and both factorial and ornamental 16.7 per cent of the time. Verbal abuse was most often portrayed as representational (55.6 per cent) and considered essential in only 18.5 per cent of the cases, while harm to self was more often representational (58.3 per cent) than essential (25.0 per cent).

Table IV.2

Extent of Detail by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argument	Non-violent non-argument conflict	Irrational violence	Verbal abuse	Harm to self	Destruction of property	Theft
Great detail	56.6	90.3	85.5	69.0	88.9	16.7	66.0	41.7
Some detail	28.3	9.7	12.9	9.5	11.1	33.3	22.6	41.7
Sketchy	15.0	–	1.6	21.4	–	50.0	11.3	16.7
	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.1

Table IV.3

Plot Function by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argument	Non-violent non-argument conflict	Irrational violence	Verbal abuse	Harm to self	Destruction of property	Theft
Essential	57.2	37.9	40.3	23.8	18.5	25.0	34.0	50.0
Factorial	18.3	26.6	32.3	16.7	18.5	16.7	9.4	8.3
Representational	21.8	33.1	25.8	42.9	55.6	58.3	32.1	25.0
Ornamental	2.7	2.4	1.6	16.7	7.4	–	24.5	16.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

If only the 525 conflict incidents are considered, it is found that 50.7 per cent of these incidents were considered to be essential, with slightly less than one-half of the total number (49.3 per cent) being non-essential. The concept of non-essential must be interpreted with caution, for many of these incidents (46.9 per cent) fall into the factorial and representational categories, while only 2.5 per cent are considered to be purely ornamental, or totally non-essential. Nevertheless, only in the category of violent conflict are more than half the incidents considered to be essential.

2. The Settings

In the examination of the settings of motion-picture incidents, we discovered that more than half (54.8 per cent) of all incidents occurred in urban settings, with the next highest category being small towns (21.8 per cent). Somewhat surprisingly, uninhabited areas (deserts, oceans) accounted for a higher percentage of incidents (8.9 per cent) than did suburban locations (6.1 per cent).[3] The sample contained only three incidents that occurred in outer space, which indicates the small number of such films currently available.

If we examine the habitats across categories of incidents, we find many interesting variations (Table IV.4). While violent conflict occurred nearly half the time in urban settings (49.0 per cent), irrational violence tended to take place in small towns (45.2 per cent), while harm to self occurred with equal frequency in urban and small town locations (41.7 per cent).

The actual settings indicated that 41.0 per cent of all the incidents occurred outdoors, with nearly one-quarter of all incidents (24.9 per cent) being violent conflict in the outdoors. Houses were the location for 11.9 per cent of all incidents, and apartments for 9.5 per cent. When individual incident types were considered, it was discovered that 66.7 per cent of all incidents of harm to self occurred outdoors, and, somewhat surprisingly, 56.6 per cent of all outdoors incidents showed destruction of property (Table IV.5). While institutions were the locations of only 3.6 per cent of all incidents, 21.4 per cent of all incidents of irrational violence took place in institutions. It was also interesting to find that arguments are more likely to take place in apartments (21.0 per cent) than in houses (12.9 per cent); and verbal abuse was equally likely to be set in apartment houses as police stations (14.8 per cent), but less frequently in houses (11.1 per cent). Nevertheless, the outdoors was the most frequent setting for almost all incident types, with the physical incidents being even more pronounced than the verbal ones in this regard.

In terms of geographic location, of the total number of incidents, 50.5 per cent were located in areas other than Canada or the United States, with 8.5 per cent in Canada, and 41.0 per cent in the United States. Here again, we found significant cross-category comparisons (Table IV.6). Violent conflict occurred with much greater frequency (58.7 per cent) in countries other than Canada and the United States, followed by the United States (36.3 per cent) and Canada (5.0 per cent). Arguments, however, take place in films set in the United States (50.0 per cent) more often, while Canada and other countries are fairly equal at 25.8 per cent and 24.2 per cent respectively. Irrational violence was shown as taking place in other countries (66.7 per cent) far more often than in the United States or Canada, at 28.6 per cent and 4.8 per cent respectively. However, verbal abuse was an American phenomenon (66.7 per cent), while harm to self (75.0 per cent), destruction of property (50.9 per cent), and theft (75.0 per cent) were each more frequently shown in other countries.

At what time of day did incidents take place? The analysis pointed overwhelmingly to the daytime for all types of incidents (Table IV.7). Only verbal abuse (46.2 per cent) and theft (45.6 per cent) took place almost as often at night as they did during the day. The emphasis on daytime depiction may have been as much a result of the filmmaker's art, with its dependency on light, as any other factor. If we examine only the conflict incidents, we find that 65.6 per cent of all these incidents took place during the day, with little variation as to incident type.

Table IV.4

Habitat of Incidents by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argument	Non-violent non-argument conflict	Irrational violence	Verbal abuse	Harm to self	Destruction of property	Theft
Urban	49.0	64.5	62.9	38.1	88.9	41.7	54.7	75.0
Suburban	5.6	5.6	9.7	2.4	7.4	–	11.3	–
Small town	23.9	16.9	14.5	45.2	–	41.7	17.0	16.7
Uninhabited	12.4	3.2	6.5	4.8	–	16.7	9.4	8.3
Mobile	6.8	6.5	4.8	7.1	3.7	–	3.8	–
Mixed	0.6	1.6	–	2.4	–	–	1.9	–
Outer space	0.6	–	–	–	–	–	1.9	–
Other	1.2	1.6	1.6	–	–	–	--	–
	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0

Table IV.5

Settings of Incidents by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argument	Non-violent non-argument conflict	Irrational violence	Verbal abuse	Harm to self	Destruction of property	Theft
House	10.6	12.9	21.0	16.7	11.1	8.3	7.5	–
Apartment	6.5	21.0	8.1	4.8	14.8	16.7	5.7	–
Police station	–	1.6	1.6	2.4	14.8	–	–	–
Office	1.8	3.2	9.7	–	3.7	–	3.8	–
Small business	2.9	4.8	11.3	2.4	3.7	–	3.8	–
Factory	2.4	1.6	1.6	–	7.4	–	–	–
Institution	2.7	–	4.8	21.4	–	8.3	1.9	8.3
Other indoor	19.8	25.0	12.9	16.7	25.9	–	11.3	41.7
Outdoors	49.3	25.8	24.2	31.0	18.5	66.7	56.6	41.7
Mixed	4.1	4.0	4.8	4.8	–	–	9.4	8.3
	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.2	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table IV.6

Geographic Location of Incidents by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argument	Non-violent non-argument conflict	Irrational violence	Verbal abuse	Harm to self	Destruction of property	Theft
Canada	5.0	24.2	6.5	4.8	3.7	–	5.7	–
United States	36.3	50.0	50.0	28.6	66.7	25.0	43.4	25.0
Other	58.7	25.8	43.5	66.7	29.5	75.0	50.9	75.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table IV.7

Time of Occurrence of Incidents by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argument	Non-violent non-argument conflict	Irrational violence	Verbal abuse	Harm to self	Destruction of property	Theft
Specific time range	5.8	3.3	1.6	–	–	8.3	5.7	–
Day	64.0	69.2	67.2	85.7	53.8	50.0	69.8	54.5
Night	30.2	27.5	31.1	14.3	46.2	41.7	24.5	45.5
	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

B. Means and Ends in Conflict Incidents

In concentrating on violent, argument, and non-violent, non-argument conflict, we can analyze the methods and motivations for the conflict situations. In examining the method of conflict, we find that over two-thirds of violent conflict was dealt with by coercion (21.9 per cent) or elimination (46.7 per cent) (Table IV.8).[4] Thus, nearly half of all "victims" of violent conflict were eliminated from further action. Conversely, 62.3 per cent of argument situations used some form of avoidance mechanism, and the same percentage of non-violent, non-argument conflicts used avoidance. Only 17.4 per cent of violent conflict used such avoidance. As expected, a significant percentage (21.3 per cent) of non-violent, non-argument conflicts employed some form of resolution; it is, therefore, of further significance that only 1.8 per cent of violent conflict used some form of procedural resolution. When all conflict incidents are examined, 33.3 per cent used avoidance and 30.6 per cent elimination. Most significantly, 156 incidents, or 30.2 per cent of all conflict incidents were violent conflicts which resulted in elimination.

The analysis of motivations for conflict situations reveals quite discernible patterns (Table IV.9). By combining those motivations concerned with physical, psychological, social, and ethical factors, and mixed motivations, we find that violent conflict tends to be physical, mixed, and social in motivation (in descending order of importance).[5] Arguments were physical, mixed, ethical, and psychological in motivation, while the motivations for the non-violent, non-argument conflicts were mixed, physical, and social.

In particular, the major motivations for violent conflict were physical gain (22.7 per cent) and social avoidance (23.9 per cent). For arguments, the major motivation was ethical avoidance (20.2 per cent), followed by physical gain (19.4 per cent); while for non-violent conflicts, the major motivation was mixed physical and psychological avoidance (21.3 per cent) and social avoidance (16.4 per cent). Again, across all three conflict categories, physical gain accounted for 21.0 per cent of the motivation, followed by social avoidance (18.7 per cent).

In terms of the means used in the conflict incidents, the largest single category was direct attack, which was used in 60.3 per cent of the incidents. However, almost all of this was accounted for by the incidents of violent conflict. Almost all violent-conflict incidents (91.7 per cent) were direct attacks (Table IV.10). Arguments, as expected, relied more heavily on persuasion (62.1 per cent), but 23.4 per cent employed threats. In non-violent, non-argument conflicts, 72.1 per cent used persuasion. All-in-all, the means used showed definite patterns with very little variations, suggesting strong stereotypes of the means the initiators of conflict employ in dealing with conflict.

In examining the initiator's provocation for engaging in the conflict, we find that the mixed category predomi-nated, being involved in 53.8 per cent of the total of all conflict incidents; this suggests that a complex of emotional responses come into play despite the repeated emphasis on the physical aspect.[6] Surprisingly, the threat to security was considered a greater provocation (20.4 per cent) than physical threats (18.9 per cent) in violent conflict (Table IV.11). In non-violent, non-argument conflict, desire for security was almost twice as provocative (16.4 per cent) as physical threats (9.8 per cent).

If the provocation for engaging in the conflict is examined in terms of the social "entity" underlying it or directing it, rather than the nature of the provocation itself, some interesting results emerge as well (Table IV.12).[7] The provocations for engaging in conflicts were basically "selfish", this tendency being even more pronounced in arguments and non-violent, non-argument conflicts than in violent ones. The latter tended to have higher rates of mixed provocations in these terms.

When justifications for engaging in conflict are examined, violent conflicts were *not* justified in 50.4 per cent of the cases, while the figures for argument and non-violent, non-argument conflict were 25.0 and 16.1 per cent respectively.[8] For those cases in which the conflict was justified, violent conflicts tended to be justified in terms of defending oneself or seeking revenge, while both arguments and non-violent, non-argument conflicts were justified in social or moral terms (Table IV.13).

It is in the analysis of emotional attitudes exhibited in conflict situations that we come across some fascinating data (Table IV.14). There was a clear pattern present that suggested that violent conflict was more often than not accomplished with "coolness" (48.1 per cent), while anger (18.6 per cent) was *not* the dominating emotion. With arguments, anger (60.5 per cent) was overwhelmingly the emotion exhibited, while in non-violent conflicts, coolness (70.5 per cent) again prevailed. Surprisingly, in view of prevalent critical attitudes, sado-masochistic emotions played only a minor role in violent conflict (8.8 per cent). Of even greater interest was the low incidence of fear exhibited, especially in violent conflict (5.9 per cent) and arguments (4.8 per cent). In non-violent, non-argument conflict, fear accounted for 9.8 per cent of the visible emotional attitudes. Over all categories, "coolness" accounted for 43.7 per cent of visible emotional attitudes.

Finally, in terms of the outcome of the conflict, more than half of the arguments (57.3 per cent) and close to half of the rational discussions (43.5 per cent) did not have clear outcomes. This was the case for only 26.8 per cent of violent incidents. In addition, in examining the outcome of the incident for the initiator in those cases in which the outcome was not unclear, we discovered that overwhelmingly the initiators of violent conflict were successful through their own violence (Table IV.15). In fact, violence accounted for 93.2 per cent of

the results for all violent conflicts. Arguments and rational discussions were won or lost without violence, although it was interesting to note that the initiator of a rational discussion was more likely to win than was the initiator of an argument.

Table IV.8

Methods of Dealing with Conflict by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argu-ment	Non-violent, non-argument conflict
Avoidance	17.4	62.3	62.3
Resolution	1.8	13.1	21.3
Distraction	12.3	15.6	13.1
Coercion	21.9	9.0	–
Elimination	46.7	–	3.3
	100.1	100.0	100.0

Table IV.9

Motivation in Outcome of Initiator of Conflict, by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argu-ment	Non-violent, non-argument conflict
Physical gain	22.7	19.4	14.8
Psychological gain	5.6	3.2	4.9
Mixed gain	11.5	9.7	9.8
Physical avoidance	10.3	9.7	11.5
Psychological avoidance	2.4	15.3	3.3
Mixed physical and psychological avoidance	13.0	10.5	21.3
Social avoidance	23.9	5.6	16.4
Ethical avoidance	8.0	20.2	6.6
Mixed hedonic and social-ethical avoidance	2.7	6.5	11.5
	100.1	100.1	100.1

Table IV.10

Means Used by Initiator to Achieve Goal, by Conflict Incident (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argu-ment	Non-violent, non-argument conflict
Do nothing	–	–	4.9
Persuasion	–	62.1	72.1
Seduction	–	0.8	1.6
Threat	2.4	23.4	6.6
Direct attack	91.7	2.4	3.3
Indirect attack, physical	4.4	–	1.6
Indirect attack, psychological	0.9	6.5	6.6
Passive aggression	0.6	4.8	3.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table IV.11

Internal Source of Provocation for Dealing in Conflict, by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argu-ment	Non-violent, non-argument conflict
Physical	18.9	16.9	9.8
Psychological	8.3	16.1	6.6
Security	20.4	16.1	16.4
Mixed	52.5	50.8	67.2
	100.0	99.9	100.0

Table IV.12

External Source of Provocation for Dealing in Conflict, by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argu- ment	Non- violent, non- argument conflict
Self	50.7	62.9	62.9
Friends	5.3	1.6	1.6
Family	2.1	6.5	6.5
Society	3.8	3.2	6.5
Mixed	38.1	25.8	22.6
	100.0	100.0	100.1

Table IV.13

Justification for Initiating Conflict, by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argu- ment	Non- violent, non- argument conflict
Defend-revenge	44.6	25.8	13.5
Moral-social	39 3	65 6	75.0
Mixed	16.1	8.6	11.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table IV.14

Emotional Attitude of Initiator of Conflict, by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argu- ment	Non- violent, non- argument conflict
Fear	5.9	4.8	9.8
Anger	18.6	60.5	11.5
Sadism-masochism	8.8	—	—
Irrational	2.7	4.8	1.6
Cool	48.1	18.5	70.5
Mixed	4.7	9.7	6.5
Other	11.2	1.6	—
	100.0	99.9	99.9

Table IV.15

The Outcome of the Incident for the Initiator, by Incident Type (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Argu- ment	Non- violent, non- argument conflict
No stake in outcome	0.4	1.9	—
Wins through own violence	72.6	—	—
Wins through violence of others	0.8	—	—
Wins through no violence	2.4	49.1	74.3
Loses through own violence	6.5	—	—
Loses through violence of others	13.3	1.9	2.9
Loses through no violence	4.0	47.2	22.9
	100.0	100.1	100.1

C. Violent Conflict and Irrational Violence

1. The Scenario of "Violence"

If one were initially to consider the combination of both types of violent incidents, it would be possible to create a scenario of violence by decomposing the violent incidents into their constituent parts: the parties to the violence, other parties on the scene, contextual elements, the mode of violence and the consequences of violence.

(a) The parties to the violence. As would be expected, given the overwhelming extent to which the characters in the films were human beings (Table III.3), violence tended to occur almost exclusively between humans (Table IV.16). In addition, the majority of the parties to the violence were individuals, but there was an even greater tendency for individuals to be targets or victims of violence than for them to be initiators of violence (Table IV.17).

Table IV.18 reveals that more than half of the violent incidents occurred between opponents, and other high percentages occurred with authorities and between strangers. In fact, nearly 90 per cent of all violence occurred in distant relationships, which is even more notable when it is remembered that distant relationships accounted for only about half of all relationships coded for the films (Table III.96). For the 88 per cent of incidents that could be coded on the variable "group relations of parties to violence", almost two-thirds of the violence is seen to have occurred between members

of the same national, ethnic and/or racial groups (Table IV.19).

(b) Other parties on the scene An aggressor had an accomplice or accomplices in almost half of the violent incidents (Table IV.20). When they were present, accomplices assisted in or encouraged violence twice as often as they were passive or acted to restrain violence. Witnesses were present slightly less often than were accomplices, and when they were present, they were predominantly passive (Table IV.21). If they took action, however, they assisted or encouraged violence more than they attempted to terminate it.

Agents of the law were present in only 24.5 per cent of the violent incidents (Table IV.22). When they were present on the scene, they acted in only their official capacity almost three-quarters of the time. For those cases in which they were present, the agents of the law were initiators or targets of violence more often than they were witnesses (Table IV.23). All told, they employed violence in almost two-thirds of the cases in which they were on the scene. In addition, in those cases in which they were present, the agents of the law were most likely to commit only that violence necessary to achieve their objective, but were more likely to commit excessive violence than no violence (Table IV.24).

(c) Contextual elements. The violent incidents were mostly central to the plot (Table IV.25), and the violence itself was overwhelmingly intentional (Table IV.26).

The actual context of the violence was mainly sinister (Table IV.27) (that is, involving the real threat of injury or death) and for those incidents whose contents were not overtly comic, there was little in the way of humorous overtones (Table IV.28).

When the distance between the violents is examined, it is discovered that most violence was direct, interpersonal, and of close proximity (Table IV.29). The incidents were almost evenly divided among unawareness, spontaneous recognition and general anticipation, but in over 60 per cent of the cases, the victim did not recognize the violence until, at the very most, it was upon him or her (Table IV.30).

(d) Mode of violence. Firearms and the human body were the two most frequent modes of violence, with "other" methods being the next most frequent (Table IV.31) and the remainder being very close to each other in frequency.

(e) The consequences of violence. Table IV.32 reveals that major visible consequences were the most frequent result of violence, followed by no consequences shown and slight visible consequences. These consequences were very rarely shown in a humorous light (Table IV.33).

In close to one-third of the incidents, the victim was unable to respond, but when he was able to, he was most likely to resist violently *or* submit (Table IV.34).

As to the graphic nature of the presentation, there was a tendency to show more pain than blood and gore (Table IV.35). In addition, there tended to be proportionately few incidents of injury and death as a result of the violence, but if they did occur, there was most often a single injury or death (Table IV.36).

Finally, in the cases that could be coded for "recovery" (80 per cent), recovery was shown to be the result in a majority of the cases, while in 41.2 per cent of such incidents, the victims were either incapacitated, restricted, or dead (Table IV.37).

Table IV.16

Humanity of Parties to Violence (per cent)

	Aggressor	Object of aggression
Human	96.3	97.4
Human with extra-human powers	1.3	1.1
Animal	1.1	0.5
Symbolic representation	–	0.3
Mixed	1.1	0.5
Unclear	0.3	0.3
	100.1	100.1

Table IV.17

Individuality of Parties to Violence (per cent)

	Aggressor	Object of aggression
Individual	53.2	66.3
Group	45.8	32.4
Institution	1.1	1.3
	100.1	100.0

Table IV.18

Relationships Between Parties to Violence (per cent)

Marital	3.4
Family	0.8
Friends	6.9
Authorities	15.8
Opponents	56.5
Strangers	14.0
Other	2.5
	99.9

Table IV.19

Group Relations of Parties to Violence (per cent)

Same national, ethnic, or racial group	63.5
Different national, ethnic, or racial group	36.5
	100.0

Table IV.20

The Role of Accomplices in Violence (per cent)

None shown	49.5
Passive	13.7
Assist or encourage violence	33.7
Attempt to prevent, restrain, or seek alternatives to violence	3.2
	100.1

Table IV.21

The Role of Witnesses in Violence (per cent)

None shown	55.3
Passive	36.6
Assist or encourage violence	5.3
Attempt to prevent, restrain, or seek alternatives to violence	2.9
	100.1

Table IV.22

The Capacity of Agents of Law in Violence (per cent)

Not present	75.5
Private agents only	0.8
Official agents only	
Act in only official capacity	17.6
Act in only unofficial capacity	3.9
Act in mixed capacities	0.5
Not shown, unclear	1.3
Mixed agents or unclear	0.3
	99.9

Table IV.23

The Role of Agents of the Law in Violence When Present on the Scene (per cent)

Witness		17.2
Passive	8.6	
Non-violently active	3.2	
Intervenes violently	5.4	
Target of violence		37.7
Cannot respond	15.1	
Responds non-violently	2.2	
Responds violently	20.4	
Initiator of violence		38.7
In course of duty	22.6	
Not in course of duty	16.1	
Mixed (several agents)	3.2	3.2
Not shown, unclear	3.2	3.2
	100.0	100.0

Table IV.24

Necessity of Violence Used by Agents of the Law When Present on the Scene (per cent)

Commits no violence	25.8
Commits only necessary violence	38.7
Commits excessive violence	31.2
Not shown, unclear	4.3
	100.00

Table IV.25

Centrality of Violence to Film Plot (per cent)

Incidental	29.5
Central	70.5
	100.0

Table IV.26

Intentionality of Violence (per cent)

Accidental	2.1
Carelessness	1.1
Intentional	96.6
Unclear	0.3
	100.1

Table IV.27

Context of Violence (per cent)

Comic context	3.7
Sports context	3.9
Serious quarrel (but not real threat of harm)	8.9
Sinister context (real threat of harm)	80.3
Unclear	3.2
	100.0

Table IV.28

Humorous Overtones to Violence (per cent)

Not present, irrelevant	88.2
Comic element	11.8
	100.0

Table IV.29

Distance Between Violents (per cent)

Close proximity	76.3
Chase	5.0
Within view	14.2
Out of sight	2.6
Global or undirected	–
Cannot code	1.8
	99.9

Table IV.30

Cognitive Preparation of the Victim (per cent)

Unaware	32.9
Recognizes spontaneously	28.4
General anticipation	27.4
Specific anticipation	0.8
Unclear	10.5
	100.0

Table IV.31

Mode of Violence (per cent)

Body	26.6
Firearm	31.6
Hand weapon (non-firearm)	7.9
Normally non-violent object	4.2
Vehicles	7.6
Explosives	5.0
Alcohol, drugs	2.1
Nature	0.3
Other	14.7
	100.0

Table IV.32

Visibility of Physical Consequence of Violence (per cent)

Not shown	31.3
Slight visible consequences	20.3
Major visible consequences	37.9
Only subsequently revealed	6.8
Not appropriate	3.7
	100.0

Table IV.33

Double Context of Physical Context of Violence (per cent)

Comedy added	8.7
Comedy not added	91.3
	100.0

Table IV.34

Immediate Response of Victim of Violence (per cent)

Unable to respond	32.4
Submits	21.3
Withdraws	7.9
Resists violently	25.0
Flees	3.9
Attempts a solution	2.9
Mixed	1.6
Not clear	5.0
	100.0

Table IV.35

Degree of Illustrated Pain and Illustrated Blood and Gore (per cent)

	Pain	Blood and gore
None	39.7	67.9
Some	29.7	13.9
Much	18.2	7.1
Not appropriate	12.4	11.1
	100.0	100.0

Table IV.36

Injuries and Deaths as a Result of Violence (per cent)

	Injuries	Deaths
None	58.2	60.0
One only	26.8	26.8
Small number (2-5)	6.6	6.8
Moderate number (6-10)	2.1	0.3
Large number (over 10)	6.3	6.1
	100.0	100.0

Table IV.37

Recovery from Violence (per cent)

Victim continues to function	52.9
Incapacitated, restricted, or dead	41.2
Consequences shown only subsequently	5.8
	99.9

2. Differences Between Violent Conflict and Irrational Violence

There was a number of noteworthy differences between the treatment of violent conflict and irrational violence, and they occurred at every stage of the scenario. For example, violent conflict took place more often between opponents, while irrational conflict took place more often between spouses, family, friends, and "other" (Table IV.38).

There were also some major differences in the roles of the agents of the law in violence. While in both kinds of violence agents of the law were not present close to 75 per cent of the time (irrational violence being somewhat lower at 71.4 per cent); and for those cases in which they were present, the irrational-violence incidents had them initiating violence other than in the course of their duties to a much greater extent (Table IV.39). In fact, all their actions deal with violent activity. In addition, the agents of the law were much more likely to commit excessive violence (Table IV.40).

The violent incidents were much more central to the film in violent-conflict incidents than in irrational violence (Table IV.41). The percentages for central and incidental incidents here correspond very closely to the combined figures for essential and factorial and representational and ornamental classifications for the two incident types (Table IV.3)

As might be expected, the violence in violent conflict was also more intentional than it was in irrational violence, although both were heavily intentional (Table IV.42).

Violent conflict was presented more frequently in sinister contexts than was irrational violence, with irrational violence taking place more often in quarrels and comic contexts (Table IV.43). Irrational violence was even more likely to occur in close proximity than was violent conflict, however (Table IV.44). Perhaps as a result, it was not significantly more likely to catch its victims unawares, despite the fact that it took place in contexts that suggested less imminent danger.

There are a number of differences between violent conflict and irrational violence with respect to the mode of violence employed: the former used more firearms, hand weapons, and explosives, while the latter favoured the body, vehicles, and normally non-violent objects (Table IV.45).

The physical consequences of violence tended to be less visible in irrational violence, to be less severe when they were visible, and to be more often revealed subsequently (Table IV.46). The victims of irrational violence were also more capable of responding than were those of violent conflict, but they tended to submit, to seek solutions, or to show an unclear response more often; while the victims of violent conflict had a greater tendency to resist violently and to withdraw (Table IV.47). Finally, while there was no large difference in the extent of injury for the two violent-incident types, irrational violence had a lower rate of deaths overall, but a higher rate of large numbers of deaths (Table IV.48).

Table IV.38

Relationship Between Parties to Violence by Type of Violence Incident (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Irrational violence
Marital	3.0	7.1
Family	0.9	11.9
Friends	5.3	9.5
Authorities	15.7	–
Opponents	59.1	19.0
Strangers	14.2	16.7
Other	1.8	35.7
	100.0	99.9

D. Other Incidents

1. Arguments
Arguments were verbal disagreements or oppositions involving conflict and often involving heated exchanges. While both initiators and respondents were predominantly individuals, individuals were even more prevalent as initiators (Table IV.49).

As to the relationship between the parties to the argument, the incidents were rather widely spread among the relationship categories (Table IV.50). They took place most frequently between friends (27.4 per cent) and between spouses (21.0 per cent), and the three close relationships together accounted for 59.7 per cent of all arguments.

The single most frequent mode of interaction was accusation or blame (Table IV.51). Beyond that, a collection of disparate approaches ("other") was the next most frequent. A very large percentage of these modes were presented seriously with no humorous overtones (Table IV.52).

Table IV.39

The Role of Agents of the Law in Violence When Present on the Scene, by type of Violent Incident (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Irrational violence
Witness		
Passive	9.9	–
Non-violently active	3.7	–
Intervenes violently	4.9	8.3
Target of violence		
Cannot respond	17.3	–
Responds non-violently	2.5	–
Responds violently	22.2	8.3
Initiator of violence		
In course of duty	23.5	16.7
Not in course of duty	9.9	58.3
Mixed (several agents)	2.5	8.3
Not shown, unclear	3.7	–
	100.1	99.9

Table IV.40

Necessity of Violence Used by Agents of the Law When Present on the Scene, by Type of Violent Incident (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Irrational violence
Commits no violence	29.6	–
Commits only necessary violence	43.2	8.3
Commits excessive violence	22.2	91.7
Not shown, unclear	4.9	—
	99.9	100.0

Table IV.41

Centrality of Violence to Film Plat, by type of Violent-Incident (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Irrational violence
Incidental	25.7	59.5
Central	74.3	40.5
	100.0	100.0

Table IV.42

Intentionality of Violence by Type of Violent Incident (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Irrational violence
Accidental	0.6	14.6
Carelessness	0.6	4.9
Intentional	98.8	80.5
	100.0	100.0

Table IV.43

Context of Violence by Type of Violent Incident

	Violent conflict	Irrational violence
Comic context	3.0	11.8
Sports context	3.9	5.9
Serious quarrel (but not real threat of harm)	8.7	14.7
Sinister context (real threat of harm)	84.4	67.6
	100.0	100.0

Table IV.44

Distance Between Violents, by Type of Violent Incident (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Irrational violence
Close proximity	75.5	95.2
Chase	5.7	–
Within view	16.0	2.4
Out of sight	2.7	2.4
Global or undirected	–	–
	99.99	100.0

Table IV.45

Mode of Violence by Type of Violent Incident (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Irrational violence
Body	24.6	42.9
Firearm	34.0	11.9
Hand weapon (non-firearm)	8.3	4.8
Normally non-violent objects	3.8	7.1
Vehicles	6.8	14.3
Explosives	5.3	2.4
Alcohol, drugs	2.1	2.4
Nature	0.3	–
Other	14.8	14.3
	100.0	100.1

Table IV.46

Visibility of Physical Consequences of Violence, by Type of Violent Incident (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Irrational violence
Not shown	29.9	52.4
Slight visible consequences	21.9	14.3
Major visible consequences	41.7	21.4
Only subsequently revealed	6.5	11.9
	100.0	100.0

Table IV.47

Immediate Response to Victim of Violence, by Type of Violent Incident (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Irrational violence
Unable to respond	33.1	26.2
Submits	18.6	42.9
Withdraws	8.6	2.4
Resists violently	26.9	9.5
Flees	4.4	—
Attempts a solution	2.4	7.1
Mixed	1.5	2.4
Not clear	4.4	9.5
	99.9	100.0

Table IV.48

Deaths as a Result of Violence,
by Type of Violent Incident (per cent)

	Violent conflict	Irrational violence
None	58.0	76.2
One only	29.3	7.1
Small number (2-5)	6.8	7.1
Moderate number (6-10)	0.3	–
Large number (over 10)	5.6	9.5
	100.0	99.9

Table IV.49

Individuality of Argument Participants (per cent)

	Initiator	Respondent
Individual	92.0	88.0
Group	8.0	12.0
	100.0	100.0

Table IV.50

Relationship Between Argument Participants (per cent)

Marital	21.0
Family	11.3
Friends	27.4
Authorities	10.4
Opponents	11.3
Strangers	12.1
Other	6.5
	100.0

Table IV.51

Mode of Interaction in Arguments (per cent)

Sarcasm	3.2
Ridicule	6.4
Teasing	0.8
Mimicking	–
Accusation	64.0
Other	25.6
	100.0

Table IV.52

Humorous Overtones to Mode of Interaction for Arguments (per cent)

Not present	77.6
Comic element	22.4
	100.0

2. Non-Violent, Non-Argument Conflicts

Non-violent, non-argument conflicts were disagreements that were handled by reasoned discussion. While this type of incident occurred most frequently with authorities, it was also prevalent with friends and with spouses (Table IV.53). Unlike the situation with regard to arguments, distant relationships accounted for a slight majority of the rational discussions (51.6 per cent).

Table IV.53

Relationship Between Parties to Non-Violent, Non-Argument Conflicts (per cent)

Marital	14.5
Family	8.0
Friends	25.8
Authorities	27.4
Opponents	11.3
Strangers	4.8
Other	8.1
	99.9

3. Verbal Abuse

Verbal abuse differed from arguments in that it occurred outside of a conflict situation. Such incidents were defined as those in which one party harangued or directed a tirade against another in some sort of concerted fashion, and were not simply brief, off-hand comments.

This type of incident occurred most often between friends (especially colleagues at work), but was also prevalent with authorities and between spouses (Table IV.54). Verbal abuse was similar to arguments in this respect in that close relationships accounted for a substantial majority of them (62.9 per cent).

Again, as with arguments, accusation or blame was the most utilized mode of "attack", although ridicule and sarcasm were much more prominent here than they were in arguments (Table IV.55). In addition, a much higher percentage of the incidents had a comic element added to them (Table IV.56).

Table IV.54

Relationship Between Parties in Verbal-Abuse Incidents (per cent)

Marital	18.5
Family	3.7
Friends	40.7
Authorities	22.2
Opponents	3.7
Strangers	7.4
Other	3.7
	99.9

Table IV.55

Mode of Attack in Verbal-Abuse Incidents (per cent)

Sarcasm	18.5
Ridicule	29.6
Teasing	–
Mimicking	–
Accusation	44.4
Other	7.4
	99.9

Table IV.56

Humorous Overtones to Mode of Attack in Verbal-Abuse Incidents (per cent)

Not present	55.6
Comic element	44.4
	100.0

4. Harm to Self

Only those incidents in which characters *purposely* hurt, injured, mutilated, or killed themselves were considered as "harm to self". These incidents were found to be evenly split in terms of centrality to the plot (Table IV.57).

Witnesses are present in the vast majority of cases, and while passive a majority of the time, they acted to encourage or assist in the harm to self more often than they acted to prevent it (Table IV.58).

Vehicles, alcohol, drugs and "other" were the most popular modes employed (Table IV.59). Modes that were notably absent were the body and firearms, the two most popular modes used in violence towards others (Table IV.31).

Physical consequences of harm to self were always shown and were major in nature (Table IV.60); they were *never* undercut by humour. Somewhat curiously, however, despite the visibility of physical consequences, pain was relatively infrequent (but severe when it occurred) and there was little blood and gore presented (Table IV.61). This may be accounted for by the fact that the character "simply" failed to recover (Table IV.62).

Table IV.57

Centrality of Harm-to-Self Incidents to Film Plot (per cent)

Incidental	50.0
Central	50.0
	100.0

Table IV.58

The Role of Witnesses in Harm-to-Self Incidents (per cent)

Not shown	16.7
Passive	58.3
Assist or encourage	25.0
Attempt to prevent or restrain	–
	100.0

Table IV.59

Mode Employed to Harm Self (per cent)

Body	–
Firearms	–
Hand weapon (non-firearm)	–
Normally non-violent object	8.3
Vehicles	25.0
Explosives	8.3
Alcohol, drugs	25.0
Nature	8.3
Other	25.0
	99.9

Table IV.60

Visibility of Physical Consequences of Harm to Self (per cent)

Not shown	–
Slight visible consequences	16.7
Major visible consequences	83.3
Only subsequently revealed	–
Not appropriate	–
	100.0

Table IV.61

Degree of Illustrated Pain and Illustrated Blood and Gore in Harm-to-Self Incidents (per cent)

	Pain	Blood and gore
None	41.7	75.0
Moderate	8.3	8.3
Extreme	33.3	8.3
Not appropriate	16.7	8.3
	100.0	99.9

Table IV.62

Recovery from Harm to Self (per cent)

Victim continues to function or recovers	33.3
Incapacitated, restricted, or dead	66.7
Consequences shown only subsequently	–
	100.0

Table IV.63

Intentionality of Destruction of Property (per cent)

Intentional	69.8
Unintentional	30.2
	100.0

Table IV.64

Occurrence of Destruction of Property (per cent)

Accompanied violence	36.5
Occurred apart from violence	63.5
	100.0

Table IV.65

Mode of Destruction of Property (per cent)

Body	22.6
Firearm	–
Hand weapon (non-firearm)	1.9
Normally non-violent object	1.9
Vehicles	26.4
Explosives	24.5
Alcohol, drugs	–
Nature	11.3
Other	11.3
	99.9

5. Destruction of Property

Destruction of property was coded when the property damaged or destroyed was of some significance (in terms of size or value), significant to the plot of the film, or so presented stylistically as to be emphasized.

Over two-thirds of such incidents were intentional destructions (Table IV.63) and close to the same percentage occurred apart from violence (Table IV.64). Vehicles, explosives and the body were the most prevalent modes of destruction (Table IV.65).

6. Theft

Thefts were carried out by individuals in a majority of cases, although there was a large proportion of groups as well. The same proportion of incidents had individuals as victims (Table IV.66).

Most actual thefts occurred on-screen (Table IV.67), and the consequences to the victim of the theft were depicted more often than were the consequences to the thief (Table IV.68).

TABLE IV.66

Individuality of Thieves and Their Victims (per cent)

	Thief	Victim
Individual	58.3	58.3
Group	41.7	25.0
Institution	–	16.7
	100.0	100.0

Table IV.67

Visibility of Theft (per cent)

Occurred on-screen	75.0
Occurred off-screen	25.0
	100.0

Table IV.68

Consequences to Thief and Victim of Theft (per cent)

	Thief	Victim
Depicted	41.7	50.0
Not Depicted	58.3	50.0
	100.0	100.0

E. Summary

An examination of the general treatment of the incidents revealed some notable differences between physical incidents and verbal incidents. While there was an overwhelming tendency for all incidents to be presented realistically, the physical incidents had a higher incidence of stylized presentation than did the verbal ones – destruction of property and violent conflict being the most pronounced in this regard. The differences between the presentation of physical and verbal incidents were more striking for detail of presentation: the physical incidents were presented in much less detail than the verbal ones, with little over one-half of the violent-conflict incidents (56.6 per cent), 41.7 per cent of the theft incidents, and a mere 16.7 per cent of the harm-to-self incidents being presented in great detail.

Violence was not completely gratuitous, at least in terms of its function in or centrality to the film. Violent-conflict incidents were the most "essential" to the plot of all the incident types, but irrational violence was much more "ornamental", as were destruction of property and theft.

As to the settings of the incidents, most incidents were located in urban areas, with small towns being the next most frequent locations and uninhabited areas having higher rates of incidents than suburban ones. This tended to hold across incident types, although small towns seemed to be comparatively popular places for violent conflicts and especially for irrational violence and harm to self. Somewhat surprisingly, a large percentage of each type of incident occurred outdoors, and in line with the differences noted above, physical incidents took place outdoors more frequently than did verbal ones. Close to half of violent conflict (49.3 per cent) occurred outdoors, while irrational violence occurred in institutions 21.4 per cent of the time and in homes 16.7 per cent of the time. Other notable features about the settings of the incidents were the facts that violence (both conflictive and irrational) tended to be presented most often in non-North American locations and that a majority of all incidents occurred during the daylight hours.

Some substantial differences (as well as certain similarities) were discovered with regard to the means and ends of the different types of conflict. While the provocations and motivations for violence, arguments, and rational discussion were all most often physical and self-related, violence was most often characterized by the use of direct attacks, coercion, and elimination to achieve goals, while both arguments and rational discussions were characterized predominantly by persuasion and avoidance. Violence was unjustified much more often than the other two forms of conflict were, and when justified, it was much more often in terms of defence and revenge than in moral and social terms (as arguments and rational discussion tended to be). In addition, the perpetrators of violence tended to display an attitude of coolness (as did the initiators of rational discussion, but to an even greater extent), anger being more common to arguments. As to results, violence was overwhelmingly an effective means for achieving one's ends in conflict, while rational discussions without violence were equally as likely to result in success; arguments involving no violence were as likely to result in failure as success.

Violent incidents followed a rather regular scenario, although there were a number of notable differences between the scenarios for violent conflict and irrational violence. Violence occurred most often between opponents, especially in violent conflicts, and close relationships (marital, family, friends) accounted for very little violence, although they were more prominent in incidents of irrational violence. Incidents of violence also tended to occur within the same national, ethnic, or racial group.

Accomplices, witnesses, and agents of the law were not terribly prominent in the violent incidents, being present in 50.5, 44.7, and 24.5 per cent of the violent incidents respectively. When present, however, accomplices tended to encourage violence, witnesses tended to be passive, and agents of the law tended to initiate or be targets of violence. The initiation of violence by agents of the law was even more pronounced in irrational violence, with the agents tending to act more often in unofficial capacities and to commit excessive violence.

Violence tended to be central to the plot, clearly intentional, presented in sinister contexts, and mainly devoid of humorous overtones. Irrational violence was found to be more incidental than central, however, and to be more frequently accidental and less sinister in context.

Most violence took place in face-to-face situations and tended to catch the victim unawares. The body and firearms were the most popular "weapons", although irrational violence also employed vehicles rather frequently. The victims of violence most often were unable to respond, but when they were able, they tended to resist violently or submit in violent conflict, and most often submitted in irrational violence. The results of the violence were fairly well-sanitized, with consequences often not revealed and little evidence of pain, of blood, and gore, and of injury and death. In addition, most victims continued to function after the violence. The results of violence tended to be even more sanitized in the case of irrational violence.

As to the other types of incidents coded in the study, arguments occurred most frequently between friends and spouses; rational discussions most frequently with authorities and between friends and spouses; and verbal abuse most frequently between friends, with authorities, and between spouses. All told, both arguments and verbal abuse occurred more frequently in close relationships than distant ones, while the opposite was true for rational discussions. Accusation and blame were the most common modes of attack in both arguments and verbal abuse, but ridicule and sarcasm were more prevalent in the latter, as were humorous overtones.

Harm-to-self incidents were found to be as incidental as they were central to the films; to have passive witnesses present in most cases; to employ vehicles, drugs, alcohol, and "other" modes most frequently; and to always reveal the consequences to the victim (but most often simply by showing that the individuals failed to recover rather than presenting pain and suffering in much detail).

Destruction of property was usually intentional, occurred apart from violence, and tended to be accomplished by the use of vehicles, explosives, and the body. Finally, theft was most often committed by individuals against individuals, with the consequences to the victim being depicted more often than the consequences to the thief.

Chapter Five

The Stylistic Treatment of Violence

A. The Study of Visual Style or Form in Film

Content analysis emerged as a method for studying linguistic material and continues to be applied primarily to the semantic aspect of written texts. In the common understanding of the term, "content" is the subject matter of the message or communication that is conveyed through the manipulation of the characteristics of the particular medium employed. In other words, traditional content analysis tends to gloss over, if not ignore entirely, the contribution that form or style makes to meaning.

To deal adequately with the content of films, then, one would require an approach that would incorporate the study of such stylistic or formal elements. As Tudor has expressed it, it is impossible to talk about the effects of films until one has determined how meanings are created and conveyed by them.[1] An approach that attempts to go beyond consideration of subject matter alone is embodied in what Krippendorff has called the "discourse model".[2] The linguistic bias of this model becomes evident as well, however, when the semantic and syntactic components, and other linguistic requirements such as paraphrasing, are described. For as Tudor points out, the understanding of the communicative methods of film is nowhere near the point at which a true "grammar" or "language" of the cinema is possible.[3]

An alternate approach that attempts to cope with the stylistic elements and that has gained much currency in film study of late, is "structuralism". As de Camargo explains it, structuralism, "unlike content analysis, . . . is mainly concerned with the ways in which elements of the message are internally structured".[4] Both methods attempt to find certain categories in the message, "but content analysis choses these units empirically in light of particular needs, whereas structural analysis, proceeding by linguistic logic, seeks the irreducible basic unit which will enter into combinations that will have a meaning".[5] This difference is normally described as the quantitative-qualitative distinction.

A further difference between the two approaches "relates to the levels of form and content".

Content analysis tends to look exclusively at separate items of content, rarely considering a framework common to both levels. "Structural Analysis proposes, on the contrary, such a framework in which the style is on the level of integration of content in the code from which it arises."[6]

The meaning of messages, then, is determined by the application of the conventions of a culturally determined code, which operates at both the level of creation and reception. The goal of structuralism is to make this code and its operations explicit. In its concern with denotative and connotative meaning, structuralism is a variation of the discourse model.

Structuralism would seem to offer much promise for the study of meaning in films (and by extension the study of the "effects" of films as well).[7] At the present stage, however, a large variety of structural approaches have only begun to be applied to the narrative dimensions of film sequences and entire films,[8] and to the thematic and the very vaguely conceived "stylistic" elements of large "bodies" of films.[9] A more systematic approach to a more rigorous notion of style or form has not been able to get beyond the study of small portions of individual films.[10] Since the desire here is to examine the possible impact of stylistic or formal elements for large numbers of films, a statistical approach has been adopted almost by default, despite Burgelin's assertion that stylistic and content elements must be studied within a framework that integrates them.[11]

B. A Statistical Study of the Visual Style of Violence

The approach employed here is adapted from Barry Salt's attempt to compare the styles of various directors.[12] A greater number of variables has been examined here, however, than was the case in Salt's study. The ones selected for study are generally considered to be important communicative elements in film and they (and their categorizations) were derived from a number of standard filmmaking texts.[13]

Films were selected for a coding of all the shots included in each and every violent conflict and irrational-violence incident.[14] This involved 192 incidents with a total of 1,472 shots. Each shot was coded on twelve variables.[15]

When the lengths of the shots in violence incidents

were examined, it was discovered that the average shot length was 3.1 seconds. This length is one-third the average shot length that Salt discovered in his statistical study of directors' styles for American films in the Thirties and Forties.[16] A study of the distribution of the shots for various length categories was even more revealing (Table V.1). A substantial 40.6 per cent of all the shots in violence incidents were one second or shorter in length, while a total of 87.6 per cent were 5 seconds or less in length, and a total of 96.0 per cent were 10 seconds or shorter. This distribution certainly deviates significantly from the Poisson distribution, which Salt felt most aptly described the randomness of shot lengths in the works of directors.[17] On that basis, one must conclude that shots in violence incidents are significantly shorter than those in non-violent portions of films.

The camera viewpoint employed almost exclusively in the "violent" incidents was "objective" (Table V.2). An objective viewpoint is similar to third-person narration in written material, while "subjective camera" is akin to first-person narration: it allows the viewer to perceive events *directly* through the eyes of a particular character.

Eye-level shots were almost as prevalent as the objective viewpoint (Table V.3), while the shots were distributed rather widely among the categories of scale of shot (Table V.4). Medium close-ups (27.9 per cent), were the most prevalent, followed by close-ups (21.7 per cent) medium shots (14.3 per cent), and long shots (11.8 per cent). The combination of the three categories of close-up encompassed 57.2 per cent of all shots. These are shots that contain only that portion of the human figure from the waist up. Medium shots (giving a fuller but not complete view of the human figure) accounted for a further 22.2 per cent, and long shots (which present at least the full human form) accounted for the remaining 20.5 per cent.

In filmmaking, the gradation of tones or saturation of colours is referred to as "contrast". Table V.5 reveals that shots of violence tend to be predominantly medium in contrast, and when not medium, more often "flat" than "snappy". The shots were also mainly "medium" in terms of "lighting key", that is, the over-all illumination of the shot (Table V.6). When not medium, however, they were more low key (dark) than high key (bright).

The majority of the shots exhibited a great depth of focus (64.0 per cent) while most of the remainder (35.2 per cent) were characterized by sharp focus in one portion of the picture plane and soft focus in the remainder (Table V.7).

Table V.8 demonstrates that, in virtually all the shots, action was depicted at the same rate at which it would occur in reality, while there was a *very slight* tendency to represent the action more slowly than it would occur in reality. The non-realistic treatment of "violence" (Table IV.1), then, must be derived more from stylized acting and other elements than from the rate of depiction of the action.

The overwhelming majority of shots were characterized by no movement of the camera at all (except perhaps *slight* panning or tilting movements to keep characters properly framed) (Table V.9). A small percentage of shots (9.8 per cent) involved some form of movement from a fixed camera position, while only 2.8 per cent involved actually moving the camera through space relative to the subject.[18]

Music was not employed to a significantly large extent in the violence shots. When it was used, however, it tended to be neutral or ominous (Table V.10) and average in intensity (Table V.11).

Finally, the violence shots all tended to be joined together by the use of direct or straight cuts, that is, one shot is followed immediately by another, without the use of any optical effects (Table V.12). The small incidence of fades and dissolves occurred, one would assume, at the beginning or end of violent sequences, perhaps most likely at the end, as the viewer was taken out of the scene of death and destruction.

This latter observation remains pure speculation, however, and highlights the major oversight of this analysis (one which it shares with Salt's study[19]). The statistical study of motion-picture style is unable to account for editing, which is by common consensus one of the most powerful tools of the filmmaker's trade. In fact, some feel editing is the defining characteristic of films, and the factor that makes it an art. At this stage, however, editing is beyond the capabilities of the statistical analysis of style and, as Salt suggests, efforts should be made to develop methods to account for its impact, perhaps utilizing some form of Markov analysis or some method of pattern recognition. Nevertheless, the above findings represent some interesting and useful

information about the stylistic treatment of violence, especially when considered in light of what empirical evidence exists concerning the "meaning" or effects" of such variables.

Table V.1

Percentage Distributions of Shots by Length of Shot (in seconds)

1 or less	40.6
2-5	47.0
6-10	8.4
11-15	2.0
16-20	0.8
21-25	0.6
26-30	–
31-35	0.1
36-40	0.1
41-45	0.2
46-50	–
51-55	–
56-60	–
61-65	–
66-70	–
71-75	0.1
Longer than 75	0.1
	100.0

Table V.2

Percentage Distribution of Shots by Camera Viewpoint of Shot

Subjective	1.6
Objective	98.4
	100.0

Table V.3

Percentage Distribution of Shots by Angle of Shot

High angle	5.1
Eye-level	85.9
Low angle	9.0
	100.0

Table V.4

Percentage Distribution of Shots by Scale of Shot

Very long shot	8.7
Long shot	11.8
Medium long shot	7.9
Medium shot	14.3
Medium close-up	27.9
Close-up	21.7
Big close-up	7.6
	99.9

Table V.5

Percentage Distribution of Shots by Image Contrast

Snappy	1.4
Medium	81.0
Flat	17.6
	100.0

Table V.6

Percentage Distribution of Shots by Lighting Key

High key	1.0
Medium	87.4
Low key	11.6
	100.0

Table V.7

Percentage Distribution of Shots by Degree of Focus

Deep focus	64.1
Shallow focus	35.3
Soft focus	0.6
	100.0

Table V.8

Percentage Distribution of Shots by Nature of Action

Freeze frame	0.4
Slow motion	0.6
Normal	99.0
Accelerated	–
Mixed	–
	100.0

Table V.9

Percentage Distribution of Shots by Camera Movement

No movement	86.7
Optical movement	1.1
Regular pan	3.9
Swish pan	0.7
Tilt	2.3
Combination of pan and tilt	1.8
Tracking shot	2.8
Crane shot	–
Combination of stationary and moving	0.7
	100.0

Table V.10

Percentage Distribution of Shots by Nature of Music

No music	65.8
Pastoral	0.8
Neutral	15.1
Ominous	18.3
	100.0

Table V.11

Percentage Distribution of Shots by Intensity of Music

No music	65.8
Soft	6.4
Average	20.7
Loud	7.2
	100.0

Table V.12

Percentage Distribution of Shots by Method of Shot Transition

Straight cut	99.6
Fade	0.1
Dissolve	0.3
Wipe	–
Defocusing	–
Swish pan	–
	100.0

C. Possible "Meanings" of the Stylistic Treatment of Violence

Studies of "meaning" in experimental aesthetics have tended to concentrate on the measurement of connotative meaning by use of the semantic differential, originally introduced by Osgood, Tannenbaum, and Suci.[20] It has been discovered that the three major dimensions of meaning are *evaluation*, *potency* and *activity*, such dimensions having "reappeared in a wide variety of judgmental situations, particularly where the sampling of concepts has been broad".[21] This approach has been applied to film in a number of studies which are "concerned with changes in meaning as a result of manipulation of filmic variables".[22] One would have to agree with Pryluck's contention that such studies would have been more successful if they had been built on a more solid theoretical base. Nevertheless, the application of the findings of such studies to the data on the shots in the violent incidents does produce some interesting (if only suggestive) results.

The stylistic elements of the "typical" shot from a violent incident would combine to produce a shot that was short; from a point of view external to the characters of the film; at eye level or below; basically a view of only the upper half of the human figure; normal to flat in terms of image contrast; medium to low key for lighting; in sharp focus for the most part; recorded at normal speed; virtually devoid of camera movement; often without background music; and almost invariably joined to the shots preceding and following it by means of a straight cut. Studies demonstrating that manipulations do produce diffferences in meaning have been carried out for most of these variables or elements. A study of the interpretations of still photographs, for example, has demonstrated that the lower the angle of the camera to the subject, the more positive, stronger, and active the subject is seen to be.[23] This phenomenon appears to be understood (at least implicitly) by photographers, on the basis of the study of their attempts to create certain impressions by manipulating various photographic variables.[24]

Fosdick and Tannenbaum's data also suggest that larger images (that is, manipulations of the scale of shot variable) are used to convey a sense of strength and activity.[25] It has also been suggested that close-ups can be used to increase the interest level of the viewer if they are not in opposition to the interest inherent in the subject matter.[26]

While there appear to be no studies specifically on the topic of image contrast, there are a couple that deal with lighting contrast, which along with the characteristics of the film stock itself are the major determinants of image contrast. According to the findings of Fosdick and Tannenbaum, the medium-to-flat image contrast characteristic of the shots in violence would increase the evaluative meaning of the shots,[27] and according to Rose, it would also make them seem more realistic.[28]

As to the medium to low-key lighting that the shots exhibited, Shoemaker's study would suggest that a certain sense of activity would be conveyed,[29] while Fosdick and Tannenbaum's work would suggest that both strength and activity would be evoked.[30]

Music was not universally present, but it was employed in slightly over one-third of all shots. This use of music would further add to a sense of strength and activity involved in the violence, however, on the basis of what Tannenbaum has discovered about the impact of background music.[31] It should be stressed, perhaps, that it is the mere presence of the music, regardless of its nature or intensity, that produces these results.

Other work has dealt with editing rhythms, which, as was pointed out earlier, have not been dealt with directly in this study. Given the overwhelming tendency to use straight cuts and the rather small variation in length of shots in the incidents of violence (and also the predominance of short shots), it can be surmised that the editing of violent incidents approaches the "fast constant rates of cutting" which Penn has studied.[32] Such cutting rates "can evoke the perception of more potency and activity in a film than slower rates of cutting".[33] In addition,

motion of objects in a film can be expected to affect the perception of potency and activity in a viewing audience. Motion may also be expected to evoke favorable evaluative meanings for films showing people.[34]

Finally, the variables "viewpoint", "focus", "action", and "camera movement" do not seem to have been dealt with in experimental aesthetics. One would suspect, however, that the predominant objective viewpoint of the violence incidents would not be as suggestive of potency and activity as would a subjective camera approach. The reason for its heavy utilization may be the fact that the objective viewpoint more readily allows the filmmaker "to direct attention away from his own activity, to mask and displace it", and in so doing, more easily convey his guiding moral commentary.[35]

As for the other variables, the tendency to deep-focus and to use a normal speed of camera action may serve to increase a sense of realism, while the lack of camera movement may result in less distraction from the action *within* the frame itself.

The stylistic treatment of violence, then, would seem to increase the impression of strength and activity (and at times, favourableness), while also promoting realism.

Chapter Six

Possible Effects of Feature-Film Content

A. A model or Theory of the Film-Viewing Experience

When one is concerned with making statements about either the sources or resultant consequences of the messages under study, one has moved beyond the realm of descriptive content analysis and into the area of inferential content analysis.[1] In the process of making inferences about effects, as will be done here, the empirical observations of the study are combined with assumptions or theories based on knowledge about related phenomena. In the case of film, and this study in particular, one must have some more or less explicit notion of the various factors involved in the audio-visual situation that is film viewing, the "language" that films employ, and the cultural conventions surrounding films.[2]

The special characteristics of the film viewing experience, especially its supposed similarity to pre-hypnotic or dream-like states, have long been remarked upon.[3] These characteristics have been invoked more recently for the comparison of film viewing to the viewing situation of televsion.[4] It has been claimed that the darkened theatre, with the heightened intensity of message stimuli and the increased sense of social isolation that it creates, and the relaxed posture of the film viewer, combine to make the message more emotionally potent and the viewer more susceptible emotionally to such stimuli than is the case in television viewing.[5] While the differences between the viewing experiences of the two media may not be as great as Tudor imagined them,[6] it seems fairly clear that there is a large element of emotional communication involved in films.

Films are also characterized by the predominance of the "story film", or the "traditional narrative", as it has come to be known. Films can (and do) encompass a wide range of techniques, styles and subject matters, from *cinema vérité* documentaries to abstract films emphasizing colour, shape, rhythm, and so on. The most widely exhibited and most popular films, however, tend to be the ones that have "stars" playing characters who become involved in events that are strung together in a basically chronological order, such a chronological framework normally being referred to as "the plot".[7]

Furthermore, these traditional narratives are structured according to classical dramatic principles: the opening exposition gives way to the complication, in which the problem or difficulty central to the narrative is unfolded, and the situation is finally turned to the favour of the forces of good at the climax, after which the loose ends of the plot thread(s) are tied together rather rapidly in the dénouement. In other words, narrative films employ the curve of rising and falling action, and have a definite beginning, middle and end, which (unlike Jean Luc Godard's dictum) occur in that order.[8]

The object of the filmmaker, then, becomes one of persuading the viewer to cross the distance that separates spectator from screen and to imaginatively enter the space of the screen world, experiencing vicariously the events that occur within that world.[9] This is where the emotional aspect of film becomes important. The vicarious involvement affects the viewer both physiologically and emotionally. For example, as the unidentified man carrying a knife stalks the unsuspecting young woman through the jagged patterns of shadow and light in the deserted city streets, the viewer experiences fear for the fate of the unsuspecting young woman and his heartrate increases, his palms may become sweaty, and so on.

How is this vicarious involvement in the flow of events obtained? There are two principal factors involved: displacement of attention from medium to message (if you will) and identification with stars, characters, story-types, and situations.

The desire to have the spectator "enter" the film (to a certain extent at least) can probably account for the narrative form's attraction to the filmmaker and for the particular manner in which the narrative is presented. John Fell believes that "in the motion pictures there surfaces an entire tradition of narrative technique which had been developing unsystematically for a hundred years."[10] The narrative form had originally "developed to guarantee unflagging interest by omitting the "dead spots" of other drama, enlisting identifications with the performers and refining resources of suspense".[11]

There is also something rather significant about the

relationship between the two aspects of the narrative. Hanet delineates these aspects by applying the approach of Genette to the narrative structure of films.[12] A narrative film is a combination of "what is being told" (that is the story or the plot) and the "how of the telling"(that is, the process or method of narration). A central characteristic of narrative films, in this regard, is their general tendency to mask their process of narration in favour of emphasizing the plot or story. The conscious aim of the narrative film, then, is "to eliminate intrusive camera presence and prevent a distancing awareness in the audience . . . [Without such an approach] fictional drama cannot achieve reality, obviousness and truth."[13]

Film technology, and the particular ways in which it is employed in narrative films, contributes greatly to this masking of the method of narration. As Mulvey observes:

Camera technology (as exemplified by deep focus in particular) and camera movements (determined by the action of the protagonist), combined with invisible editing (demanded by realism) all tend to blur the limits of screen space.[14]

In other words, the action of the actors is so orchestrated, the images are so composed and photographed, and the shots are so joined together in the editing process that no attention or notice is focused upon the technical and stylistic means used to achieve certain responses. All these elements are transparent, then.[15] With his attention riveted on the story, the viewer is deeply involved with the characters in the film and in the sequence of situations in which these characters find themselves.

This brings us to a consideration of the second basic factor involved in the viewer's bridging of the space between himself and the screen: identification. Identification is a notion that has been invoked in various guises in film theory from its earliest beginnings.[16] Unfortunately, however, there have been very few empirical attempts to study the dynamics of the phenomenon (in media generally as well as in film specifically) and pronouncements have tended to remain at the level of speculation.[17] Generally, "identification" has been conceptualized as "putting oneself in the place of" or "empathizing with" one or more characters in the film. It has been "measured by indications of emotional attachment or liking",[18] and two principal forms that have been recognized are similarity identification and wishful identification.[19] In the former, the viewer identifies with those characters most like himself, while in the latter, identification occurs with those whom the viewer desires to be like.

The phenomenon is probably much more complicated than most theoretical formulations have presented it, and the typology presented by Tudor is most useful in this regard.[20] Two types of "star-individual identification" are combined with two different "consequences" to produce a four-fold classification: emotional affinity, self-identification, imitation (of physical and simple behavioural characteristics), and projection. "Emotional affinity" is the weakest and probably the most common, and Tudor describes it as follows:

The audiences feels a loose attachment to a particular protagonist [or possibly antagonist?] deriving jointly from star, narrative and the individual personality of the audience member: a standard sense of involvement.[21]

This form of identification is "subject to rapid and extensive variation", Tudor claims.

The next category is "self-identification", in which "the audience-member places himself in the same situation and persona of the star." "Imitation", the third category, is most prevalent among the young. In this form of involvement, "consequences are no longer limited to the immediate cinema-going situation, the star acting as some sort of model for the audience."[22] This category shades over into the final, most intense and diffuse form of involvement: projection. In this form, "the person lives his or her life in terms bound up with the favoured star." The star, in effect, "becomes a receptacle for the projected desires, frustrations, and pleasures of the fan".[23] Projection seems to be most prevalent in adolescents, a group that is "most likely to grasp at the models provided by the star system as a way of forming a sense of identity and a social reality".[24] It also seems that this approach is more prevalent among female than among male adolescents.

Tudor observes that there are also elements of involvement with story types, although it is almost solely at the level of emotional affinity. Such involvement is realized through the existence of film genres.

To see a movie made within a clearly recognised genre, such as the western or the horror movie, is to participate in a familiar locale and development, and this familiarity facilitates easy and immediate involvement.[25]

The individual star (as well as the story type to a certain extent) is clearly important, then, in integrating the film viewer into the screen world. It is not always the case, however, that a genuine "star" is present in a film, but that does not mean that identification does not occur. Film viewers also identify with non-celebrity actors as a result of the actor's characterization of an individual immersed in specific situations. (Quite probably there is an element of this in identifications with celebrities as well.) It is in this regard that one must study such things as point of view, since its structure "is a mechanism whereby we experience contemporaneously with a character".[26]

An even more interesting formulation is provided by Nick Browne. To the triangle of spectator position, camera point of view, and a character's perspective (that is, the normal notion of identification), one must add an identification "with a character's position in a certain situation". This means that:

The way we as spectators are implicated in the action is as

much a matter of our position with respect to the unfolding of those events in time as in their representation from a point in space.[27]

And ultimately, Browne claims, the structures through which the spectator is so implicated in the action "convey and are closely allied to the guiding moral commentary of the film". In other words, the meaning that a film conveys operates in the moral, normative, or ideological realm. Such an observation corresponds closely to Franklin Fearing's old, but still relevant, conclusion that the two main generalizations about the "effects" of movie content that seem justified are:

any film . . . has some measurable effects on specific attitudes of those exposed to it, provided a measuring instrument (e.g. attitude scale) is devised for it, and provided the audience is sufficiently interested to give it sustained attention.

and

films . . . assist the individual in structuring his world.[28]

The sustained attention to which Fearing refers is created in films by the phenomenon of identification. As described above, this identification is created by involvement with stars, characters, story types and situations, and is facilitated by story-telling techniques that conceal themselves from the viewer. In this situation, the viewer is unaware or unconscious of the many things that are happening to him as he watches. This unawareness is further heightened by the entertainment ethic that surrounds film (and most other media as well). Movies are light, somewhat frivolous, and unimportant; they are opportunities for people to escape the cares of everyday life or to find satisfaction for "various latent needs or predispositions".[29] In such a relaxed and receptive state, the viewer is susceptible to new attitudes, beliefs, and values dealing with those areas of life about which he has no strong pre-existing ones, or with which he has little or no experience, and for the reinforcement of those that he already holds strongly – both areas in which mass communications are accepted to be the most potent.[30]

B. The Audience and the Sociology of Film Viewing

While attention has been concentrated on the psychological nature of the film viewing experience thus far, a full understanding of that experience requires an examination of its sociological nature as well. Unfortunately, there are very few comprehensive studies of movie audiences. This fact can probably be attributed to a combination of a lack of academic interest in the subject (given the prominence of television) and Hollywood's scepticism about the usefulness of such research except in times of desperation.[31]

It has been fairly well established, none the less, that young people make up a disproportionately large segment of the movie audience and have done so for many years.[32] In fact, the data would suggest that film attendance approximates a curvilinear relationship with age: film attendance is high for adolescents and young adults and tends to decline in increasing proportions as one moves towards old age (Table VI.1). While data on children's film attendance are not frequently gathered in any systematic fashion, what little information that does exist suggests that their rate of attendance is very low.[33] The film-attendance pattern by age, then, is virtually a mirror-image of the rate of television viewing by age.[34] Most specifically, adolescents and young people tend to watch less television and attend more movies than do either children or older people.

Table VI.1

Age of Motion Picture Audiences, United States, 1976

Age	Per cent of total yearly		Per cent of admissions	
12-15 years	14		10	
		45		22
16-20 years	31		12	
21-24 years	15		9	
25-29 years	16	44	10	34
30-39 years	13		15	
40-49 years	5		13	
		p8		26
50-59 years	3		13	
60 and over	3		18	
	100		100	

Source: Opinion Research Corporation, Incidence of Motion Picture Attendance, Study for the Motion Picture Association of America, 1976.

Tudor concedes that such data confirm the popular belief about the relationship between youthfulness and movie attendance, but claims that other popular beliefs about the influence of sex, economic class and education on viewing rates do not hold true.[35] Perhaps part of the problem here stems from the tendency to conceptualize the audience in rather monolithic terms. Gans' notions of "publics" is useful in helping to clarify the situation:

The audience for each movie can be classified into a large number of publics, each public being an aggregate of people who have made a choice with the same predisposition, or a set of related predispositions. Every ticket-buyer will respond to several themes in a single movie, and thus "belongs" to a number of publics. Moreover, since he will look for different gratifications in a musical than in a western, he will "belong" to a different set of publics for every type of movie. The total potential movie audience is thus composed of innumerable publics, and every movie attracts a distinctive combination of them.[36]

More recently, Gans has swung away from a perspective that suggests a large element of "communicative anarchism" (at least as expressed in

the above quotation) to an analysis that posits the existence of five distinct and fairly stable "taste publics [which] are defined primarily in terms of shared aesthetic values".[37]

While Gans allows that there are many examples of "cultural straddling" (that is, making content choices from taste cultures far removed from one's usual taste culture), he posits that the taste publics and cultures are quite stable overall. And among the plethora of socio-economic and personality factors "which translate themselves into wants for specific types of cultural content . . . the major source of differentiation between taste cultures and publics is socio-economic level or *class* . . . [and] among the three criteria that sociologists use most often to define and describe class position – income, occupation and education – the most important factor is education (by which I mean, here and elsewhere, not only schooling but also what people learn from the mass media and other sources). . . ."[38]

Among the five taste publics that he delineates (as regards their choices among film content) the *"high culture"* favours foreign and "art" films and often "shares" these with the *upper-middle culture* who also frequent "the 'independent' productions that now come out of Hollywood". *"Lower-middle* audiences remain loyal to American films, although they may go to see only big musicals and other spectaculars",[39] while *low culture* members are attracted to the sexual segregation, working-class values, and clear-cut issues of the Hollywood action films.[40] Finally, the films of the *quasi-folk low culture* are "old Westerns and adventure stories now shown only in sidestreet movie houses in the slums".[41]

While Gans' notion of taste cultures and publics, as they relate to film, requires more study and testing, there are some indications that the phenomenon does exist. Anast, for example, found a distinct difference in movie attendance, amount of movie-related fantasy, and hero-heroine saliency between students with high and those with low adventure and/ or achievement interest.[42] In addition, there were some large differences between males and females, the most notable for our purposes being the fact that "the greatest sex difference was found in the violence-attendance relationships, where females accounted for a near zero correlation in contrast with males"[43] Anast's theoretical explanation of the results are interesting given what has been said above concerning the psychology of the film-viewing experiences:

personality needs underlying adventure and achievement interests incite a higher action potential level than do needs propelling the other four interests [love, violence, luxury and mishaps]. Needs with high action potential require direct expression and cannot easily be appeased vicariously.

According to this line of reasoning, strong vicarious interests in love, violence, mishaps and luxury can more easily be satisfied by substitution than adventure and achievement can, hence

greater movie attendance on the part of those with high interests in the former . . . Reliance on vicarious outlet through the movies must be described as passive and dependent.[44]

Gan's notion of taste publics also resonates with what little is known of the economic operations of the film industry. It seems to be the case that investors can earn a very large rate of return on their investment on the occasional big film and can earn a modest return on most "small" films. It is the films between these extremes that are the biggest risks and the most frequent losers at the box office. The small film would be tailored to the interests of a particular taste public, then, while the "high budget spectacular films . . . try to provide something for every numerically important subculture".[45]

It is within this framework of psychological and sociological factors, then, that the possible effects of feature-film content described herein must be considered.

C. Film and the Range of its "Effects"

As The Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) has observed, "In the past twenty-five years, literally thousands of research studies on the effects of television and film have been published."[46] Following Halloran, however, the CRTC is able to reduce this mass of information into a comprehensible form by focusing on six broad, recurrent themes: catharsis, arousal, desensitization, imitation, the learning of violence as a value (violence succeeds), and perceptions of a violent environment. These themes are similar to the ones presented earlier by the Royal Commission,[47] and a combination of these lists will be utilized as a framework for the discussion of the possible effects of feature-film content.

1. Catharsis Versus Arousal/Aggression

The most consistent debate with regard to the effects of viewing media violence revolves around the question as to whether such viewing heightens and increases aggressive tendencies or rather provides a vicarious outlet for such tendencies, thereby reducing them. Recent studies have tended to indicate that the arousal/aggression hypothesis is more tenable, with the result that the catharsis theory has tended to be discredited, if not dismissed entirely.[48]

Goranson asserts that "the whole idea of vicarious aggression catharsis stems from a misunderstanding of Aristotle's original conception of catharsis".[49] Aristotle's use of the concept was confined to the "tragic" feelings of sorrow and anguish. In this regard, Goranson notes that:

There is of course a crucial difference between sorrow and aggression with respect to the concept of vicarious catharsis. Performance of a tragedy in the ancient theatre of Greece or in modern-day films or television can serve to stimulate or trigger off actual weeping or crying in the viewer – the overt

expression of aroused feelings. Observed violence may similarly arouse feelings of aggressiveness, but these feelings *cannot* be given immediate expression either in the theatre or the home. These feelings must be inhibited, "bottled up," until they subside or until an acceptable or available target can be found.[50]

While it is difficult to support the catharsis theory as it has been presented, there are a number of questions about the arousal/aggression theory that raise the possibility that too many unwarranted assumptions have been made about the nature of the viewing experience. The bulk of the studies upon which the arousal/aggression theory are based are controlled laboratory experiments, involving rather contrived viewing experiences and subsequent measures of aggression.

The stimulus materials for most of these studies have been very brief film clips.[51] The use of such materials would seem to ignore the fact that present-day films are, on average, close to two-hour experiences that are highly structured according to the rising and falling curve of dramatic action. This lack of attention to the structural characteristics of film stimuli has been pointed out by Seymour Feshbach (who it must be remembered, of course, has been the principal proponent of the catharsis theory). In commenting on his discovery of greater aggression as a result of exposure to a newsreel than to a fictional film on the same topic, Feshbach suggests that:

when an event is fictional, subjects can "leave their feelings in the theater," as it were; or, if these feelings linger, they are focused on the dramatic event. The "message" of a newsreel, however, goes beyond the context in which the film is observed. By definition, the newsreel has meaning for events beyond the theater or living room. As an alternate to the displacement hypothesis, we suggest that the observation of socially approved or otherwise reinforced "real" violence, through secondary reinforcement, reduction in anxiety, and imitation, generalizes to real aggressive behavior . . . .[52]

This suggestion is of considerable interest given our finding that films are overwhelmingly (80 per cent) closed narratives. In addition, it raises the possibility that open narratives may not short-circuit aggressive tendencies in such a manner. This phenomenon is of special interest since Hanneman's work suggests that high-stimulus uncertainty (which a failure to "round off" the narrative most likely engenders in the average viewer) leads to greater arousal than low-stimulus uncertainty when the stimulus is violent.[53] In the average film, however, the structure of the experience, and the time over which it is "orchestrated", may allow any aggressive tendencies engendered during the film to "subside" within the course of the viewing experience itself. And without being an apologist for the media, it is possible to allow that even if one discounts the catharsis theory, there is the possibility that fantasy "may act as a cognitive control over the expression of aggressive impulses."[54] The important point is that the nature of the experience itself cannot be ignored. As Feshbach expresses it,

studies attempting to describe more precisely the psychological effects of the fantasy set orientation are required. There is a considerable gap between exposure to an aggressive film, whether under a reality or a fantasy orientation, and the measures of the child's subsequent aggressive behavior. To fill the gap requires a more profound and detailed knowledge of the dramatic experience than is currently available.[55]

2. Desensitization

The above suggestion – that the direct behavioural effects of viewing film violence should be tempered somewhat – should not be construed to mean that violence in films has no effects. It does mean, however, that the more pervasive effects of such portrayals are probably more subtle and diffused than the notion of direct behavioural effects would concede.

Desensitization to, or tolerance of, violence is one such effect, since popular films contain a large amount of violence (although less than not-so-popular films).[56] This effect would be even more pronounced among what Gans calls the "low culture" taste public,[57] given their attraction to action films, which, as we have seen, are particularly violent. The impact would not be restricted to that taste public, however, given the way in which popular elements from various taste cultures (in this case violence) tend to be aggregated in film "blockbusters", in order to appeal to large, heterogeneous audiences.

Given that studies have suggested that such a phenomenon exists,[58] movies would seem to contribute to our expectation of and tolerance of "violence in society as inevitable, normal or even appropriate".[59] This would seem to be confirmed by Renner's study.[60]

3. Imitation

Much attention is focused on instances of what seem to be direct imitation of behaviour depicted in movies, especially when such behaviour is particularly unusual or violent. In order to fully appreciate the issues involved, however, it is again necessary to refer to the nature of the viewing situation. A crucial element in film viewing is the process of identification. The extent of identification can vary from superficial "emotional affinity" all the way to "projection". A related phenomenon is the perception of the simulation of reality involved in the films. So, for example, if a person were to identify strongly with a character who commits excessive violence or who engages in some bizarre behaviour in a film, and that same person experiences difficulty in differentiating the fantasy of the film from the reality of the social world, there is a strong possibility that that person will imitate the behaviour he has observed on the screen.

It is interesting to note, in this regard, that the more intensive forms of identification are prevalent among teen-agers, who represent a considerable proportion of the film audience. In addition, younger children may be vulnerable as well, given their somewhat greater difficulty in distinguishing between the verisimilitude of

film fantasy and reality.[61] Adults with difficulties in relating to reality may also be susceptible to such effects. While the difficulties and dangers created by these conditions should not be minimized, perhaps a more fruitful approach is afforded by asking why so few individuals directly imitate the often bizarre behaviours they observe on movie screens.[62]

4. Violence Succeeds

There have been studies that suggest that "children may be almost as likely to imitate an aggressive character who 'gets away with it' as they are an actor who is explicitly rewarded for his aggression".[63] In addition, "when in an attempt to show that crime does not pay there is violent retribution, its main effect is still to teach that violence is the way to solve problems".[64]

When films are examined as to the ways in which conflict is handled, it can be seen that violence is both a frequent form of conflict and an effective means of achieving one's goals. There were almost five-and-a-half times as many violent incidents as there were non-violent, non-argument incidents (rational discussions) and over two-and-a-half times as many violent conflicts as arguments. Moreover, while arguments and rational discussions involved persuasion and some form of avoidance to deal with the conflict, violent conflict entailed direct attacks in 91.7 per cent of the cases and also relied heavily on elimination and coercion to "resolve" the conflict. As to results, in 72.6 per cent of the violent-conflict incidents, the initiator of the conflict was a winner through his own violence. Initiators of arguments were winners without violence 49.1 per cent of the time, while initiators of rational discussions had the highest rate of success (74.3 per cent) without violence. This success rate is undercut, however, by the fact that rational discussions occur so much less frequently than violence.

This high rate of success for violence initiators, combined with the fact that characters who deserved punishment escaped it one-third of the time (with even higher rates for protagonists), would seem to indicate that the films "teach" violence as a value.

5. Images of "Reality"

Given the receptive emotional and physical state of the film viewer and the uncritical viewpoint that the transparent methods of filmmaking tend to induce, films are quite possibly the source of a great amount of incidental learning, most of which takes place below the level of consciousness (and is perhaps more powerful as a consequence).

(a) Stereotypes. There is ample evidence of stereotyping with regard to many groups in the films. Women, for example, are outnumbered by men by a rate of over four to one. When presented, they tend to fit the traditional notion of the attractive but basically submissive female. While few female characters are housewives,

they tend to be located in less exciting occupations than men. Old people and politicians are similarly presented in a fashion that tends to galvanize conventional stereotypes. Even men fail to escape stereotyping and are given a "macho" image.

Perhaps the most interesting group in this regard is teen-agers. As has been pointed out earlier, the characters in the films tended to be concentrated heavily in the adult and middle-age categories. This situation contrasts sharply with the fact that teen-agers constitute the single largest age group in the movie audience and are the most frequent attenders. Even more anomalous is the fact that teen-agers tend to be portrayed negatively on most attributes (power, competence, and so on), but are presented as the most satisfied group of all. One cannot help wondering if the movies do not serve, at one and the same time, the functions of reconciling teen-agers to their present status and of providing role models to "grow into".

(b) Perceptions of a violent environment. Studies have tended to demonstrate that large amounts of television viewing (and hence exposure to large amounts of violence) have led to exaggerated estimates of the amount of crime and violence in society and of the kinds of risks and dangers that individuals face.[65] Doob and Macdonald's study for the Commission, however, would seem to indicate that there are a complex of factors involved that suggests the connection between the amount of viewing and the exaggeration of danger is perhaps not as simple and direct as originally hypothesized.[66]

On the face of it, it would appear that the films are rather violent (an average violence rating of 4.4 out of seven and an average of 15.2 violence incidents per film), although there are really no yardsticks against which to measure this rate of portrayal. It would not be unreasonable, then, to expect movie viewers to exhibit a certain amount of distortion with regard to estimates of crime and violence, with the low-culture taste public reporting even higher overestimates given their inordinate exposure to violence through action films. On the contrary, however, Renner reports that frequent moviegoers are less likely to overestimate the actual amount of crime in the Toronto area than are those who attend movies infrequently.[67] This situation may result from the fact that frequent movie attenders watch less television (which could be the more potent source of distortion) or, as is more likely the case, movie attendance is related to a cluster of socio-economic variables whose influences on such overestimates of actual crime have yet to be sorted out.

(c) Victimization and observation of violence. Just as films can provide role models for perpetrators of violence, so too can they provide models for victims of, and witnesses to, violence. In terms of the immediate response of the victim of violence (in those two-thirds of all cases in which the victim could respond), the most frequent response was violent resistance with

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submission being a close second. Witnesses were present in just less than 45 per cent of the incidents, and when present, their dominant reaction was passivity. If they acted at all, they more often assisted in or encouraged violence than acted to prevent, restrain, or seek alternatives to violence.

In conclusion, then, the model of the film-viewing experiences subscribed to (which has yet to be demonstrated as completely empirically valid), when applied to the findings of the study, suggests that films are more important for their more indirect perceptual and attitudinal effects than for their direct behavioural ones. The arousal/aggression and catharsis controversy requires greater attention to the response factors surrounding the dramatic experience of closed narratives, while imitation would seem to be an aberrant case of over-identification and difficulty in differentiating fantasy from reality. The more pervasive effects would appear to be in the areas of increasing desensitization, teaching violence as a value, galvanizing social stereotypes, and providing role models for victimization and the witnessing of violence.

Endnotes

Chapter 1

1 For more details on the introduction of the movies, and the various responses to this phenomenon, see Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976).

2 Ibid., pp. 88-91, 95-100.

3 Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film* (New York: Teacher's College Press, 1939), p. 67.

4 Alexander Walker, *Stardom* (New York: Stein and Day, 1970), p. 61.

5 Editorial in *Review of Reviews*, December 1908, pp. 744-45.

6 Jacobs, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

7 Ibid., p. 397.

8 John Baxter, *Hollywood in the Thirties* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1968), p. 36.

9 Mary G. Hawks, *Motion Pictures: A Problem for the Nation* (Washington: National Council for Catholic Women, 1933), p. 3.

10 Jowett, op. cit., pp. 294-306.

11 Dorothy Jones, "Hollywood War Films", *Hollywood Quarterly* 1:1(1945), pp. 1-19; Russell Shain, *An Analysis of Motion Pictures About War Released by the American Film Industry, 1939-1970* (New York: Arno Press, 1976).

12 Jones, "Hollywood War Films", p. 13.

13 For an excellent overview of films of the 1950s, see Gordon Gow, *Hollywood in the Fifties* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1971).

14 For an extended discussion of the composition of audiences see Jowett, op. cit., pp. 375-77 and 455-56.

15 For a detailed examination of the history of American pornographic films and their audiences, see Kenneth Turan and Stephen F. Zito, *Sinema* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974).

16 The more provocative among these studies are Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947); Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites, *Movies: A Psychological Study* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950); Andrew Bergman, *We're in the Money: Depression America and Its Films* (New York: New York University Press, 1971); Julian Smith, *Looking Away* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975); Michael Wood, *America In The Movies* (New York: Basic Books, 1975); and Raymond Durgnat, *A Mirror For England* (New York: Praeger Pubishers, 1971). There are also many articles dealing with this relationship.

17 George Gerbner, "Toward 'Cultural Indicators': The Analysis of Mass Mediated Public Message Systems", *Audio Visual Communications Review* 17: 2 (Summer 1969), pp. 140-41.

18 Much of the foregoing analysis of the "filmic experience" is inspired by Herbert Blumer, "Molding of Mass Behavior Through the Motion Picture", *American Sociological Society Publications* 29: 3 (August 1935), pp. 115-27.

19 Ibid., pp. 124-25.

20 Jowett, *op. cit.,* develops the concept of local as opposed to national control as a major factor in the film-censorship battle which has raged ever since the introduction of the medium.

21 Blumer, "Molding of Mass Behavior", *op. cit.*, p. 125.

22 Herbert Blumer, *Movies and Conduct* (New York: Macmillan, 1933), p. 196.

23 Edgar Dale, *The Content of Motion Pictures* (New York: Macmillan, 1935).

24 Ibid., p. 5.

25 Ibid., p. 22.

26 Ibid., p. 129.

27 Ibid., p. 130.

28 Ibid., p. 136.

29 Blumer, *Movies and Conduct*; Ruth C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children* (New York: Macmillan, 1933).

30 Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

31 It should be pointed out that this study, together with all the Payne Fund studies was criticized on methodological grounds. In particular, see Mortimer Adler, *Art and Prudence* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1937), pp. 350-65. Adler is concerned that Dale's data do not allow him to make the assumptions on "effects" that he does.

32 Dorothy B. Jones, "Quantitative Analysis of Motion Picture Content", *Public Opinion Quarterly* 6 (September 1942), pp. 411-28.

33 Ibid., p. 415.

34 Ibid., p. 417.

35 Ibid., p. 419.

36 Ibid., p. 420.

37 Ibid., p. 423.

38 Dorothy B. Jones, "The Hollywood War Film: 1942-1944", *Hollywood Quarterly* 1: 1 (1945), pp. 1-19.

39 Ibid., p. 12.

40 Dorothy B. Jones, "Quantitative Analysis of Motion Picture Content", *Public Opinion Quarterly* 14: 3 (Fall 1950), pp. 554-58.

41 Ibid., p. 554.

42 Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites, *op. cit.*, p. 13. This section is adapted from Jowett, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

43 Wolfenstein and Leites, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

44 Ibid., p. 13.

45 Gordon Mirams, "Drop That Gun!", *The Quarterly of Radio, Television, Film* 6: 1 (Fall 1951), pp. 1-19.

46 Ibid., p. 4.

47 Ibid., p. 11.

48 Ibid., p. 14.

49 Ibid., p. 16.

50 Ibid.

51 John Cogley, *Movies*, Report on Blacklisting, vol. I (New York: The Fund for the Republic, 1956), pp. 282-83.

52 George Gerbner, *The Film Hero: A Cross-Cultural Study* (Lexington, Kentucky: The Association for Education in Journalism, 1969).

53 Ibid., p. 51.

54 Ibid., p. 52.

55 William R. Catton, "The Content and Context of Violence in the Mass Media", *Mass Media and Violence*, A Report to the

National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, vol. XI (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 425. The Report noted: "The lack of any recent analyses of movies precludes an analysis of that medium's content."

56 Garth S. Jowett, "The Concept of History in American Produced Films: An Analysis of the Films Made in the Period 1950-1961", *Journal of Popular Culture* 3: 4 (Spring 1970), pp. 799-813.

57 Russell E. Shain, *An Analysis of Motion Pictures About War Released by the American Film Industry, 1939-1970* (New York: Arno Press, 1976).

Chapter 2

1 *Annual Report*, Theatres Branch, Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations, April 30, 1976, p. 3. The discrepancy between the Theatres Branch's fiscal-year focus and this study's calendar-year focus is discussed in Appendix A, "The Method of Selecting the Sample".

2 For a more detailed explanation of these points, see Appendix A.

3 The "general exhibition" category is applied to films to which all persons may be admitted, "adult entertainment" to films suggested for adults only but to which all ages may be admitted, and "restricted" to those to which no one under the age of 18 years will be admitted. Until recently sexual material was the main criterion for classification purposes, but the amount and degree of violence are now being considered as well. See Garth S. Jowett, "Film Censorship in Ontario", *Cinema Canada*, no. 31, (October 1976), pp. 42-45.

4 Calculated from the *Annual Report*, Theatres Branch, p. 2.

5 The MPAA ratings categories are as follows: G (all ages admitted: general audiences); PG (all ages admitted: parental guidance suggested); R (restricted: under 17 requires accompanying parent or adult guardian); and X (no one under 17 admitted: age limit may vary in certain areas). Martin S. Dworkin, "Film Ratings Revisited", *The Journal of the Producers Guild of America* 13: 3 (September 1971), pp. 19-22.

6 The study eschewed the traditional genre classifications for films (for example, Westerns, horror films, gangster films, et cetera) and adapted the classifications from the Royal Commission's content analysis of television in order to facilitate cross-media comparisons. The television content analysis utilized the categorization employed by *TV Guide*.

7 The range of possible scores for "tones", "global messages", and "portrayal of groups" is -25 to +25.

8 The strength of the evidence for (or against) was designated as follows: weak – 1 to 5; moderate – 6 to 15; and strong – 16 to 25.

9 "Minority groups" include racial, ethnic, religious, and political minorities.

10 "Career people" are people who have been trained professionally for their work and whose positions or activities are regarded as more than simply "jobs", for example, doctors, lawyers, teachers, et cetera.

11 A factor analysis of the attributes for all groups demonstrated that 65.4 per cent of all the variation among the groups on the attributes could be explained by power. Competence was the next most powerful explanatory attribute, but accounted for

only 12.8 per cent of the variation among groups. The percentage of variation accounted for by the remaining attributes were:

Interestingness	9.9 per cent
Stability	4.9 per cent
Satisfaction	3.9 per cent
Activity	1.7 per cent
Wisdom	1.4 per cent

12 The detailed definitions of "incident" and of the various incident types are provided in Chapter 4.

13 "Content Analysis Procedures and Results", in D. Lange, R. Baker, and S. Ball (eds.), *Violence and the Media* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 519-91; and "Violence in Televsion Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions", in G. A. Comstock and E. A. Rubinstein (eds.), *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. I (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 28-188.

14 For a discussion of the role of conflict in drama, see Frank Huburt O'Hara and Margueritte Harmon Bro, *Invitation to the Theater* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970), pp. 99-101.

15 The description of violence for the assigning of violence ratings was as follows: "Violence is defined as action that intrudes painfully or harmfully into the physical, psychological, or social well-being of persons or groups. It includes physical or psychological injury, hurt, or death. It can be explicit (for example, physical or verbal) and/or implicit (for example, silent treatment, passive aggression, failure to assist)."

16 Dale reported an average of 3.9 "crimes" per film in his study, while Mirams reported an average of 6.6 "instances of crime and violence" per film for all films and 7.8 such incidents per American film. Edgar Dale, *The Content of Motion Pictures* (New York: Macmillan, 1933); Gordon Mirams, "Drop That Gun!", *The Quarterly of Radio, Television, Film* 6:1 (Fall 1951), pp. 1-19.

17 A difference was noted if the absolute difference between the scores was 20 per cent of the total possible range. This would be a value of "5" if the scores were of the same sign, and of "10" if the signs of the two scores were different. It should also be noted that the results for all categories of productions source, popularity level, and film type have been weighted so that a common range of possible values of -25 to +25 has been maintained. In some cases, this meant that differences have been based on a rather small number of cases. However, it should be remembered that the comparisons are being presented as being suggestive and not definitive.

18 Co-productions that involved all non-North American parties were classified as "other". There was one such film, *The Odessa File*, which was a British-German co-production.

19 A similar inverse relationship between popularity and violence was reported for movies on television for the 1961 to 1970 period. Violence was assessed on the basis of *Movies on TV* synopses, and popularity was measured by A. C. Nielsen ratings. David G. Clark and William B. Blankenburg, "Trends in Violent Content in Selected Mass Media", in G. A. Comstock and E. A. Rubinstein (eds.), *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 209-17.

20 This finding indicates that the stratification and weighting of the sample on the basis of popularity may have resulted in an underestimate of the amount of violence in films. Since a more

important reason for so stratifying and weighting was to determine the characteristics of the films viewed by a large number of people, these results do not undermine the purposes of the sampling and weighting procedures.

21 This move was necessitated by the small number of cases, which would have been just slightly larger than the number of cells in the tables for the five-category designation of film type.

22 A crime film was defined as one that "tend[s] to centre on present-day situations involving transgressions of the law, illegal activities, et cetera, and efforts to deal with same. They often take the form of police stories, gangster films, et cetera. A Western could be included if it dwelt on the aspects described above." An adventure film was defined as one "characterized by a preponderance of action and numerous locations (often exotic) and less detailed character and plot development in comparison to dramas". The types were ordered hierarchically from "animated" through "documentary, musical, children, comedy, crime and drama (non-crime)" to "adventure". Coders were instructed that "If a film could conceivably be coded as more than one type, code for the type located higher on the list, for example, a musical-comedy should be coded as a musical."

23 The characteristics of the comedies in the sample (*Freebie and the Bean, The Pink Panther, The Strongest Man in the World* but less so for *My Pleasure Is My Business*) were such that they were closer to the action than non-action films in terms of violence, excitement, et cetera. It was felt, however, that these particular films over-represented the action-oriented or "slapstick" type of comedy at the expense of the more cerebral (or at least verbal) approaches, and that, generically, comedy was closer to the non-action rather than the action pole.

24 The Commission's content analysis of television programming would seem to indicate, however, that popular documentaries are in fact violent.

Chapter 3

1 "Leading characters" were "all those who play leading roles representing the principle types essential to the story". A "non-leading character" was "a character who does not satisfy the criteria for leading characters but is involved in conflict in any form, or irrational violence, either as initiator or responder". In addition, it was noted that "to be fully coded as a character, a party must be presented as a distinguishable individual at some point in the film".

2 There is a large discrepancy between the age of the characters in the films and the age of the audience viewing the films. The tables below give the age breakdown for the movie audiences in Canada and the United States.

Distribution of Movie Attendance in Canada by Age Group

Age	Age groups as per cent of; total population 14 years of age and over attending movies	
14–19	29	
20–24	18	
25–34	22	54
35–44	14	
45–64	15	
65 and over	5	
	100	

Source: Secretary of State, *A Leisure Study – Canada 1972* (Ottawa, 1973).

Age of United States Motion-Picture Audiences, 1976

Age	Per cent of total yearly admissions		Percent of population	
12–15	14		10	
		45		22
16–20	31		12	
21–24	15		9	
25–29	16	44	10	34
30–39	13		15	
40–49	5		13	
		8		26
50–59	3		13	
60 and over	3		18	
	100		100	

Source: Opinion Research Corporation, *Incidence of Motion Picture Attendance,* Study for the Motion Picture Association of America, 1976.

While the age breakdowns are not completely comparable (either to each other or to the age breakdowns for the characters), it can be seen that the younger segment of the population is over-represented. In the United States, the 22 per cent of the population in the 12-20 age group account for 45 per cent of the admissions. The figures for the Canadian situation become more pertinent if it is pointed out that the 14-19 age group accounts for 40 per cent of the "frequent" movie attenders.

3 Non-leading characters, defined as they were, were often on screen for only brief periods making the coding of many background variables impossible. Such instances are noted later in the report.

4 Extrapolating from labour statistics, almost two-thirds of married Canadian women would appear to be housewives, while somewhere between 50 per cent and 60 per cent of married American women would appear to be so. Gail Cook (ed.), *Opportunity for Choice: A Goal for Women in Canada*

(Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1976), and *Statistical Abstracts of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1974).

5 George Gerbner, "Violence in Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions", in G. A. Comstock and E. A. Rubinstein (eds.), *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 60.

6 It should be noted that 35.1 per cent of protagonists, 55.9 per cent of "mixed", and 87.6 per cent of antagonists could not be specified as to marital status.

7 The instructions for the coding of the character traits were as follows:

> The scales in this section of the coding sheet are used to describe the character. Each item represents a personality trait that should be coded as outlined below. If you feel the character is *described* by one end of the scale (or the other end of the scale), code as follows:
>
> unfair; _____ ; _____ ; _____ ; fair
> Code 1 if described by "unfair".
> Code 5 if described by "fair".
>
> If you consider the character to be *neutral* on the scale, or if both sides of the scale seem to be *equally descriptive* of the character, or if the scale is *irrelevant* or unrelated to the character, then code 3.

This approach was derived from Gerbner, op. cit.

8 It is of interest to note that all four coders in this study were males, and the results could be partly an artifact of sexual bias. This situation with regard to coding is exactly the opposite of the case of the entertainment-television content study in which all the coders were female.

9 While the study did produce certain differences between images of males and females in films, these differences do not seem to be as great as differences in television drama. See Leeda P. Marting, "An Empirical Study of Images of Males and Females During Prime-Time Television Drama", Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1973. Perhaps the important point to note in Marting's study is the fact that there were more differences between male and female images in television drama than in real life.

10 "Factor analysis is a means by which the regularity and order in phenomena can be discerned . . . . it takes thousands and potentially millions of measurements and qualitative observations and resolves them into distinct patterns of occurrence." R. J. Rummel, "Understanding factor analysis", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* XI: 4 (December 1967), p. 445. The type of factor analysis employed was a principal-component solution with orthogonal rotation (VARIMAX).

11 The influence of the overwhelming number of males in the films can be seen in the fairly close correspondence between the character structure for males and the one for all characters.

12 The coding instructions for identifying a relationship stated: "A relationship is considered to be any *on-screen* interaction (of even the simplest form) between parties such that both parties are aware of the existence (if not the identity) of each other. It would require their acknowledgement of each other as individuals . . . . In addition, if parties act in concert but are not explicitly in contact on the screen, they could still have a codable relationship if contextual information would indicate that interactions between the characters had taken place."

13 Ashley Pringle, "A Methodology for Television Analysis with Reference to the Drama Series", *Screen* 13: 2 (Summer 1972), p. 126.

Chapter 4

1 In general terms, "an incident is defined as a symbolic (thematic) realm of motion confined to a single scene (time-space location) in which some agent(s) employ some means (agency) for some purposes (to achieve a goal or overcome a barrier) with some consequences". There were also rules to aid the coders in delineating and bounding incidents:

In order to establish the boundaries for the various incidents, employ the following rules:

A. If the setting changes, we have a new incident, except where there:

1. is continuous action

2. are dependent, related settings, even though they are physically or geographically apart, for example, flashes between pursuer and pursued

3. is a telephone conversation (or similar communication). The setting is coded for the first place that appears.

B. If the time-frame changes, we have a new incident – even though the setting might be the same.

C. In the case of violent conflict, if the receiver of violence responds with violence, we still have only one violent incident. In addition, for the cases of violent conflict, lengthy shooting duels, fist fights, and large-scale battle scenes would have to be regarded as one incident of violence provided that:

1. the exchange is actually shown in total

2. the interaction is continuous, that is, without:
   (a) significant interruptions, and
   (b) significant changes in the way violence is exchanged

D. This latter point is of importance for all incidents. If a prolonged interaction is not continuous in the sense that major shifts in the style of interaction occur, then the interaction has to be represented by more than one incident. Major shifts in the style of interaction can take the form of:

1. a change in the method or means of interacting (for example, an argument can escalate into a violent exchange, a violent interaction can escalate in terms of the weapons used)

2. a change in initiative or aims pursued

3. the introduction of a third party

4. a change in the original parties involved

E. In addition, more than one type of incident or more than one instance of the same type of incident may occur simultaneously on the screen. For example, two parties – who are relatively independent of each other and whose behaviour is not significantly coordinated, and hence cannot be considered a single group – may interact with different portions of a joint enemy. Or, when a third party becomes a source of violence without significantly affecting the nature of violent interaction between the first two parties, then the first encounter may be said to continue while a second encounter may have started at the point of the third party's entry.

F. Flashbacks, flashforwards, dreams, fantasies, et cetera, are coded in the same manner as "real-time" incidents. Note prominently on the coding form that it is a flashback or whatever that is being dealt with

G In dealing with arguments, if there is a conflict situation in which a character initiates what could be an argument and there is no initial response (for whatever reason) but later the second character involved in the "potential" argument revives the conflict, code as two incidents as follows:

1. In the first incident, the first character is the *initiator* and the second character is the *responder*

2. In the second incident, the second character is the *initiator* and the first character is the *responder*

2. These categories of functions were derived from Clayton Hamilton, *The Theory of the Theatre* (New York: Henry Holt, 1910).

3 These findings are almost opposite to those for television as discovered by George Gerbner, "Violence in Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions", in G. A. Comstock and E. A. Rubinstein (eds.). *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 41:

The prevalence and rate of violence was lowest in an urban setting, higher in a small town or rural setting, and highest when the locale was uninhabited, mobile or not identified at all. The rate of violent episodes per play in remote or indistinct settings was twice that per play in urban settings. The social setting of the world of violence was half the time uninhabited or unidentifiable, while the world without violence was half urban and one-third small town or rural.

4 The categories of "method of dealing with conflict" were adapted from Kenneth E. Boulding, *Conflict and Defense: A General Theory* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 305 – 11. The original categories for "method of dealing with conflict" were:

00 Unclear
01 Compliance to an equal
02 Compliance to an authority
03 Refusal (one party refuses to engage in conflict)
04 Conflict suspended (both parties refuse to engage in conflict)
05 Distract-deflection (something causes parties to turn attention elsewhere)
06 Reconciliation (achieve compatible preferences)
07 Compromise (each settles for less than original desires)
08 Arbitration (appeal to outsider to settle disagreement)
09 Coercion
10 One-party elimination
11 Two-party elimination

These categories are combined in Table IV.8 in the following manner:

Avoidance (01, 02, 03, 04)
Resolution (06, 07, 08)
Distraction (05)
Coercion (09)
Elimination (l0, 11)

5 The original categorization for the dominant "motivation stake in outcome" of the initiator of the conflict encompassed 26 categories:

Hedonic gain

01 Power
02 Material gain
03 Prestige, self-esteem

04 Personal pleasure
05 Survival
06 Freedom
07 Love
08 Loved ones
09 Fame
10 Sexual Reward

Avoidance of Hedonic loss

11 Power
12 Material gain
13 Prestige, self-esteem
14 Personal pleasure
15 Survival
16 Freedom
17 Love
18 Loved ones
19 Fame

Avoidance of ethical loss

20 Legal social contract
21 Illegal social contract
22 Legal contract (signed document)
23 Moral obligation to self
24 Moral obligation to someone else
25 Religious contract
26 *Mixed avoidance* (hedonic and ethical)

The categories in Table IV.9 were derived by combining the above original categories in the following fashion:

Physical gain (02, 05, 10)
Psychological gain (03, 09)
Mixed gain (01, 04, 06, 07, 08)
Physical avoidance (12, 15)
Psychological avoidance (13, 19)
Mixed physical and psychological avoidance (11, 14, 16, 17, 18)
Social avoidance (20, 21, 22)
Ethical avoidance (23, 24, 25)
Mixed hedonic and social-ethical avoidance (26)

6 The original categories of initiator's "provocation" for engaging in the conflict were:

Self-related

01 Physical
02 Psychological (insult, degradation, honour, prestige)
03 Security (financial, welfare, job-related)
04 Mixed

Other-related

Friends

05 Physical
06 Psychological
07 Security
08 Mixed

Family

09 Physical
10 Psychological
11 Security
12 Mixed

Society

13 Physical

14 Psychological
15 Security
16 Mixed
17 Mixed other-related
18 Mixed self- and other-related

For "Internal source of provocation", the following combinations were employed:

Physical (01, 05, 09, 13)
Psychological (02, 06, 10, 14)
Security (03, 07, 11, 15)
Mixed (04, 08, 12, 16, 17, 18)

7 For "External source of provocation", the original categories were combined as follows:

Self (01, 02, 03, 04)
Friends (05, 06, 07, 08)
Family (09, 10, 11, 12)
Society (13, 14, 15, 16)
Mixed (17, 18)

8 There were a rather large number of original categories from which the three in Table IV.13 are derived. These were:

01 No justification

Explicit
Hedonic

02 Self-defence
03 Avenge/revenge
04 Mixed

Ethical

05 Moral obligation to self
06 Moral obligation to others
07 Mixed moral obligation
08 Legal obligation
09 Protection of innocent
10 Mixed
11 Mixed hedonic and ethical

Implicit
Hedonic

12 Self-defence
13 Avenge/revenge
14 Mixed

Ethical

15 Moral obligation to self
16 Moral obligation to others
17 Mixed moral obligation
18 Legal obligation
19 Protection of innocent
20 Mixed
21 Mixed hedonic and ethical

The method of combination of these were:

Defend-revenge (02, 03, 04, 12, 13, 14)
Moral-social (05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20)
Mixed (11, 21)

Chapter 5

1 Andrew Tudor, "Film and the Measurement of Its Effects", *Screen* 10: 4 and 5 (July/October 1969), pp. 148-59.

2 Klaus Krippendorff, "Models of Messages: Three Prototypes", in Gerbner, Holsti, Krippendorff, Paisley and Stone (eds.), *The Analysis of Communication Content: Developments in Scientific Theories and Computer Techniques* (New York: John Wiley, 1969), pp. 73-78.

3 Andrew Tudor, *Image and Influence: Studies in the Sociology of Film* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974), pp. 106-07.

4 Marina de Camargo, "Ideological Analysis of the Message: A Bibliography", *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, 3 (Autumn 1972), p. 125.

5 Edgar Morin, *New Trends in the Study of Mass Communication*, Occasional paper 7, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1968. Quoted in de Camargo, ibid.

6 de Camargo, *op. cit.*, p. 126. Quote is from Olivier Burgelin, "Structural Analysis and Mass Communications", *Studies of Broadcasting*, 8 (1968), p. 161.

7 Not everyone is as hopeful about structuralism, or its somewhat related approach semiology – at least, as they have been employed to this point. See Brian Henderson, "Critique of Cine-Structuralism (Part I)", *Film Quarterly* 26: 5 (Fall 1973), pp. 25-34; "Critique of Cine-Structuralism (Part II)", *Film Quarterly* 27: 2 (Winter 1973-74), pp. 37-46; "Metz: *Essais I* and Film Theory", *Film Quarterly* 27: 3 (Spring 1975), pp. 18-33; and Bill Nichols, "Style, Grammar and the Movies", *Film Quarterly* 28: 3 (Spring 1975), pp. 33-49.

8 See, for example: Rene Gardies, "Structural Analysis of a Textual System", *Screen* 15: 1(Spring 1974), pp. 11-31; Kari Hanet, "The Narrative Text of *Shock Corridor*", *Screen* 15: 4 (Winter 1974/75), pp. 18-28; Alan Williams, "The Circles of Desire: Narration and Representation in *La Ronde*", *Film Quarterly* 26: 5 (Fall 1973), pp. 35-41 and "Structures of Narrativity in Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*", *Film Quarterly* 27: 4 (Summer 1974), pp.17-24.

9 See, for example: Paul Willeman, "Towards an Analysis of the Sirkian System", *Screen* 13: 4 (Winter 1972/3), pp. 128-34; Peter Wollen, "The Auteur Theory", in *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1969); Jim Kitses, *Horizons West* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1970); and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, *Luchino Visconti* (New York: Doubleday, 1968).

10 See, for example: Raymond Bellour, "The Obvious and the Code", *Screen* 15: 4 (Winter 1974/75), pp. 7-17; Stephen Heath, "Film and System, Terms of Analysis, Part I", *Screen* 16: 1 (Spring 1975), pp. 7-77 and "Film and System, Terms of Analysis, Part II", *Screen* 16: 2 (Summer 1975), pp. 91-113; and Jacqueline Rose, "Writing as Auto-Visualization: Notes on a Scenario and Film of *Peter Pan*", *Screen* 16: 3 (Autumn 1975), pp. 29-53.

11 Burgelin, op. cit.

12 Barry Salt, "Statistical Style Analysis of Motion Pictures", *Film Quarterly* 28: 1 (Fall 1974), pp. 13-22.

13 Lee R. Bobker, *Making Movies: From Script to Screen* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973); Barry Callaghan, *Film-making* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973); Lenny Lipton, *Independent Filmmaking* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1972); J. Kris Malkiewicz, *Cinematography: A Guide for Film Makers and Film Teachers* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1973); John Mercer, *An Introduction to Cinematography*, 2nd ed. (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes, 1974); Edward Pincurs, *Guide to Filmmaking* (New York: Signet, 1969); Kenneth H. Roberts and Win Sharples, Jr., *A Primer for Film-making: A Complete Guide to 16 mm and 35 mm Film Production* (New York: Pegasus, 1971).

14 The original plan was to code every shot of every violent conflict or irrational-violence incident on the twelve variables for each and every film. Part way through the project (after six films had been coded) it became apparent that the coding of each and every film would be too time-consuming. As a result, a random sample of four films was selected from the remaining 14 non-Canadian films, while it was decided that the entire Canadian sample of five films would be so coded. The latter decision was based on the desire to compare the stylistic treatment of violence in Canadian and non-Canadian films. Since the order of coding for the first six films (and all other films as well) was determined strictly on the basis of film availability, the full ten non-Canadian films coded for stylistic treatment can be considered a valid random sample. The 15 films for which the shots of the violent conflict and irrational-violence incidents were coded were: *The Nickel Ride, The Towering Inferno, Mahogany, Death Race 2000, French Connection II, Murder on the Orient Express, Doc Savage, Man of Bronze, The Odessa File, Funny Lady, Three Days of the Condor, Sunday in the Country, Sudden Fury, Wings in the Wilderness, Lies My Father Told Me*, and *My Pleasure Is My Business*.

15 For a description of where the coding of shots fitted into the entire process, see Appendix B, "3./ Analysis Procedures".

16 Salt, op. cit., p. 21. One would assume that this figure is smaller for modern films, but is probably still nowhere near the average shot length for violence incidents.

17 Ibid., p. 15.

18 A shot in which "the camera was rigidly fixed relatively to the actors, the background behind them moving, e.g., an actor filmed in a car", was not coded as one in which there was movement. Ibid., p. 13.

19 Salt is quite aware of this shortcoming. Ibid., p. 20.

20 Charles Osgood, Percy Tennenbaum, and George Suci, *The Measurement of Meaning* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957).

21 Ibid., p. 325.

22 Calvin Pryluck, *Sources of Meaning in Motion Pictures and Television* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), p. 11.

23 Donald H. Shoemaker, "An Analysis of Three Vertical Camera Angles and Three Lighting Ratios on the Connotative Judgments of Three Human Models", Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1974.

24 James A. Fosdick and Percy H. Tannenbaum, "The Encoder's Intent and Use of Stylistic Elements in Photographs", *Journalism Quarterly* 41: 2 (Spring 1974), pp. 175-82.

25 Ibid.

26 Robert C. Williams, "Film Shots and Expressed Interest Levels", *Speech Monographs* 35 (June 1968), pp. 166-69.

27 Fosdick and Tannenbaum, op. cit.

28 Ernest D. Rose, "Credibility and the Realist Tradition in Cinema", *Journal of the University Film Association* 24: 4 (1972), p. 111.

29 Shoemaker, op. cit.

30 Fosdick and Tannenbaum, op. cit. In an earlier study of the effect of lighting angle, they suggested that lighting key, in fact, may have been the critical variable in the results they obtained. Percy H. Tannenbaum and James A. Fosdick, "The Effect of Lighting Angle on the Judgment of Photographed Subjects", *A-V Communication Review* 8: 6 (November-December 1960), pp. 253-62.

31 Percy H. Tannenbaum, "The Effects of Background Music on Interpretation of Stage and Television Drama", *A-V Communication Review* 4: 2 (Spring 1956), pp. 92-101.

32 Roger Penn, "Effects of Motion and Cutting-Rate in Motion Pictures", *A-V Communication Review* 19: 1 (Spring 1971), pp. 29-50.

33 Ibid., p. 45.

34 Ibid., p. 49.

35 Nick Browne, "The Spectator-in-the-Text: The Rhetoric of *Stagecoach*", *Film Quarterly* 29: 2 (Winter 1975-76), p. 35.

Chapter 6

1 Ole R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and the Humanities* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1969), pp. 68-93.

2 Andrew Tudor, "Film and the Measurement of its Effects", *Screen* 10: 4 and 5 (July/October 1969), pp. 148-59.

3 Hugo Munsterberg, *The Photoplay: A Psychological Study* (reprint of 1915 ed.) (New York: Dover Publications, 1970).

4 Tudor, op. cit., pp. 152-53. See also John Russell Taylor, "Movies for a Small Screen", *Sight and Sound* 44: 2 (Spring 1975), p. 114 and Bruce Cook "Why TV Stars Don't Become Movie Stars (And on the other hand, some movie stars don't do too well on television)", *American Film* 1: 8 (June 1976), pp. 58, 60.

5 Tudor, op. cit., p. 152.

6 John Russell Taylor notes, for example, that although there is a tendency towards distraction in television viewing that leads to "a more diffused kind of attention, . . . it is easy in contrast to over-emphasise the magical hold the large glittering screen has on an audience's attention in the comforting womb – like darkness of the cinema" (op. cit., p. 114). The authors have also noted from personal experience an increased tendency of movie audiences to exhibit what has normally been considered appropriate television-viewing behavior but inappropriate movie-viewing behaviour (for example, making loud remarks, conversing continuously, et cetera). It has been pointed out by Bechtel, Achelpohl and Akers in their study of the amount of attention that people pay to television while they are "watching", however, that "movies received the greatest degree of attention while the set was on". "Correlates Between Observed Behavior and Questionnaire Responses on Television Viewing", in E. A. Rubinstein, G. A. Comstock, and J. P. Murray, *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. IV (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 299. This suggests that there is perhaps a more complex interaction between the nature of the viewing situation and the nature of "stimulus" material than has usually been imagined.

7 Christian Metz, "Notes Toward a Phenomenology of the Narrative", in *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 16-28.

8 Ibid.

9 The phenomenon of vicarious participation is obviously complex and not terribly well understood, nor has it been studied extensively. While the viewer enters the filmic space, he never *completely* confuses it with the actual physical space he occupies in "reality." Perhaps the most attractive speculation about this phenomenon is offered by Nick

Browne, "The Spectator-in-the-Text: The Rhetoric of Stagecoach", *Film Quarterly* 29: 2 (Winter 1975-76), p.36.

Evidently, a spectator is several places at once – with the fictional viewer, with the viewed, and at the same time in a position to evaluate and respond to the claims of each. This fact suggests that like the dreamer, the filmic spectator is a plural subject: in his reading he is and is not himself . . . The filmic image thus implies the ambiguity of a double origin – from both my literal place as spectator and from the place where the camera is within the imaginative space.

10 John L. Fell, *Film and the Narrative Tradition* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), p. xv.

11 Ibid., p.14.

12 Kari Hanet, "The Narrative Text of *Shock Corridor*", *Screen* 15: 4 (Winter 1974/75), pp. 18-28.

13 Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", *Screen* 16:3 (Autumn 1975), p.17.

14 Ibid., p. 13.

15 Metz would claim that even the modern cinema, which tends to call attention to itself *as film*, has not "abandoned the narrative, [but rather] gives us narratives that are more diversified, more ramified, and more complex". Christian Metz, "The Modern Cinema and Narrativity", in Metz, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

16 Peter Dart, "The Concept of 'Identification' in Film Theory", Paper presented at the Thirtieth Annual Conference of the University Film Association, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa, August 16-20, 1976.

17 "The question of just what characteristics of a screen character will produce fullest identification among viewers is a fascinating and still largely unexplored issue. The ability to lead viewers into identification with the character is a major part of the screenwriter's skill, and so far belongs more to the sphere of art than science." Eleanor E. Maccoby, "The Effects of the Mass Media", in Otto N. Larsen (ed.), *Violence and the Mass Media* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 120.

18 Cedric Clark, "Race, Identification, and Television Violence", in G.A. Comstock, E.A. Rubinstein, and J.P. Murray (eds.), *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. V (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 120-184.

19 Cecilia V. Feilitzen and Olga Linné, "Identifying with Television Characters", *Journal of Communication* 25:4 (Autumn 1975), pp. 51-55.

20 Andrew Tudor, *Image and Influence: Studies in the Sociology of Film* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974), pp. 76-85.

21 Ibid., p. 80.

22 Ibid., p. 81

23 Ibid., p. 83.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., p. 85.

26 Edward Branigan, "Formal Permutations of the Point-of-View Shot", *Screen* 16:3 (Autumn 1975), p. 64.

27 Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

28 Franklin Fearing, "Influence of the Movies on Attitudes and Behaviour", in Denis McQuail (ed.), *Sociology of Mass Communications* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1972), pp. 132-33. Originally published in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 254 (November 1947), pp. 70-79.

29 Herbert J. Gans, "The Creator-Audience Relationship in the Mass Media: An Analysis of Movie-Making", in Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White (eds.), *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1957), p. 315.

30 Joseph T. Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication* (New York: The Free Press, 1960); and J.D. Halloran, *The Effects of Mass Communication, with Special Reference to Television* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1964).

31 Herbert J. Gans, "The Relationship Between the Movies and the Public, and Some Implications for Movie Criticism and Movie-Making", paper presented at the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, February 18, 1960.

32 Tudor, op. cit., p. 86.

33 Jack Lyle and Heidi R. Hoffman, "Children's Use of Television and Other Media", in E.A. Rubinstein, G.A. Comstock, and J.P. Murray (eds.), *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. 4 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 152-53.

34 Steady [television] viewing begins around age three and continues to stay at relatively high levels until age 12, when a gradual decline begins. . . . The data suggest that the decline 'bottoms out' in one's early twenties and begins to rise again with the onset of marriage (especially for women). A noticeable jump in viewing (especially for men) also occurs around age 50, when children depart from home and leave more time for their parents to devote to television. Viewing times seem to increase further after retirement, when available leisure time reaches a maximum." John P. Robinson, "Toward Defining the Functions of Television", in E.A. Rubinstein, G.A. Comstock, and J.P. Murray (eds.), *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. 4 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 572.

35 Tudor, op. cit., p. 87.

36 Herbert J. Gans, "The Creator-Audience Relationship in Mass Media: An Analysis of Movie-Making", in Rosenberg and White, *op. cit.*, p. 316. Gans observes in a note "that publics are further stratified by age, sex, socio-economic characteristics, education and taste level".

37 Herert J. Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 12. A taste public is an unorganized aggregate of users of a taste culture "who make similar choices of values and taste culture content".

38 Ibid., p.70

3 Ibid., p. 86.

40 Ibid., p. 90.

41 Ibid., p. 93.

42 Philip Anst, "Differential Movie Appeals as Correlates of Attendance", *Journalism Quarterly* 44: 1 (Spring 1967), pp. 86-90.

43 Ibid., p. 88.

44 Ibid., p. 90.

45 Gans, "The Relationship Between the Movies and the Public", p. 14.

46 Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission, "Some Themes in Research on the Effects of Televised Violence", in *Symposium on Television Violence* (Ottawa: Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada, 1976), p. 103.

47 The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, *Interim Report*, (January 1976) pp. III-10 to III-17.

48 The accumulated experimental findings on the effects of media violence, including the relevant experimental investigations sponsored by this program, fail to support Feshbach's theory [of catharsis] and conclusions . . . As matters now stand, the weight of the experimental evidence from the present series of studies, as well as from prior research, suggests that viewing filmed violence has an observable effect on some children in the direction of increasing their aggressive behavior. Many of the findings, however, fail to show any statistically significant effects in either direction." Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, *Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972). pp. 108, 109.

49 Richard E. Goranson, "Television Violence Effects: Issues and Evidence," in Ontario, The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, *Report*. Vol. 5. *Learning from the Media* (Toronto, 1977), p. 31.

50 Ibid., p. 34.

51 The most striking exceptions to this rule have been three naturalistic studies which have employed commercial films to demonstrate an increase in aggression, See Goranson, Ibid., p. 21.

52 Seymour Feshbach, "Reality and Fantasy in Filmed Violence", in J.P. Murray, E.A. Rubinstein, and G.A. Comstock (eds.), *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 340.

53 Gerhard J. Hanneman, "Message Uncertainty as a Predictor of Arousal and Aggression", Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970.

54 Feshbach, op. cit., p. 340.

55 Ibid., p. 341.

56 It should be noted that the differences in violence ratings and incidence of violence for popular and not-so-popular films were smaller than for either the Canadian/non-Canadian or action/non-action comparisons.

57 The people occupying this taste public are described by Gans as "the older lower-middle class, but mainly . . . skilled and semiskilled factory and service workers, and the semiskilled white collar workers [that is] the people who obtained nonacademic high school educations and often dropped out after the tenth grade". Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture*, p. 89.

58 See Goranson, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-30, and The Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission, op. cit., pp. 106-07.

59 The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, op. cit., p. III-15.

60 John Renner, "Violence, the Media and Mental Disorder", in Ontario, The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, *Report*. Vol. 6. *Vulnerability to Media Effects* (Toronto, 1977).

61 Cartoons do elicit less aggression in children because of the lack of reality to them. See Goranson, op. cit., pp. 50.54.

62 One could speculate that bizarre and unusual behaviours and situations are consciously pursued in movies as a means of differentiating them from television, with its somewhat more restricted field of action. Subjects that are taboo on television make movies more "attractive" to the jaded television viewer and may motivate him to take the time, make the effort, and spend the money to attend the movies.

63 Goranson, op. cit., p. 8.

64 CRTC, op. cit., p. 110.

65 See Goranson, op. cit., pp. 55-59.

66 Anthony N. Doob and Glenn E. Macdonald, "The News Media and Perceptions of Violence," in Ontario, The Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, *Report*. Vol. 5. *Learning from the Media* (Toronto, 1977).

67 Renner, op. cit.

Appendix A

1 J. S. R. Goodlad, *The Sociology of Popular Drama* (London: Heinemann, 1971).

2 David G. Clark and William B. Blankenburg, "Trends in Violent Conflict in Selected Mass Media", in G.A, Comstock and E.A. Rubinstein (eds.), *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971).

3 Andrew Tudor, *Image and Influences: Studies in the Sociology of Film* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974), p. 227.

4 A. D. Murphy, "1975 Record Film B.O. Near $1.9 Bil" *Variety* (January 14, 1976), pp. 1, 86.

5 "Big Rental Films of 1975", *Variety* (January 7, 1976), p. 18, 52.

6 Ibid.

7 A. D. Murphy, "Universal's Whale of Pix Biz Share", *Variety* (February 11, 1976), pp. 1, 34.

8 A. D. Murphy, "Disney Decade Doubled World Rents", *Variety* (January 28, 1976), pp. 3, 27.

9 D. Owen, *Handbook of Statistical Tables* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1962).

Appendix B

1 "Content Analysis Procedures and Results", in D. Lange, R. Ball, and S. Ball (eds.), *Violence and the Mass Media* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 519-91; and "Violence in Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions", in G.A. Comstock and E.A. Rubinstein (eds.), *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 28-188.

2 Present at one or both of those meetings were the Commission's Director of Research, C.K. Marchant; research staff member, Barbara Leonard; and principal investigators, André Caron, Don Gordon, Garth Jowett, Jim Linton, Ben Singer, Jim Taylor, and Tannis Williams.

3 Lee R. Bobker, *Making Movies: From Script to Screen* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973); Barry Callaghan, *Film-making* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973); Lenny Lipton, *Independent Filmmaking* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1972); J. Kris Malkiewicz, *Cinematography: A Guide for Film Makers and Film Teachers* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1973); John Mercer, *An Introduction to Cinematography*, 2nd Ed. (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes, 1974); Edward Pincus, *Guide to Filmmaking* (New York: Signet, 1969); Kenneth H. Roberts and Win Sharples, Jr., *A Primer for Film-making: A Complete Guide to 16 mm and 35 mm Film Production* (New York: Pegasus, 1971).

4 Bela Balazs, *Theory of the Film: Character and Growth of a New Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1970); Lee R. Bobker, *Elements of Film* 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974); Lincoln F. Johnson, *Film: Space, Time, Light and Sound* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974); Sigfried Kracauer, *Theory of film: Redemption of Physical Reality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960); Karl Reisz and Gavin Millar, *The Techniques of Film Editing* (New York: Hastings House, 1968); James F. Scott, *Film: The Medium and the Maker* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975); Raymond Spottiswoode, *A Grammar of the Film* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1969).

5 In some cases the order of the procedures had to be altered since the non-leading characters were defined by their participation in conflict or irrational-violence incidents, and all these incidents might not be recognized until the viewing intended for the coding of incidents (that is, the third time through the film). This meant that a full character list and set of relationships to be coded could not be realized until that point.

6 Gerbner, "Violence in Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic functions", in Comstock and Rubinstein, op. cit., p. 168.

7 Ibid., p. 169.

8 Ibid.

Appendix A
The Method of Selecting the Sample

1. Delineation of the Population(s)

The first difficulty encountered in selecting the sample was defining the universe or population itself. The initial plan was to sample from among the films exhibited during the years 1972 to 1975 with stratification according to popularity. We were interested in surveying recent films and originally thought such a time frame might allow us to examine any trends that might emerge. On reflection, however, it became evident that our small sample size (25 films) would not permit meaningful generalizations to a universe of upwards of 1,000 films for that time period. As a consequence, we settled on drawing our sample from only those films exhibited in Ontario in 1975. (Discrepancies between year of production and year of exhibition are discussed below, as are other problems in defining the universe.) Such a time frame also brought us closer to the samples of the other content studies, further facilitating comparisons among findings.

A central interest of the Commission was a comparison of Canadian and non-Canadian (basically American) media content. To achieve such a comparison, it was necessary, in effect, to divide the universe of all films into two populations – Canadian and non-Canadian – and sample from both. A proportionate division of the total number of films to be analyzed between the two on the basis of number of films produced and exhibited in 1975 would have generated only one Canadian film. (There were 427 non-Canadian and 14 Canadian films in 1975.) After the procedures taken to define and stratify the populations had been completed, it was decided that five of the 25 films of the sample would be selected from the Canadian population and the remaining 20 from the non-Canadian one. This disproportionate number of Canadian films was felt to be the minimum necessary to allow meaningful comparison between Canadian and non-Canadian films.

The primary criterion for inclusion in the populations was that the film had been exhibited in Ontario in 1975. Unfortunately, short of canvassing every theatre and drive-in theatre in the province, there was no means of securing such information. The closest approximation to this information was found to be the cards on films submitted for classification and kept by the Theatres Branch of the Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations.

There were three basic problems with a list of films so obtained, however: first, the cards were compiled on an April-to-March fiscal year, while the financial data to be used to stratify the sample(s) were reported for the calendar year; secondly, the list included a large number of foreign films which seemed destined for minority ethnic audiences (for example, of the 858 features submitted in 1975-76, 229 alone were from China – that is, Hong Kong or Taiwan – while 301 of the remainder were from countries where the native tongue is not English); and thirdly, just because the film was submitted and passed by the Theatres Branch, there was no guarantee that the film was subsequently exhibited – and there was also a good possibility that a lag existed between the time a film was submitted and when it was exhibited – leaving films submitted near the end of the calendar year somewhat doubtful.

Since the Commission was concerned with films that were intended for a mass audience, the second problem was solved

by adding to the criteria for admission to the population by stating that the film had to be available in an English-language version (either with English as the original language or dubbed). The problem of the fiscal year record-keeping was rectified by the research staff of the Commission while preparing the list from the Theatre Branch's cards. The final problem of lack of perfect correspondence between submission and exhibition dates could not be compensated for within our resources, and had to be accepted as just that. It was assumed, however, that this was not a significant factor.

2. Stratifying and Weighting the Sample(s)

As mentioned above, there was a desire to stratify the populations by popularity. Such a stratification with proportionate sampling (that is, sampling within a stratum according to that stratum's contribution to overall popularity) would give a better picture of the content to which large numbers of people were exposed – as Goodlad suggests[1] – and there has also been evidence presented that violence is popular.[2]

It must be realized, however, that measures of the popularity of films are even more indirect than those of television programs (that is, ratings). As Tudor points out, in the case of film "audience influence [that is, preference] is mediated primarily through the images communicators hold, and only finally through financial veto at the box office."[3] Box-office receipts then would be an indicator of popularity. Unfortunately, as was the case for information on film exhibitions, information on box office was not directly available. As with much economic data, those were treated with great secrecy. (In fact, many film producers would be interested in learning about the box-office success of particular films.) Overall box-office figures are available from the United States Department of Commerce and from Statistics Canada, and estimates of these figures are also available from *Variety*[4] and the Motion Picture Association of America, but information on individual films (apart from blockbusters like *Jaws*) is scarce.

The best approximation of box-office receipts for any sizeable number of films is *Variety's* annual list of "Big Rental Films". As *Variety* explains it, the list reflects the films' "domestic (United States and Canada) rentals accruing to the distributors (not total receipts taken in at all the theatres)".[5] This list for 1975 contains 104 films, each of which produced rental revenues of $1,000,000 or more. The list includes some films that were produced before 1974 or 1975 and have been "reissued" and excludes some films that were released too late for information about them to be obtained. *Variety* explains this "too late in" rule of thumb as follows:

. . . some pictures go into release too late in the calendar year and cannot be computed for inclusion. Thus, certain of the October-December openings of 1975 were on the market too sketchily for significance here. They must wait for the next year's compilation . . .

There are some exceptions to the "too late in" rule of thumb, namely films that made such fast impact on the box office (usually the road-show type films (remember them?) or the ever-increasing mass showcase) that the minimum $1,000,000 rentals is reached in a short period.

It will be noted that a number of late 1974 releases which were not included in our last Anniversary Edition compilation are picked up herewith.[6]

This list gave us what were to become our upper and middle strata of the non-Canadian population, and the list that the

Royal Commission staff gleaned from the Theatres Branch's cards (minus the films that already appeared on the *Variety* list and the Canadian titles) gave us the lower stratum. The non-Canadian population was then divided into the top 15 (films that had rentals of close to $10,000,000 or better), the middle 89 (the remainder of the *Variety* list), and the bottom 323 (the adjusted list from the Theatres Branch's cards). This gave a total of 427 films in the non-Canadian population.

The desire to sample proportionately created additional problems. While we had information on the 104 individual "Big Rental Films" from *Variety*, we did not have an overall revenue-from-rentals figure as exists for overall box office. Without such a figure, we had no idea what the revenue from the lower stratum would be, and of course, could not calculate the respective proportions of overall revenue generated by the three strata and thereby derive the sampling proportions. Some information was located, however, that allowed estimates to be arrived at (once certain assumptions had been made).

Information from *Variety* gave the share of the 1975 domestic film market for the various major distributors.[7] Among those distributors was Buena Vista, whose financial history had earlier been traced by *Variety* as well.[8] The two sets of data were not completely compatible, however, in that the share-of-market data were based on "theatrical film rentals of at least $1,000,000 in that period", while the Buena Vista revenues were for theatrical rentals for *all films* in the same period – not just for $1,000,000-plus films. In light of lack of evidence to the contrary, it seems justifiable to assume that the inclusion of rental revenues for the films earning less than $1,000,000 would not significantly alter the share of the market for the major distributors. This assumption allowed the two sets of data to be used to calculate the overall rental revenue figure and the appropriate sampling proportions.

The sampling proportions and the number of films from each stratum to be included in the sample were calculated in the following manner:

1975 Buena Vista share of Market (based on United States–Canada theatrical film rentals of $1,000,000-plus)		= 6.0 per cent
1975 total Disney-Buena Vista United States–Canada theatrical Film rentals		= $61.224 million

Assuming that share of market would not be significantly altered if *all* (not just $1,000,000-plus) rentals were included,

6.0% of total rentals	= $62.224 million	
Total rentals	= $\dfrac{61.224}{6} \times 100$	= $1,020.4 million
Total rentals for top 15 films		= $395.75 million
1. Sampling proportion	= $\dfrac{395.75}{1020.4} \times 100$	= 38.784 per cent
Total rentals for middle 89 films		= $348.955 million
2. Sampling proportion	= $\dfrac{348.955}{1020.4} \times 100$	= 34.198 per cent
Total rentals for bottom 323 films = 1020.4 – 744.705		= $275.695 million
3. Sampling proportion	= $\dfrac{275.695}{1020.4} \times 100$	= 27.018 per cent

The Canadian films had to be approached somewhat differently. First of all, there were significantly fewer of them: 14 as compared to 427 non-Canadian films. In addition, there was almost as great a dearth of financial data about them as there was about the non-Canadian films. The Canadian Film development Corporation (CFDC) was able to supply box-office figures for nine of the 14 English-Canadian films of 1975. Given these factors and the somewhat conflicting desire to maintain a parallelism between the two samples, it was decided to divide the Canadian films into two strata and sample differentially. Stratum One included films that earned $100,000 or more, and Stratum Two included the four films that earned less than $100,000 and five for which box-office data were not available. Originally, it was somewhat arbitrarily decided to select three films from Stratum One and two from Stratum Two. The unavailability of a total of three films from Stratum

One, however, meant that the Canadian sample consisted of two films from Stratum One and three from Stratum Two.

The requisite number of films for each stratum of each population was selected using a table of random numbers.[9]

3. Unavailability of Films

As the films were drawn and attempts were made to secure them for analysis, additional difficulties arose. Given the fact that the equipment available to us was 16 mm., it was necessary to obtain 16 mm. prints of the films in order to study them. Unfortunately, however, the "logic" of film distribution is such that 16 mm. prints of many recent, as well as "exotic" films, were not available. As can be seen from Table A.1, then, the major reason for dropping films from the sample was their unavailability in 16 mm. The list of films ultimately included in the sample(s) (along with certain data about them)is given in Table A.2.

Table A.1

Films Dropped from Sample(s)*

Films	Reason for being dropped
Non-Canadian	
Stratum One	
The Appling Gang	Not available during coding period
Jaws	Not available in 16 mm.
Stratum Two	
The Other Side of the Mountain	*Not available in 16 mm.*
The Exorcist	Withdrawn due to re-release
The Seventh Voyage of Sinbad	Produced before 1970
Return to Macon County	Not available in 16 mm.
The Erotic Adventures of Zorro	Not available in 16 mm.
Dog Day Afternoon	Withdrawn dut to re-release
White Lightning	Not available in 16 mm.
Stratum	
Ride Hard, Ride Wild	Not available in 16 mm.
Champagne	Produced before 1970
Frankenstein's Castle (House) of Freaks	Not available in 16 mm.
School Girl to Growing Up	Not available in 16 mm.
Mermaid	Not available
We Do It	Not available in 16 mm.
Undercover Girls	Not available in 16 mm.
Ten Little Indians	Not available in 16 mm.
Very Natural Thing	Not available in 16 mm.
Summer School Teachers	Not available in 16 mm.
Canadian	
Stratum One	
Recommendation for Mercy	Not available in 16 mm.
Shivers	Not available in 16 mm.
It seemed Like a Good Idea at the Time	Not available in 16 mm.
Stratum Two	
The Man Who Skied Down Mt. Everest	Not available in 16 mm.
Monkeys in the Attic	Not available in 16 mm.
Lions for Breakfast	Not available in 16 mm.
Jacques Brel is Alive and Well and Living in Paris	Not available in 16 mm.
Mystery of the Million Dollar Hockey Puck	Not available in 16 mm.

* Within strata, the films are listed in the order in which they were origi-
nally selected for inclusion in the sample.

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Table A.2

Films Included in the Sample(s)

Non-Canadian

Stratum One (8 of top 15)

No.	Censor Title	Length rating	Production (min.)	source	Distributor
01	*Murder on the Orient Express*	General	128	U.S.	Paramount
02	*Freebie and the Bean*	Restricted	113	U.S.	Warner Brothers
03	*Funny Lady*	Adult	138	U.S.	Astral/Columbia
04	*Godfather, Part II*	Adult	200	U.S.	Paramount
05	*Shampoo*	Restricted	109	U.S.	Astral/Columbia
06	*The Towering Inferno*	Adult	165	U.S.	Bellevue/Fox
07	*The Return of the Pink Panther*	Adult	113	Great Britain	United Artists
08	*The Man with the Golden Gun*	Adult	124	Great Britain	United Artists

Stratum Two (7 of middle 89)

No.	Censor Title	Length rating	Production (min.)	source	Distributor
10	*Death Race 2000*	Adult	78	U.S.	Cine/Art
11	*Mahogany*	Adult	109	U.S.	Paramount
12	*French Connection II*	Restricted	119	U.S.	Bellevue/Fox
13	*The Odessa File*	Adult	128	Gt. Brit. /Germany	Astral/Columbia
14	*Once Is Not Enough*	Restricted	122	U.S.	Paramount
15	*The Strongest Man in the World*	General	92	U.S.	Bellevue

Stratum Three (5 of bottom 323)

No.	Censor Title	Length rating	Production (min.)	source	Distributor
16	*Doc Savage, The Man of Bronze*	General	100	U.S.	Warner Brothers
17	*The Nickel Ride*	Adult	106	U.S.	Bellevue/Fox
18	*Cleopatra Jones and the Casino of Gold*	Restricted	96	U.S./ Hong Kong	Warner Brothers
19	*Hearts and Minds*	Restricted	112	U.S.	Warner Brothers
20	*Killer Force*	Restricted	100	Gt. Britain U.S.	Ambassador

Canadian

Stratum One 2 of top 5)

No.	Censor Title	Length rating	Production (min.)	source	Distributor
22	*Lies My Father Told Me*	Adult	104	Canada	Astral
23	*Sunday in the Country*	Restricted	91	Canada	Ambassador

Stratum Two (3 of remaining 9)

No.	Censor Title	Length rating	Production (min.)	source	Distributor
24	*My Pleasure Is My Business*	90	Canada	IFD	
25	*Sudden Fury*	Adult	90	Canada	Ambassador
21	*Wings in the Wilderness*	General	90	Canada	Wildlife Film Distributors

Appendix B

The Methodology of Content Analysis As Employed in the Study

1. Development of the Recording (Coding) Instrument

The study examined the films for five distinct units of analysis: film, character, relationships, incident (of which there were eight distinct types), and individual shot (for violent-conflict and irrational-violence incidents). Each unit had its own separate recording sheet(s) and corresponding recording instructions. The incident unit was considerably more complex than the others, and the elements to be coded varied from incident type to incident type (Table B.1). At the suggestion of Ben Singer, the recording sheets and corresponding recording instructions were colour-coded to facilitate the work of the coders.

The instrument itself was adapted from the one developed by Tannis Williams and Merle Zabrack for the Commission's study of entertainment television. Their instrument had been derived in part from Gerbner's earlier studies[1] and in part from Eugene Tate's survey protocol for his study of adolescent and adult reactions to television (also undertaken for the Commission). The television instrument was discussed and further refined at meetings of the Commission's major content-analysis investigators and research staff in May and July of 1976.[2] Modifications were made to the television instrument for our use on the basis of some pre-tests. Such modifications were related mainly to the differences between the film and television instrument. (For example, the category "title character" was found to be superfluous for "character status" in films, since films are usually only "one-shot" affairs and are only rarely as character-centred as television shows are.) In addition, the shot unit was unique to the film study, its variables and categorizations being drawn from a number of practical filmmaking texts[3] and theoretical/critical works.[4]

Table B.1

Elements Coded for Each Type of Incident

	Conflict			Non-conflict				
	Violence	Argument	Non-violent, non-argument	Irrational violence	Verbal abuse	Harm to self	Destruction of property	Theft
General incident	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Violence	x			x				
Argument (Verbal abuse)		x		x				
Non-violent, non-argument			x					
Harm to self						x		
Destruction of property							x	
Theft								x
Setting	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Means/ends	x	x	x					
Method of dealing with conflict	x	x	x					
Technical/stylistic treatment	x			x				

2. Selection and Training of Coders

Two senior undergraduates were recruited as coders for this project. Both students had extensive backgrounds in media studies, as well as practical experience and theoretical instruction in filmmaking. A working knowledge of filmmaking was felt to be especially important for the coding of the technical/stylistic variables of the shots.

After the coders had had the codebook and procedures explained to them, and had been given an opportunity to study the codebook at some length, practice sessions involving the coding of actual films were begun. Initially, it was decided to utilize short films so that a greater variety of material could be covered in a shorter period of time. To this end, *Vile in the Sunshine Crawling* (a University of Windsor student production) was shown to and coded by the coders. It became clear rather quickly, however, that the film created a number of difficulties and was discarded as training material. Subsequent experiences with other short films of considerable merit (such as *Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge*) indicated that short films were generally not good substitutes for feature-length films. The contracted time-frame seemed to incline filmmakers towards more convoluted narratives (if indeed the film was a narrative at all) and more obvious symbolism than was evident in features. In addition, characters introduced in the films were

usually not developed enough for many variables to be coded adequately.

Unfortunately, however, there were no prints of feature films available to us for the extended time period we required them. A compromise of sorts was realized when we obtained a recording off-air of Sam Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch*. Even in its "edited-for-television" version, the film provided a wealth of material for practice and training purposes, but the videotape format did create other difficulties. Using video-cassettes in a Sony U-matic machine meant that locating the *exact* beginning of individual shots was next to impossible; this made the timing of incident durations imprecise. In addition, this lack of accurate cueing, combined with the inability to vary the rate of transport of the tape while an image was being produced (as is available in film with an Athena projector or horizontal editing table) made the coding of the technical/stylistic variables of the individual shots extremely difficult, if not virtually impossible. Nevertheless, the utilization of *The Wild Bunch* proved to be a relatively useful teaching/learning experience, and some refinements were made to the codebook on the basis of the coders', research assistant's, and principal investigators' work on it. At this point, the coding of the films in the sample began. A number of meetings in the early stages of the study were used to discuss problems that arose and to eliminate or reduce difficulties as they emerged.

After the first few films had been coded, it became clear that the coding of the films was taking much longer than had been anticipated. For the first five films, coding time was averaging about 26 hours per film per coder, while the time originally estimated was only 15 hours. This increased time was mainly a result of the large amount of time consumed in coding incidents and stylistic elements of the shots of violence incidents. Even with reducing double-coding to randomly selected units for the films and cutting back on the number of films coded for technical/stylistic variables (see "Determining Reliability" below for fuller details), it was obvious that two more coders had to be employed to complete the coding portion of the study within the established time frame. Two coders (with qualifications similar to those of the previously hired coders) were employed and given an intensive ten-day orientation, using videotapes of *Murder on the Orient Express* and *Godfather, Part II* as training materials.

3. Analysis Procedures

The coding of each film involved two complete viewings and at least one further partial viewing. During the first viewing the coders watched simply as film viewers rather than as scientific observers. The concern here was to satisfy the coders' inevitable attraction to the film as a viewing experience so that such distraction would not intrude into subsequent coding activity. (It also increased the coders' familiarity with the film upon subsequent viewings.) During the second viewing, the coders listed all the characters in the order in which they first appeared in the film and made rough notes on the occurrence of the various types of incidents for reference when they were coding incidents.

After the completion of the second viewing, the coders noted which characters required coding (that is, which were leading characters and non-leading violent disputants) and identified and coded the relationships among the various characters who were to be coded. After these tasks were completed, they proceeded to code the films themselves (after which they were not to refer back to the film-coding sheets). When the coding of the films was completed, the characters were coded as

completely as possible, with the allowance that the coders could return to complete any unfinished character profile after the third viewing.

The first two viewings had been normal, uninterrupted screenings. The third viewing (for the purpose of coding incidents), however, involved stopping the film after each incident (or perhaps even in mid-incident) and re-running it as necessary so that a full and proper coding could be accomplished. The constant starting and stopping and reversing and slowing down of the rate of action was only possible with the use of an Athena projector and a Steenbeck horizontal editing table. The use of these machines was also imperative for the detailed shot-by-shot stylistic analysis of the violence incidents, which normally followed the coding of the incidents proper.[5] The coding of the incidents and the stylistic treatment was terribly time-consuming, the extreme case of *Death Race 2000* requiring 33 hours for that phase alone.

4. Determining Reliability

As Gerbner explains it:

The purpose of reliability measures in content analysis is to ascertain the degree to which the recorded data truly reflect the properties of the material being studied, and do not reflect the contamination of observer bias or of instrument ambiguity.[6]

In content analysis, the reliability is determined by comparing the judgments of at least two independent observers for the same materials. Agreement must be greater than chance so that it may be assumed that "the data truly reflect the phenomenon under observation". The establishment of reliability, then, required the double-coding of all the films (or some portion thereof) by at least two independent observers.

Perhaps this is the point at which some of the procedural difficulties surrounding the project should be described. The basic problem is that film prints are normally available for only very short time periods. This is especially the case for recent popular films, which are very much in demand. Unless one purchases the prints (if that is even possible), one is at the mercy of the booking schedules of the distributors. For this study, this brief period of film availability meant that the coders had to view the films together for the first two uninterrupted screenings, and since they could not be supervised continuously, some informal, contaminating communication could have occurred between them. Such arrangements also meant that a number of films had to be coded in various stages simultaneously, rather than each film being worked on from start to finish in turn, since one coder would have otherwise been left with nothing to do while another coder dealt with the incidents and the stylistic treatment of violence. Also, as a consequence of such a situation, the coding assignments had to be mapped out well in advance, and each coder was aware of who was a data coder and who was a reliability coder for a particular film, and consequently, aware of when agreement was being checked. This lack of uncertainty makes the reliability measures obtained less convincing than if they had been obtained under "blind" conditions.

The large amount of time required for coding each film, combined with the restricted time frame of the study, necessitated another compromise. Rather than all aspects of all films being double-coded, as had been the original intention, only certain portions of each film could be so coded (Table B.2). Originally, the determination of the pattern of codings was done randomly, but scheduling difficulties required that some alterations be made to the original assignments. The method of determination of the films to be coded for "style" of shots for

violence incidents has already been described (see Chapter V, note 14).

The same set of agreement coefficients (as determined by Krippendorff's computer program) were employed as in Gerbner's study.[7] In addition, the same reliability criteria were established:

Those variables exhibiting coefficients of .80 or higher were accepted as unconditionally reliable, to be interpreted cautiously. Variables below .67 were considered unreliable and excluded from the analysis.[8]

Table B.2

Coding Assignments

	Relationships				Characters				Film				Incidents			
	Coder No.				Coder No.				Coder No.				Coder No.			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
*The Nickel Ride**	a	d			a	b			a	b			a	b		
*The Towering Inferno**	b	a			b	a			b	a			b	a		
*Mahogany**	a				a				a	b			a	b		
*Death Race 2000**	b	a			b	a				a				a		
*Murder on the Orient Express**	b	a			b	a				a				a		
*French Connection II**	a	b			a	b			a				a			
Godfather, Part II	a				a				a	b			a	b		
*Funny Lady**	a	b			a	b			a				a			
Shampoo	b	a			b	a				a				a		
*My Pleasure Is My Business**		a				a			b	a			b	a		
Freebie and the Bean		a		b		a		b		a				a		
*Sunday in the Country**	b		a		b		a				a				a	
*Sudden Fury**			a				a			a		b		a		b
Killer Force	a				a				a		b		a		b	
*The Odessa File**		a		b		a		b		a				a		
Man with the Golden Gun		a		b		a		b		a				a		
Once Is Not Enough	a				a				a		b		a		b	
The Strongest Man in the World		a				a				a		b		a		b
Wings in the Wilderness		a		b		a		b		a				a		
Cleopatra Jones and the Casino of Gold	a				a				a		b		a		b	
*Lies My Father Told Me**		a				a				a		b		a		b
*Doc Savage, Man of Bronze**	a				a				a		b		a		b	
*Three Days of the Condor**		a				a				a		b		a		b
Return of the Pink Panther	b		a		b		a				a				a	
Hearts and Minds		a		b		a		b		a				a		

a = data coding
b = reliability coding
* = coded for technical/stylistic treatment of violence incidents

Content Analysis of
the News Media:
Newspapers
and Television

Content Analysis of the News Media

D.R. Gordon
University of Waterloo,
Waterloo, Ontario

B.D. Singer
Department of Sociology,
University of Western Ontario,
London, Ontario

Contents

Introduction

This study seeks to establish the proportions and nature of violent news content in a representative sample of television newscasts and Ontario newspapers. It also seeks to formulate and test systems of description that will allow for reasonably consistent and accurate assessment of news content in the mass media.

Ten Ontario newspapers were selected for close examination. These ten papers ranked among the top 20 in the province as far as circulation was concerned and were the best possible geographic distribution that could be arranged among the top 20. At the time of selection, circulations were as follows:

Toronto Star 521,399

Toronto Globe and Mail 248,842

Hamilton Spectator 134,039

London Free Press 123,526

Toronto Sun 123,062

Ottawa Journal 79,924

Kitchener-Waterloo Record 63,064

St. Catharines Standard 39,244

Kingston Whig-Standard 33,774

Sault Ste. Marie Star 22,518

The news and sports content of these newspapers was measured, classified, and coded for six selected days within the May 17-31, 1976, period selected by the Commission for general study. This provided 9,794 specific non-violent and violent news and sports items.

Fifteen television stations were selected for close examination of news and sportscast content – nine in Ontario and six in the United States. This allowed for study of all major networks available to Ontario viewers – CBC, CTV, Global, CBS, NBC, and ABC – and for a reasonable regional sample. Videotapes planned from Sudbury and Thunder Bay were not available for technical reasons.

The news and sports content of these television stations was also measured, classified, and coded for seven selected days in the May 17-31 period, yielding 3,119 specific non-violent and violent news and sports items.

A further selection of longer public-affairs videotapes was also examined in some detail. Upon reflection, these videotapes were excluded from our study because of the great disparity in lengths of item involved (and, presumably, the weight or impact of such items), and the difficulty, in the sample supplied, in securing a really representative batch of year-round public-affairs programming in the May 17-31 period.

With the content samples supplied and selected, ways and means of handling the materials were extensively discussed, examined, and ultimately decided upon. In general, it was agreed to seek a combination of methods that seemed suitable in approaching a relatively unexplored sector of media content. From one side, we pushed forward with empirical forays – selecting newspapers and videotapes, attempting to describe what was on them and then attempting to find a common language of description that could be shared by coders of varied ages, sexes, educations, and backgrounds. This proved to be rather more successful than might have been expected, perhaps because the stereotypes of news and sports are more widely shared and understood than we assume. At any rate, this approach provided sets of classifications and categories of some base-line value.

At the same time, a more conventional siege was laid to published literature, established dogma, and known and available authorities in the fields of media and content analysis. Indexed periodical information in English and French on the broad subject of newspaper and television content analysis was checked and extensively reviewed for suggestions on methodology, classification, verification, and consistency. Several leading figures in the field, most notably Dr. George Gerbner of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania and principal author of a violence profile devised for television, and Dr. Balakrashnan of the Department of Sociology, University of Western Ontario, an expert on scaling, were interviewed at length. Assorted qualified persons in related fields – mathematicians, programmers, economists, criminologists, social workers, even media practitioners – were badgered and buttonholed. Other members of the faculty of the Department of Sociology at Western were taken shameless advantage of (for which, many thanks) and the fruits of extensive meetings with others contracted for Commission research were harvested wherever possible.

Again, the end result of all this was a further array of base-line suggestions from which to venture forth.

What followed, then, was the study proper as delineated in the pages that follow. In Chapter 1, we discuss definitions and analytical methods in greater detail. In Chapter 2, we turn to actual content results. In Chapter 3, the ways and means of social validation, primarily the work of Dr. B.D. Singer and his associates, are discussed. And in Chapter 4 we endeavour to sum up and suggest conclusions.

Broadly speaking, it is our belief that progress has been made in this study towards the forging of a tool for examing mass media news content. Such a tool, with further testing and refinement, could be of considerable use in varied sectors: for media self-analysis, for community measurements made in commonly intelligible terms, for comparative purposes among communities and among varied media and for the support and enlargement of regular criticism and evaluation.

We would also suggest that there are further rewards to be gained from further investigation of the social validation procedures outlined in Chapter 3. It is our

understanding that this is a relatively new approach to the problems involved.

Finally, we would like to acknowledge the assistance, enterprise and support given by the Commission staff and our own staff, which made this study possible.

Notable among our own stalwarts were Patti Anstett, Mary Finlayson, T.L. Ibson, William Kearns, Harvey Krahn, Robert Mawdsley, Terry Off, Dorothy Palmer, Michael Piper, Jeffrey Pitts, Heather Pivnik, Sam Punnett, Paula Quick, Vince Sacco, Patty Shales, Judi Smith, Douglas Spettigue, Karen Whetung. The examples of patience, creativity, good humour, and intelligence offered were many. They, more than anything else, account for such effects as have been achieved. The defects, alas, are ours.

D.R. Gordon
B.D. Singer

London, Ontario
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Chapter One

The Bases of Analysis

Appropriate definitions of concepts and words have proved to be particularly important in this study. The meanings of "violence", like beauty, often seem to lie more in the eyes of the beholders than in actual events or activities. And so too with "conflict", "hostility", "injury", "threat", and many, many other formulations associated with information exchange.

So, before turning to such quantifications as we have secured, we propose in this chapter to try and indicate what definitions we have arrived at, why we chose as we did, and what linking of constituencies we feel may be achieved.

Take "violence" for a start.

The Commission started things off in the first place with its published statement of intent and, in part at least, meaning:

How We Define Violence

The Nature of Violence

Violence is action that intrudes painfully or harmfully into the physical, psychological, or social well-being of persons or groups. Violence or its effect may range from trivial to catastrophic. Violence may be obvious or subtle. It may arise naturally or by human design. Violence may take place against persons or against property. It may be justified or unjustified, or justified by some standards and not by others. It may be real or symbolic. Violence may be sudden or gradual.

The Nature of Media Violence

Violence depicted in film, television, sound, print, or live performance is not necessarily the same as violence in real life. Things not violent in reality may be violent in their portrayal. Violence presented in the media may reach large numbers of people, whereas real violence may not. The media may use many artificial devices to lessen or to amplify its emotional and social effects. Violence depicted may do harm the original violence may not have done – or it may have no impact at all.

Subsequently, discussions aimed at elaborating upon and refining the implied definitions were convened by the Director of Research. At meetings with others engaged in Commission research projects, the bases for the maximum possible co-ordination of definitions and analytical frameworks were discussed and a series of draft definitions proposed. This synthesis of comments seemed especially promising:

Violence can take one of three forms: physical, psychological, or social.

Physical violence is defined as the overt expression of physical force (with or without weapons) against self or other, compelling action against one's will on pain of being hurt, or killed, or actually hurting or killing. Must be plausible and credible; no idle threats, verbal abuse, or comic gestures with no credible violent consequence. May be intentional or accidental; violent accidents, catastrophes, acts of nature included.

Psychological violence is defined as any behaviour that violates a person's or group's dignity by damaging his/her/their self-image through ridicule, insult, lack of recognition, denial, lack of respect, et cetera, or limits autonomy by paternalistic treatment; or involves threat or the inciting of fear, or generally undermines a sense of psychic security (through means other than physical violence).

Social violence is defined as any behaviour that endangers, or results in the loss of, status or economic well-being on the part of an individual or a group, or endangers or results in a loss of an opportunity for advancement in status, economic advancement, education (and so on).

But for further clarity, consideration of "conflict" – the grey bedmate of "violence" – seemed to be necessary too. This was also facilitated during discussions with others engaged in Commission research. We began with this product of the conference table:

Draft Definition of Conflict

Conflict exists where alternative realizations or outcomes are possible with respect to which individuals or groups have preferences that are not completely congruent, and where outcomes or realizations can be altered or selected by the action or inaction of those involved.

Well, it was a start anyway. The next generation seemed better:

Conflict is defined as a situation in which the positions of parties (i.e. individuals and groups), or positions to which parties aspire, are mutually incompatible. This could include differences in, or disagreements about, behaviour, attitude and opinions, and values.

A *conflict incident* is defined as a scene of some (conflict) confined to the same agents. Even if the scene is interrupted by a flashback, et cetera, as long as it continues in "real time" it is the same act. However, if new agent(s) enter the scene, it becomes another act.

Violent incidents are conflict situations that contain hostility (considered here to be the various forms of violence as defined above) rather than simply involving differences or disagreements.

Conversely, *non-violent conflict incidents* simply involve differences or disagreements and contain no hostility.

In our bid to use these varied definitions as our guides in the translation of television images and print content into codable values, we combined trial runs, semantic analysis, discussion, and literature searches (see Appendix 1 for an Annotated Bibliography). Our aims were:(1) highly consistent classification of content as being "violent" or "non-violent" by as varied an assortment of random viewers or readers as possible, (2) the gradual compilation of agreed ranking in terms of a hierarchy of violence, and (3) a middle or grey-area locale for instances of "conflict" ranging from somewhat violent to relatively non-violent.

We sought, in fact, some meaning for "violent" that would lead such diverse humans as academics, editors, politicians, policemen, women, children, and even bureaucrats towards agreement on the description of incidents reported as news.

As our next step, we began cataloguing specific actions, activities, and circumstances – many of them suggested by such diverse humans as we have cited. This gave us the following framework:

Mode of Violence

I *Actual physical harm*
A. Body
(i)   Assault
(ii)   Battery
(iii)   Homicide
(iv)   Falling
(v)   Rape and other sexual offences
(vi)   Other (specify)

B. Weapon: Complexity
(0)   Gun – unclear what type
(1)   Small firearms, handguns, pistols, et cetera
(2)   Hunting guns, rifles, et cetera
(3)   Machine-guns
(4)   Small household objects such as kitchen knives, rope, et cetera

(5)   Small non-household devices such as switchblades, kung fu sticks, spears
(6)   Objects not normally intended for violent use, such as furniture, automobiles, slippery materials
(7)   Relatively sophisticated, specialized means of doing violence, such as grenades, tanks, mortars, Molotov cocktails, et cetera
(8)   Relatively elaborate or complex machinery or organization to do violence, such as torture chambers, mass destruction devices, et cetera
(9)   Surgery and other medical means
(10) Combinations of more than one mode

C. Alcohol
D. Drugs (1) Legal
         (2) Illegal
E. Poison
F. Use of an agent to do violence, such as hired killer, insects, et cetera
G. Kidnapping (no ransom demand)
H. Hijacking (no ransom demand)
I. Hostage-taking (no demand)
J. Suicide
K. Fire
L. Act of nature, such as lighting bolt, earthquake, tidal wave, et cetera
M. Drowning
N. Unclear or unspecified mode
O. Other (specify)

II *Potential physical harm*

A. Explicit verbal threat

(1) direct verbal threat (e.g. I'm going to kill you)
(2) indirect verbal threat (e.g. we'll get it out of him)
(3) threat of use of other source

B. Explicit nonverbal threat

(1) the fist
(2) brandishing a weapon
(3) voodoo, witchcraft

C. Implicit

(1) e.g. person physically imprisoned so that if he/she moves he/she harms him/herself, or person says he/she is afraid but there was no explicit verbal or nonverbal threat
(2) drug-pushing

III *Potential or actual psychological harm*

(1) direct verbal abuse (e.g. name calling)
(2) sarcasm or mimicking a deficiency
(3) passive aggression, e.g. wife and husband having fight and then one party refuses to argue any longer and switches on television *or* turns up volume of radio, et cetera, to avoid argument, et cetera
(4) brainwashing, hypnosis
(5) harassment, e.g. repeated obscene phone calls or invasion of privacy

IV *Actual or potential socio-economic or political harm*
(1) fraud
(2) extortion
(3) blackmail
(4) strikes or lockouts
(5) demonstrations or sit-ins
(6) theft

V *Combination of potential psychological, socio-economic, or political harm*
(1) discrimination, denial of rights or opportunities, or the threat of denial (based on prejudice)
(2) discrimination, denial of rights or opportunities, or the threat of denial (based on politics, ideological conviction, or religious conviction)

VI *Ransom demand combined with kidnapping, hijacking, or hostage taking*

VII *Symbolic or joking mode*
Trial runs through several television newscasts and newspapers indicated that this mode of classification and description produced fairly satisfactory results on an individual basis – in the sense that one person viewing or reading could quite easily fit news items into specific slots and, eventually, come up with quite definite labelling of items as "violent" or "non-violent". There was even some indication that an aggregate definition of "violence" was possible.

However, individual viewers and readers who classified the same programs or newspapers frequently disagreed both on the overall designation of items as "violent" or "non-violent" and on their brief description of what items were about. They were usually consistent across their own assessments but not at all consistent collectively.

Further steps were called for to remedy this situation. Three proved to be most helpful:

(1) Designation of items as "violent" or "non-violent" was separated from the task of describing what items were about.

(2) The descriptive segment was enlarged upon and formalized.

(3) A hierarchy of violence was assembled, tested, revised, re-tested, re-revised, and adopted.

The separation meant, for a start, that the question of whether a news item is violent or not can be set aside. The task is simply to indicate what a news item is about. And this can be worked through as follows.

Any news item deals with subject matter that ranges from the ert to the inert and provides most of the answers to a question arising from the traditional who, what, why, when, where, and how. Thus you can formulate a description as an answer to the question "*Who* did *what* to *whom* using *what means* in *what context* at what *time* in what *place* with what *consequences*?"

In the case of news items in which more than one

issue or event is included (such as a report on a continuing set of events such as a crime and a trial), the identification of which issue or event to address the analytical question to can be managed in relatively mechanical and highly consistent fashion by using a hierarchical listing. In other words, all possible varieties of issue or event will be listed in advance (through pre-testing as a rule) in agreed-upon rank order of compatibility or importance in relation to the emphasis being examined. Then the issues or events in the news item can be identified on this rank order list and the question addressed to the single issue or event that ranks highest. Using such a hierarchical system, the incidence of errors of judgment and related coding idiosyncrasies can be minimized.

As a result, a reasonably straightforward procedure promising quite consistent results can be instituted. First, content will be identified in terms of being the most extreme manifestation of a type of activity listed within a selected hierarchy. Then such content will be described in response to the question cited above and assigned *only* to the hierarchically most extreme topic.

In most cases, this procedure actually takes in most of the basic information contained in the news items being identified and described. The great majority of news reports prove to be about one specific event, and as a result the labelling (a murder, for example) and description (who did what and so on) will collect the basics of the whole report. Some "roundup" reports, knitting together several related incidents or activities (such as weekend motor accidents), may pose problems in the selection of hierarchical level, but this can be eased by separating out the various incidents rounded up into individual items (which was done in our analysis).

The only other highly noticeable difficulty involves conflict between identification and description based on hierarchical criteria and identification and description based on the most recent happening (the "today" or "news" angle). Since the "today" aspect may not be the most extreme aspect in purely hierarchical terms an item may be said to be about two quite different topics (a "today" sanity hearing but a hierarchically labelled murder item). We opted for a hierarchical approach for the sake of consistency of coding.

With such basic definitions to guide us, we then turned to the forging of an instrument.

Methods Used

The Sample and the Populations of Interest
The sampling used at various stages of the research was predicated upon two concerns: the populations of interest and the limitations of the time and budget.

1. Time Frame
    The time frame selected by the Commission for this and several of its other media projects was May 17 to

May 31, 1976. Arrangements were made for obtaining off-air videotape recordings of all television newscasts falling within the sample defined by the Commission; and for securing copies of all Ontario newspapers that similarly fell within the sample. These were then forwarded to us by the Commission.

2. Selection of the Subsample

Our own selection of a subsample from the materials sent was guided by time and financial considerations, the objective of maximum geographical representation in the case of newspapers and television media, and finally, the finding of "incompletes". The latter most typically involved, in the case of television, missing portions of newscasts and technical problems with the off-air recording, which obscured some content; in the case of newspapers, there were several missing issues which we had no reason to believe were other than random occurrences.

A random subsample was selected on a daily basis conditioned by missing materials. We sought to have as nearly an exact match for television and newspapers as possible. We were able to match them for six of the seven sample days:

Television: May 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 28
Newspapers: May 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 28

(It will be noted that May 24 was a holiday and therefore was not a publishing day for most of the newspapers.)

The sample cities chosen – partly on the basis of the considerations indicated above – were, for television: *U.S.*, Buffalo and Detroit; *Canada*, Hamilton, Kingston, Kitchener, London, Ottawa, Peterborough, Sudbury, Toronto, Thunder Bay, Windsor. The sample cities for newspapers were all within Ontario and represented the maximum combination of circulation and geographic representation: Hamilton, Kingston, Kitchener-Waterloo, London, North Bay, Ottawa, St. Catharines, Sault Ste. Marie, Toronto.

It should be noted that news and sports items in newscasts on both American and Canadian television channels were selected for analysis in this study. This was primarily because survey reports consistently indicate that Ontario viewers (like other Canadians) make extensive use of newscasts from both countries. This is not true of American newspapers, and so only Ontario newspapers were analyzed. (The selection of both Canadian and American radio newscasts, in the companion study to this report, was made for the same reasons as television – though audiences are very much smaller for American radio.)

Populations of Interest

The sampling unit, having been established on the basis of medium, date, and city, includes all items – television and newspaper – that fall within the population of interest. The population of interest is defined as follows:

1. Television

Coders were instructed to include all items in their sample that are considered to be *news items*. This was defined as everything except some types of items specifically excluded: all commercials, editorials, commentaries, regular weather reports, regular business features, "banter" or idle conversation by news announcers. In addition to excluding such items from the coding process, we calculated the time they took up and deducted it from the total time for each program, thus assuring a consistent time base for comparative purposes.

2. Newspapers

Coders were instructed to exclude all editorial commentary, letters, cartoons, regular feature columns, sports box-scores, league standings, and similar tables, as well as obituaries, social notices, and business news and stock reports.

Measurement of Physical Characteristics: Time and Space

All items that fell within the population of interest as indicated above were measured in terms of time, space, and location. From this the measurement base or denominator was calculated. Thus, the measurement base, or denominator, would consist not of all time or space or frequencies in a given news program or issue of a newspaper, but rather of all time or space (or the item total) which could have been devoted to *news* that might possibly be violent or conflictual. In short, we visualized each newscast or newspaper issue as possessing a hard news "hole" in which violence/conflict *might* be found; a consistent definition of what was to be included was essential for inter-media comparisons.

In the case of television news, all news items contained in a given program were counted and timed, with the items that were not considered to be within the definition of the population of interest being excluded. In addition, each item's sequence number was recorded. This made possible the computation of such measures of central tendency as mean proportion of time devoted to violence/conflict, mean frequencies, location in programs where violence/conflict is found, et cetera.

For newspapers, the number of column inches was to be recorded, and the page numbers, location on the page, and headline prominence (as indicated by column inches of width) were included.

The Instrument

The content analysis instrument or code was developed empirically from a sample of the actual news items carried during the two-week period selected by the Commission. We selected five different newspapers and four television newscasts at random from the overall sample. Six members of the project staff – notably different in ages, attitudes, apparent cultural background, education, and sex – set out to label the content of this selection, first in terms of being violent or non-violent and then, for the violent items, in terms

of topic and type of violence. Each analysis was done by analysts working separately and then the results were pooled to determine points of agreement, disagreement, and outright doubt. This process was repeated three times during a period of five weeks.

Examination of the content analyses generated indicated each successive time that there was one class of items on which all project staff could agree that there was no evidence of conflict or violence. Items such as the winning of a scholarship, the development of a new kind of wheat, the opening of a new airport, were typical of this class. These we treated, in a preliminary fashion, as Category A Events – news items that on the surface, and on the basis of the material presented, suggested no violence or conflict.

The second broad category, or Category B Events, involved four subclassifications of violence or conflict. The pattern that emerged included:

1. Actual violence
2. Threatened or potential violence
3. Non-violent crime
4. Non-violent conflict

The Generic Types

We considered the A Types of Events, non-violent and non-conflictual, and the four subcategories of B Types of Events, to be Generic Types of Items, a basic working tool for providing a global description of the essential themes. Although the instrument, thus far, gave every indication of possessing both high information content and high reliability, its use was predicated upon the notion that items were inherently homogeneous, with clear boundaries. This may be true of *events* but it is only sometimes true of news items. News items are often complex mélanges of interwoven events, places, and times.

This tends to be more true of the well-backgrounded story. Related events, earlier sequences of lesser intensity, comparative happenings – all these and more are the stuff of both the well-researched article "in depth" as well as of the quickly assembled past material that may have already appeared.

Thus, as noted above, the "peg" of the story may involve a theft, but the thief may have also murdered somebody in carrying out a property crime. A speech by a political leader calling for peaceful discussion on an issue may be the lead of a story that also refers to bombings that have occurred, threatened or potential violence by another leader of the same party, a report of a swindle in behalf of the political party that did not involve violence, and general conflict among the members on the overall issues. It is therefore entirely possible that a given item may in fact have elements of all the generic B subcategories.

One of the most commonly used approaches to such a situation is the generation of a "dummy variable" coding scheme. Under such a scheme, coders are required to indicate a definite "yes" or "no" response indicating the presence or absence of *any* of the phenomena being examined. In items containing more than one violent or conflictual event, the adoption of such an approach would, without question, increase the number of violent/conflictual events noted in any given sample. We have deliberately chosen an approach that produces somewhat more conservative results than the "dummy variable" approach for reasons that should be apparent below.

All events are not equal in most people's minds. This is such an obvious truism it hardly need be stated. Implicitly, a dummy variable approach treats all items as equivalent in the absence of some well-documented weighting schema. Furthermore, the most dramatic, the most intense material is usually presented first; it is likely that the viewer or reader pays considerably less, if any, attention to a trivial property crime that accompanies a mass murder, for example. Because of these concerns, we developed an approach to the problem of coding which we called the "hierarchical" approach – as noted in our discussion of sampling earlier in this chapter.

Using the hierarchical approach, the coder lists, as the generic category for B Type Items, actual, threatened, or potential violence, non-violent crime, and finally non-violent conflict, in that order. Thus, the highest category only is listed. For example, a news item in which it is reported that a professor goes berserk, threatening to strangle his dean, shooting a rival colleague and heatedly debating the merits of the AIB with his secretary, would be only coded as actual violence since that is the highest of the three categories (actual and threatened violence and non-violent conflict) involved. The other two categories are not listed. It becomes clear, therefore, that with respect to Generic Type, the results must be seen as highly conservative. The definitions of the Generic Types, as used by our coders, are an outgrowth of our work on definitions. They became as follows:

Generic Types

1. Actual violence
   Death, destruction, or injury to present or formerly living entities; man's artifacts or the environment.

2. Psychological violence
   Psychological death, or injury to cerebral or emotional processes.

3. Threatened or potential violence
   Somebody or something has been threatened with harm or believes himself to be threatened with harm; or, harm could result to somebody or something if precautions are not taken, as in the case of increased border guards during the Olympics.

4. Non-violent crime
   No apparent death, injury, or psychological violence expressed or implied; this would usually include most

swindles, prostitution, many theft, fraud and conspiracy, traffic offences, et cetera.

5. Non-violent conflict

Disputation, disagreement, discord that does not involve death, injury or psychological violence, including verbal abuse, labour disputes, demonstrations, most sports, games, and other active competitions.

Item Boundaries

Some news stories share a common characteristic with television dramas, short stories, and much other prose: the typical member of the audience is aware of where or when one drama, short story, or article ends and another begins. In some television news items and some newspaper articles, the distinction is not always clear, however. One event may generate two or more separate news items. In determining item boundaries, the guidelines employed specifically stated that an item is to be treated as independent of another if it was of such a nature that it could "exist as an independent story, capable of being understood and appreciated by itself, or reports on an item that has transpired since the last newscast." Thus, the report of a Palestine Liberation Organization murder of a diplomat in Cairo, which is followed up by the statement, "And, in Paris, the PLO took credit for a bomb explosion at a train station that resulted in three deaths and seventeen injuries," would be treated as two separate items in spite of their apparent linkage by the newscaster.

The Scenario Type

If Generic Types provide the global themes of violence, crime, and conflict, the development of what is here called Scenario Type is an attempt to provide more highly specific details not unlike those developed for use in the analysis of violence in drama and printed fiction. Although it is not within our purview, at some future time this schema may make it possible to compare for the first time, e.g., television news with television drama with respect to violence, conflict, and crime. For the present, however, this set of variables makes it possible for us to provide information on who or what does what to whom, with what consequences.

More specifically, we coded the following information for each B Type Item:

1. The use of film or graphics

2. The location of the action:
Unspecified
Local
Provincial
National/Ottawa
United States
International
Canada-U.S.
Other

3. Agent:
Unspecified
Humans acting with legal mandate (police, army, firemen, watchmen, customs officers, parliaments, border patrols, et cetera)
Humans acting on their own but apparently legally (householders, spouses, parents, self-defenders, operators of machines, scientists, political leaders, administrators, athletes, et cetera. Any "interest group" taking the role of an agent in which there is no indication that they are operating illegally or are considered to be operating legally)
Humans acting illegally and/or irrationally (criminals, psychopaths, terrorists, rioters, lynchers, arsonists, sexual offenders, et cetera)
Animals/insects
Natural disasters, diseases (naturally caused fires, floods, earthquakes, weather, et cetera)
Man-made disasters (fires, floods, explosions, tanker spills, train-plane-auto accidents, building collapses, pollutions caused by humans, industrial processes, and the like; results of technological process or device, new technology)
Other

4. Activity:
Unspecified
Murder, suicide, dying (other than natural deaths)
Assault, attack (any activity threatening or causing injury to living entities, including slander, defamation)
Forcible detention (kidnapping, hijacking, holding hostage, abducting, and the like – illegally)
Assault on or destruction of property (vandalism, pollution, theft, strikes and lockouts, riots, trespass, arson, fraud, embezzlement, forgery, plagiarism, et cetera)
Exercising legal mandate
Expressing non-violent conflict
Breaking the law in non-violent manner
Other

5. Target:
Unspecified
Self
Other human
Other human groups
Animals/insects
Property/environment
None
Other

6. Direct consequences (to the target):
Unspecified
Death
Injury
Psychological/psychiatric damage or destruction
Uproar/dislocation (at social level)
Socio-economic
Property/environmental damage or destruction

None
Other

7. Context of activity: reason, rationale, motivation:
Unspecified
War, insurrection, civil war, revolution
Irrationality, deviance, criminal activity, including any
    such act caused by an external stimulant such as
    drugs
Ideological
Personal gain
Accidental, ignorance of consequences, natural disaster
Games and sports
Other

8. Time of activity:
Unspecified
Irrelevant
Night
Day

9. Setting:
Unspecified
Irrelevant
Urban
Rural
Mixed case
Other

10. Weapon or medium of harm:
Unspecified
Irrelevant
Body
Firearm
Small hand weapons, non-violent materials or objects
Vehicles
Explosives and war materials
Crowd, mob, organized group
Administrative interference essentially in conflict situa-
    tions, as red tape, indifference, et cetera
Libel, blasphemy
Medical procedure, as abortion
Alcohol, drugs, poisons
Act of nature
Animal
Technology and industrial processes
Other

11. Age of agent:
Unspecified
Irrelevant
Child, to approximately 11 years old
Adolescent, approximately 12 to 18
Adult, approximately 19 to 40
Mid-adult, approximately 41 to 64
Old, 65 or older
Mixed case

12. Sex of agent:
Unspecified
Irrelevant

Male
Female
Mixed, male and female

13. Ethnicity of agent:
Unspecified or irrelevant
White (European)
Black
Oriental-Asian
Native-Indian-Inuit
Arab
Latin American
Israeli
Other
Mixed

14. Age of target:
Unspecified
Irrelevant
Child, to 11
Adolescent, 12 to 18
Adult, 19 to 40
Mid-adult, 41 to 64
Old, 65 or older
Mixed

15. Sex of target:
Unspecified
Irrelevant
Male
Female
Mixed, male and female

16. Ethnicity of target:
Unspecified/irrelevant
White (European)
Black
Oriental-Asian
Native-Indian-Inuit
Arab
Latin American
Israeli
Other
Mixed

It should be noted that the codes above were empiri-
cally derived from the actual material, and represent an
effort to locate sociologically the roles, the events, and
the specific actions.

Coding Procedures
The same coding schema was used for both television
and newspaper but certain procedures of necessity had
to be employed for the particular characteristics of each
medium. The stopwatch and tape counter of the
videotape recorder were replaced, for example, by the
specially designed plastic measuring guide for space
measurement and column widths in newspapers.
    In addition, because of known characteristics of the
two media and the constraints of budget, the television

news item was coded *in toto*, but the first six inches of each newspaper story were read and coded; typically, this amounted to four or five paragraphs.

All television coding required a team of two coders; for print, one coder was employed, and a recode of approximately eight per cent was undertaken as a reliability measure. An error factor of two to four per cent was found to apply to television coding (see Appendix 2) and of two per cent to the newspaper coding.

Most of the coders were senior undergraduate or graduate students of the University of Western Ontario who had trained and practised for several days. As a further check, each television item that was coded was abstracted by the coders for use in a later social validation study, described in Chapter 3 below.

Results

Newspapers and Television News

The Content Sample

A total of 12,913 news and sports items in our sample of newspapers and television newcasts were examined. Of these, 10,435 (80.9 per cent) were news items and 2,478 (19.1 per cent) dealt with sports topics.

A) Publishing or Broadcast Date

The sample was reasonably evenly spread through the publication and broadcast days selected and among the individual newspapers or stations of origin. A number of individual category variations emerged from the analysis, however, and these are discussed in concert with the individual tables generated.

Table 1

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Publishing Date	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
May 18	1,477	15.1
May 19	1,944	19.8
May 20	1,708	17.4
May 21	1,336	13.6
May 26	1,920	19.6
May 28	1,409	14.4
Total	9,794	100.0

Table 2

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Publishing Date	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
May 18	1,213	15.0
May 19	1,623	20.1
May 20	1,408	17.4
May 21	1,087	13.5
May 26	1,612	20.0
May 28	1,127	14.0
Total	8,070	100.0

Table 3

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Publishing Date	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
May 18	1,264	15.3
May 19	321	18.6
May 20	300	17.4
May 21	249	14.4
May 26	308	17.9
May 28	282	16.4
Total	1,724	100.0

(Note: Newspapers in the sample were not published on May 24, a Canadian holiday.)

Table 4

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Broadcast Date	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
May 18	464	14.9
May 19	440	14.1
May 20	443	14.2
May 21	500	16.0
May 24	464	14.9
May 26	369	11.8
May 28	439	14.1
Total	3,119	100.0

(Note: Television stations in the sample carried regular newscasts on May 24, a Canadian holiday.)

Table 5

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Broadcast Date	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
May 18	361	15.3
May 19	342	14.5
May 20	335	14.2
May 21	372	15.7
May 24	344	14.5
May 26	274	11.6
May 28	337	14.2
Total	2,365	100.0

Table 6

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Broadcast Date	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
May 18	103	13.7
May 19	98	13.0
May 20	108	14.3
May 21	128	17.0
May 24	120	15.9
May 26	95	12.6
May 28	102	13.5
Total	754	100.0

Tables 7 and 8 indicate quite substantial differences in the number of news items broadcast on American and Canadian television newscasts. Canadian stations averaged 112 items a day each, while American stations in the sample averaged 225. This was due mainly to the fact that American station items were shorter on average (about 15 per cent) and American evening newscasts run up to 30 minutes longer than Canadian ones.

Table 7

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Broadcast Date	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
May 18	170	16.8
May 19	140	13.8
May 20	145	14.3
May 21	171	16.9
May 24	132	13.0
May 26	106	10.5
May 28	149	14.7
Total	1,013	100.0

Table 8

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Broadcast Date	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
May 18	191	14.1
May 19	202	14.9
May 20	190	14.1
May 21	201	14.9
May 24	212	15.7
May 26	168	12.4
May 28	188	13.9
Total	1,352	100.0

B) City of Publication or Broadcast

Figures on the number of published items broken down by city or newspaper or station do not necessarily indicate the relative degree of comprehensiveness or depth of coverage. Differences could indicate variation in the reliance on wire-service items, preference for short or long items, idiosyncrasies of style, or the regional applicability of the day's news. Identification of which reasons apply to sample papers and stations is not undertaken in this study.

Table 9

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

City of Publication	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
Hamilton	959	9.8
Kingston	762	7.8
Kitchener	1,196	12.2
London	1,031	10.5
Ottawa	890	9.1
St. Catharines	1,342	13.7
Sault Ste. Marie	695	7.1
Toronto	2,919	
Total	9,794	100.0

* Three Toronto newspapers were selected for study. This figure is the total for all three.

Table 10

Newspaper News Items
(ten-station sample)

City of Publication	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
Hamilton	712	10.0
Kingston	655	8.1
Kitchener	1,041	12.9
London	847	10.5
Ottawa	717	8.9
St. Catharines	1,061	13.1
Sault Ste. Marie	627	7.8
Toronto	2,310	28.6*
Total	8,070	100.0

* Three Toronto newspapers were selected for study. This figure is the total for all three.

Table 11

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

City of Publication	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
Hamilton	147	8.5
Kingston	107	6.2
Kitchener	155	9.0
London	184	10.7
Ottawa	173	10.0
St. Catharines	281	16.3
Sault Ste. Marie	68	3.9
Toronto	609	
Total	1,724	100.0

* Three Toronto newspapers were selected for study. This figure is the total for all three.

Table 12

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

City of Origin*	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Buffalo	916	29.4
Detroit	688	22.1
Hamilton	157	5.0
Kingston	150	4.8
Kitchener	217	7.0
London	92	2.9
Ottawa	145	4.6
Peterborough	140	4.5
Toronto	485	15.5
Windsor	129	4.1
Total	3,119	100.0

* These aggregate figures are imbalanced, so far as city proportions are concerned, because totals for three stations each are combined for Buffalo and Detroit, two stations for Toronto. Individual station breakdowns are in tables below.

Table 13

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

City of Origin	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Buffalo	778	32.9
Detroit	573	24.2
Hamilton	131	5.5
Kingston	81	3.4
Kitchener	139	5.9
London	37	1.6
Ottawa	96	4.1
Peterborough	77	3.3
Toronto	378	16.0
Windsor	75	3.2
Total	2,365	100.0

Table 14

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

City of Origin	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Buffalo	138	18.3
Detroit	115	15.3
Hamilton	26	3.4
Kingston	69	9.1
Kitchener	78	10.3
London	55	7.3
Ottawa	49	6.5
Peterborough	63	8.4
Toronto	107	14.2
Windsor	54	7.2
Total	754	100.0

Table 15

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

City of Origin	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Hamilton	131	12.9
Kingston	81	8.0
Kitchener	139	13.7
London	37	3.7
Ottawa	96	9.5
Peterborough	77	7.6
Toronto	378	37.2
Windsor	75	7.4
Total	1,014	100.0

Table 16

American Television News
(six-station sample)

City of Origin	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Buffalo	778	57.6
Detroit	573	42.4
Total	1,351	100.0

C) Medium of Origin

Table 17

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Newspaper	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
Hamilton Spectator	959	9.8
Kingston Whig-Standard	762	7.8
Kitchener-Waterloo Record	1,196	12.2
London Free Press	1,031	10.5
Ottawa Journal	890	9.1
St. Catharines Standard	1,342	13.7
Sault Ste. Marie Star	695	7.1
Toronto Globe and Mail	1,246	12.7
Toronto Star	1,111	11.3
Toronto Sun	562	5.7
Total	9,794	100.0

Table 18

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Newspaper	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
Hamilton Spectator	812	10.1
Kingston Whig-Standard	655	8.1
Kitchener-Waterloo Record	1,041	12.9
London Free Press	847	10.5
Ottawa Journal	717	8.9
St. Catharines Standard	1,061	13.1
Sault Ste. Marie Star	627	7.8
Toronto Globe and Mail	1,012	12.5
Toronto Star	932	11.6
Toronto Sun	366	4.5
Total	8,070	100.0

Table 19

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Newspaper	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
Hamilton Spectator	147	8.5
Kingston Whig-Standard	107	6.2
Kitchener-Waterloo Record	155	9.0
London Free Press	184	10.7
Ottawa Journal	173	10.0
St. Catharines Standard	281	16.3
Sault Ste. Marie Star	68	3.9
Toronto Globe and Mail	234	13.6
Toronto Star	179	10.4
Toronto Sun	196	11.4
Total	1,724	100.0

Table 20

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Station	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
WKBW (ABC)	298	9.6
WGR (NBC)	275	8.8
WBEN (CBS)	343	11.0
WXYZ (ABC)	222	7.1
WJBK (CBS)	190	6.0
WWJ (NBC)	275	8.8
CBET (CBC)	129	4.1
CKWS (CBC)	150	4.8
CFPL (CBC)	92	2.9
CKCO (CTV)	216	6.9
CHCH(Ind.)	158	5.0
CFTO (CTV)	258	8.3
CBLT (CBC)	227	7.3
CHEX (CBC)	140	4.5
Global	145	4.6
Unidentified*	1	.0
Total	3,119	100.0

* Coding error.

Table 21

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Station	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
WKBW	262	11.1
WGR	231	9.8
WBEN	285	12.1
WXYZ	181	7.7
WJBK	154	6.5
WWJ	237	10.0
CBET	75	3.2
CKWS	81	3.4
CFPL	37	1.6
CKCO	138	5.8
CHCH	132	5.6
CFTO	196	8.3
CBLT	182	7.7
CHEX	77	3.3
Global	96	4.1
Unidentified	1	.0
Total	2,365	100.0

Table 22

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Station	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
WKBW	36	4.8
WGR	44	5.8
WBEN	58	7.7
WXYZ	41	5.4
WJBK	36	4.8
WWJ	38	5.0
CBET	54	7.2
CKWS	69	9.2
CFPL	55	7.3
CKCO	78	10.3
CHCH	26	3.4
CFTO	62	8.2
CBLT	45	6.0
CHEX	63	8.4
Global	49	6.5
Total	754	100.0

Table 23

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Station	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
CBET	75	7.4
CKWS	81	8.0
CFPL	37	3.7
CKCO	138	13.6
CHCH	132	13.0
CFTO	196	19.3
CBLT	182	17.9
CHEX	77	7.6
Global	96	9.5
Total	1,014	100.0

Table 24

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Station	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
WKBW	262	19.4
WGR	231	17.1
WBEN	285	21.1
WXYZ	181	13.4
WJBK	154	11.4
WWJ	237	17.6
Total	1,350	100.0

Tables 18-24 reveal some sharp variations in the practices of individual media as well as between newspapers and television. Gross numbers of items vary widely – from 1,342 in one newspaper to 92 in the case of one television station. Proportions of news and sports carried also vary widely – from a high of 90.2 per cent news for one newspaper to a low of 40.2 per cent news on one television station. It is also clear that newspapers, as one would assume in view of their advantage in total "space," carry many times more items than television newscasts do, and devote a somewhat higher proportion of this space to news than television does.

However, interpretation of such differences is open to question and challenge. Sports and news proportions may have been affected by individual or regional practices such as special sports programs on television (which were not analyzed in this study), seasonal variations or the influence of holidays (May 24 especially) on coverage balance. Gross numbers may have been affected by special items or extra length, the division between local (usually longer) and non-local items, and the degree of reliance on original or agency coverage. As noted above, conclusions about the relative quality, depth, or comprehensiveness of coverage cannot be drawn with much certainty.

With such reservations firmly in mind, the following three tables indicate individual variations somewhat more clearly:

D) Items Carried:

Table 25

Items Carried

	News	per cent	Sports	per cent
Newspapers	8,070	82.4	1,724	17.6
Television Newscasts	2,365	75.8	754	24.2

Table 26

Items Carried

Individual Publications	News	per cent	Sports	per cent
Hamilton Spectator	812	84.6	147	15.4
Kingston Whig Standard	655	85.9	107	14.1
Kitchener-Waterloo Record	1,041	87.0	155	13.0
London Free Press	847	82.1	184	17.9
Ottawa Journal	171	80.5	173	19.5
St. Catharines Standard	1,061	79.1	281	20.9
Sault Ste. Marie Star	627	90.2	68	9.8
Toronto Globe and Mail	1,012	81.2	234	18.8
Toronto Star	932	83.8	179	16.2
Toronto Sun	366	65.1	196	34.9

Table 27

Items Carried

Individual Stations	News	per cent	Sports	per cent
WKBW	262	87.9	36	12.1
WGR	231	84.0	44	16.0
WBEN	285	83.0	58	17.0
WXYZ	181	81.5	41	18.5
WJBK	154	81.0	36	19.0
WWJ	237	86.2	38	13.8
CBET	75	58.1	54	41.9
CKWS	81	54.0	69	46.0
CFPL	37	40.2	55	59.8
CKCO	138	63.9	78	36.1
CHCH	132	83.5	26	16.5
CFTO	196	76.0	62	24.0
CBLT	182	80.2	45	19.8
CHEX	77	55.0	63	45.0
Global	96	66.2	49	33.8

Two further observations are suggested by the tables above. First, it seems clear that there is a fairly firm consensus among newspapers in the sample as to the proportions of news and sports that are usually published (about 85 per cent news, 15 per cent sports) in regular-sized newspapers regardless of the number of items selected. The only exception was *The Toronto Sun*, a tabloid. Second, it seems that there is a noticeable difference in the practice of Canadian and American television stations. American stations seem to run to an 85 per cent news and 15 per cent sports format, while Canadian stations (apart from CHCH, CFTO, and CBLT which are in very direct competition with American stations and, perhaps, have set or adopted major metropolitan American practices as a result) seem to favour a 60 per cent news, 40 per cent sports format.

E) Location of Action

Table 28

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Location of Action	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
Unspecified*	5,917	60.4
Local	700	7.1
Provincial	1,223	12.5
National	726	7.3
U.S.	499	5.1
International	707	7.2
Canada and U.S.	16	.2
Other	6	.1
Total	9,794	100.0

* Included non-violent items which were not coded as to location.

Table 29

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Location of Action	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
Unspecified*	4,450	55.1
Local	658	8.2
Provincial	1,166	14.5
National	695	8.6
U.S.	410	5.1
International	671	8.3
Canada and U.S.	14	.2
Other	0	.1
Total	8,064	100.0

* Includes non-violent items which were not coded as to location.

Table 30

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Location of Action	Number of Published Items	Per Cent
Unspecified*	1,467	85.1
Local Canadian	42	2.4
Provincial Canadian	57	3.3
National Canadian	31	1.8
U.S.	89	5.2
International	36	2.1
Canada and U.S.	2	.1
Total	1,724	100.0

* Includes non-violent items which were not coded as to location.

Table 31

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Location of Action	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	11	.4
Local Canadian	318	10.2
Provincial Canadian	396	12.7
National Canadian	367	11.8
U.S.	1,635	52.4
International	317	10.2
Canada and U.S.	75	2.4
Total	3,119	100.0

Table 32

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Location of Action	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	6	.2
Local Canadian	229	9.7
Provincial Canadian	338	14.3
National Canadian	254	10.7
U.S.	1,256	53.1
International	263	11.1
Canada and U.S.	19	.8
Total	2,365	100.0

Table 33

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Location of Action	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	5	.6
Local Canadian	89	11.8
Provincial Canadian	58	7.7
National Canadian	113	15.0
U.S.	379	50.3
International	54	7.2
Canada and U.S.	56	7.4
Total	754	100.0

Table 34

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Location of Action	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	2	.2
Local Canadian	227	22.4
Provincial Canadian	333	32.9
National Canadian	244	24.1
U.S.	71	7.0
International	123	12.1
Canada and U.S.	13	1.3
Total	1,013	100.0

Table 35

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Location of Action	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	4	.3
Local Canadian	2	.1
Provincial Canadian	5	.4
National Canadian	10	.7
U.S.	1,185	87.6
International	140	10.4
Canada and U.S.	6	.5
Total	1,352	100.0

Table 36

Canadian Television Sports
(nine-station sample)

Location of Action	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	2	.4
Local Canadian	88	17.6
Provincial Canadian	54	10.8
National Canadian	111	22.2
U.S.	173	34.6
International	33	6.6
Canada and the U.S.	39	7.8
Total	500	100.0

Table 37

American Television Sports
(six-station sample)

Location of Action	Number of Broadcast Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	3	1.2
Local Canadian	1	.4
Provincial Canadian	4	1.6
National Canadian	2	.8
U.S.	206	81.1
International	21	8.2
Canada and U.S.	17	6.7
Total	254	100.0

Results for this section are not wholly satisfactory. Constraints of time and funds necessitated using a shorter newspaper analysis format, and as a result location of action for non-violent newspaper news and sports items was not included. Consistency of coding response required that categories retain the same meaning throughout, with the result that local, provincial, and national items were coded for Canadian items only. This meant that American items located in the U.S. could be coded only as U.S. items and could not be broken down further. In other words, an American television item coded "Local" was an item that had a neighbouring Canadian city (Niagara Falls or Windsor) as a locale, an American television item coded "provincial" was located in Ontario, and so on. American television items located in the U.S. were coded U.S.

From the results, however, the following table can be compiled which gives indications of differences of emphasis between Canadian newspapers and television newscasts. Also the relatively greater American emphasis on U.S. affairs, compared to Canadian emphasis on Canadian affairs, emerges quite clearly.

Table 38

Percentages of Items

Location of Action	Canadian Newspaper News*	Canadian Television News	U.S. Television News	Canadian Newspaper Sports	Canadian Television Sports	U.S. Television Sports
Unspecified	6.3	.2	.3	31.6	.4	1.2
Local	17.0	27.4	.1	11.2	17.6	.4
Provincial	30.2	32.9	.4	15.2	10.8	1.6
National	18.0	24.1	.7	8.2	22.2	.8
U.S.	10.6	7.0	87.6	23.7	34.6	81.1
International	17.4	12.1	10.4	9.6	6.6	8.2
Canada and U.S.	.4	1.3	.5	.5	7.8	6.7
Other	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

* Excluding uncoded non-violent items.

F) Location of Items

Newspapers	Non-Violent Items	per cent	Conflict Items	per cent	Violent Items	per cent	Total
Front Page	225	42	144	27	167	31	536
Section Page	554	65	151	18	152	18	857
Inside Pages	5,096	60	1,368	16	1,937	23	8,401
Total	5,872	60	1,663	17	2,256	23	9,794
Television Newscasts	58	43	22	16	56	41	136
Lead Item	1,819	61	351	12	813	27	2,983
Other	1,877	60	373	12	869	28	3,119

As might have been expected violence- and conflict-related items in the sample tended to get more prominence than non-violent ones. While 60 per cent of the overall sample was non-violent, 58 per cent of front-page items and 57 per cent of the lead items in television newscasts were violence- or conflict-related. It seems likely that this increased the sense or impact of violence in the news for many readers and viewers, though further study is clearly called for.

Newspapers and Television News:
Content Characteristics

Examination of the content data secured in this study revealed some rather surprising aggregate tendencies. We will discuss these in more detail in subsections below, but would suggest that, in general, the following broad assertions may be made:

News items on television and in newspapers focus on violence-related and conflict topics in almost half the news items carried (48.4 per cent for television, 45.3 per cent for newspapers). This figure is probably lower than many would expect, but still is clearly in excess of the actual experience of most individuals and communities.

Sports items in newspapers and on television newscasts are relatively non-violent (84.5 per cent non-violent for newspapers, 86.6 per cent non-violent on television newscasts).

This, as noted in Chapter 1, does not include content analysis of all-sports programs on television.

Most violence depicted involves human agents (79.6 per cent of all violent items) and human targets (81.3 per cent of all violent items).

Whenever specified, the sex of both the doers and the recipients of violence was predominantly male. Women, so far as violence and conflict are concerned, hardly seem to exist in the news and sports worlds.

The age and ethnicity of participants in violence and conflict items were not significant factors. They were mentioned rarely in the sample.

Taking news and sports together, newspapers and television newscasts carried about the same amount of violence-related and conflict material. Television newscasts tended to focus more on actual or threatened violence while newspapers carried more conflict items. In the sample, 18.3 per cent of newspaper items were violence-related, compared with 23 per cent on television newscasts and 21.7 per cent of newspaper items were conflict-related compared with 16.9 per cent on television newscasts.

In the case of news only, American television newscasts carried slightly more violence-related news items than Canadian stations (28.2 per cent of the total for U.S. stations compared with 26.5 per cent on Canadian stations) and significantly fewer conflict-related news items (16.8 per cent of the total on U.S. stations compared with 26.3 per cent on Canadian newscasts). Overall, American stations had more non-violent news items (55 per cent) than Canadian stations (47.1 per cent).

Legal acts of violence and conflict, such as price actions, account for the largest single category of violent and conflict acts in the items studied – almost 32 per cent of the whole. Clearly illegal acts were involved in just over 20 per cent of the items.

The sports sample in this study did not contain a sufficient number of items for statistically reliable evaluation of all segments planned. In particular, the television newscast sector proved to contain only 101 sports items of a violence-related or conflict nature (0.7

per cent of the total) overall and the breakdown of this into Canadian television newscast sports and U.S. television newscast sports categories would have involved samples of 66 Canadian items and 35 U.S. items.

In view of the vulnerability of such a small sample to serious distortions, tables on Canadian and U.S. television sports in newscasts were not constructed.

Now, to the detailed tabulations:

A) Generic Type of Action:

Of the total sample of newspaper and television items studied, 60.0 per cent were non-violent and 40.0 per cent were violence-related or conflict items.

Physical violence and non-violent conflict were the two most common types of activity in the violence-related and conflict items. They accounted for 41.9 per cent and 39.4 per cent of violence-related and conflict items respectively, followed by non-violent crime (11.9 per cent) and threatened or potential violence (6.3 per cent). Psychological violence proved to be relatively insignificant (0.4 per cent) and seven items (0.1 per cent) of the 5,167 violence-related and conflict items were not codable within the five major categories.

There were differences between newspapers and television newscasts and between Canadian and U.S. television newscasts. Newspapers tended to stress non-violent conflicts in more news items (42.5 per cent of the violence and conflict item total) with physical violence a close second (38.8 per cent of the violence and conflict item total). On television newscasts, items dealing with physical violence were the most common violent items (47.9 per cent of the violence and conflict item total) with items dealing with non-violent conflict second (29.5 per cent of the violence and conflict item total).

Canadian and American television stations also reflected important differences in their newscasts. American television newscasts carried more non-violent items (55 per cent) than Canadian ones did (47.1 per cent) but also placed greater stress on items dealing with physical violence. Physical violence items made up 55.3 per cent of the violence and conflict items in American television newscasts compared with 39.6 per cent on Canadian television newscasts. On Canadian stations, however, there was much greater emphasis on conflict news items (49.8 per cent of violence and conflict items) than there was on American television newscasts (36.8 per cent of the violence and conflict items).

Table 39

Newspaper and Television News and Sports
(ten newspapers and 15 television stations)

Generic Type	Number of Broadcast/ Published Items	per cent	Number of Violent* Items	per cent
No Violence	7,746	60.0	0	.0
Physical Violence	2,165	16.7	2,165	41.9
Psychological Violence	23	.1	23	.4
Threat, Potential Violence	324	2.5	324	6.3
Non-Violent Crime	613	4.8	613	11.9
Non-Violent Conflict	2,035	15.8	2,035	39.4
Other	7	.1	7	.1
Total	12,913	100.0	5,167	100.0

* For obvious reasons of space, "violent" is used to describe the actual category of "violence- and conflict-related" items included in this column.

Table 40

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Generic Type	Number of Broadcast/ Items	per cent	Number of Violent Items	per cent
No Violence	5,872	59.9	0	.0
Physical Violence	1,555	15.9	1,555	39.6
Psychological Violence	23	.2	23	.6
Threat, Potential Violence	219	2.2	219	5.6
Non-Violent Crime	459	4.7	459	11.7
Non-Violent Conflict	1,663	17.0	1,663	42.4
Other	3	.1	3	.1
Total	9,794	100.0	3,922	100.0

Table 41

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Generic Type	Number of Published Items	per cent	Number of Violent Items	per cent
No Violence	4,416	54.7	0	.0
Physical Violence	1,419	17.6	1,419	38.8
Psychological Violence	23	.3	23	.6
Threat, Potential Violence	208	2.6	208	5.7
Non-Violent Crime	450	5.6	450	12.3
Non-Violent Conflict	1,551	19.2	1,551	42.5
Other	3	.0	3	.1
Total	8,070	100.0	3,654	100.0

Table 42

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Generic Type	Number of Published Items	per cent	Number of Violent Items	per cent
No Violence	1,456	84.5	0	.0
Physical Violence	136	7.9	136	50.7
Threat, Potential Violence	11	.6	11	4.1
Non-Violent Crime	9	.5	9	3.4
Non-Violent Conflict	112	6.5	112	41.8
Total	1,724	100.0	268	100.0

Table 43

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Generic Type	Number of Broadcast Items	per cent	Number of Violent Items	per cent
No Violence	1,874	60.1	0	.0
Physical Violence	610	19.6	610	49.0
Threat, Potential Violence	105	3.4	105	8.4
Non-Violent Crime	154	4.9	154	12.4
Non-Violent Conflict	372	11.9	372	29.9
Other	4	.1	4	.3
Total	3,119	100.0	1,245	100.0

Table 44

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Generic Type	Number of Broadcast Items	per cent	Number of Violent Items	per cent
No Violence	1,221	51.6	0	.0
Physical Violence	548	23.2	548	47.9
Threat, Potential Violence	101	4.3	101	8.8
Non-Violent Crime	153	6.5	153	13.4
Non-Violent Conflict	338	14.3	338	29.5
Other	4	.1	4	.4
Total	2,365	100.0	1,144	100.0

Table 45

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Generic Type	Number of Broadcast Items	per cent	Number of Violent Items	per cent
No Violence	653	86.6	0	.0
Physical Violence	62	8.2	62	61.4
Threat, Potential Violence	4	.5	4	4.0
Non-Violent Crime	1	.2	1	1.0
Non-Violent Conflict	34	4.5	34	33.6
Other	0	.0	0	.0
Total	754	100.0	101	100.0

Table 46

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Generic Type	Number of Broadcast Items	per cent	Number of Violent Items	per cent
No Violence	477	47.1	0	.0
Physical Violence	212	20.9	212	39.6
Threat, Potential Violence	57	5.6	57	10.6
Non-Violent Crime	72	7.1	72	13.4
Non-Violent Conflict	195	19.2	195	36.4
Total	1,013	100.0	536	100.0

Table 47

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Generic Type	Number of Broadcast Items	per cent	Number of Violent Items	per cent
No Violence	744	55.0	0	.0
Physical Violence	336	24.9	336	55.3
Threat, Potential Violence	44	3.3	44	7.2
Non-Violent Crime	81	6.0	81	13.3
Non-Violent Conflict	143	10.5	143	23.5
Other	4	.3	4	.7
Total	1,352	100.0	608	100.0

B) Agent:

Humans, as noted, were the principal agents or instigators in violence and conflict items studied. They accounted for the main violence or conflict in 79.6 per cent of violence and conflict items studied and were necessarily a factor in the 13.4 per cent of violence and conflict items classified as man-made disasters. Natural disasters accounted for 4.5 per cent of violence and conflict items.

Differences emerged between the media and between Canadian and American television newscasts. Newspapers stressed human agents more than television did (81.6 per cent of violence or conflict items in newspapers had human agents, 72.9 per cent of television newscast items had human agents). Among the human agents, those classified (see Appendix 4) as humans acting on their own legally (i.e. not as agents of the state or formal organizations but in a manner that does not involve lawbreaking) accounted for 41.4 per cent of newspaper violence and conflict items, compared with 30.0 per cent for television newscasts – a result probably related to the greater number of conflict items in newspapers cited in Section A above. Television newscasts, for their part, placed greater stress on man-made disasters (17.4 per cent of violence and conflict items carried) than newspapers did (12.2 per cent of violence and conflict items carried).

Sports items provided by both media gave most attention in violence and conflict items to human agents acting on their own legally (63.1 per cent for newspaper sports and 67.3 per cent for television newscast sports), probably a reflection of coverage of contact sports such as hockey.

In news items, newspapers carried fewer violence and conflict items in which humans acted as agents illegally (29.9 per cent of violence and conflict items) than television newscasts did (35.0 per cent of violence and conflict items). Again, this difference was probably the consequence of newspapers' greater proportion of conflict items.

Between Canadian and American television news items, the differences included greater attention to items involving human agents acting illegally and to items involving natural disasters on American television newscasts (36.7 per cent humans acting illegally on U.S. newscasts compared with 33.0 per cent on Canadian stations, and 19.2 per cent natural disasters on American stations compared with 16.1 per cent on Canadian stations). Canadian stations, for their part, placed somewhat greater emphasis on humans acting legally and humans with a social mandate.

Table 48

Newspapers and Television News and Sports
(ten-paper and 15-station sample)

Agent	Number of Items	Per Cent
Non-Violent*	7,746	60.0
Violent*	5,167	40.0

	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	95	1.8
Humans with Social Mandate	564	10.9
Humans on Own, Legal	1,996	38.7
Humans Illegally	1,544	30.0
Animals, Insects	38	.7
Natural Disasters	233	4.5
Man-Made Disasters	695	13.4
Other	2	.0
Total	5,167	100.0

* The non-violent/violent proportions cited here apply to all the general categories that follow this section and so are not repeated hereafter.

Table 49

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Agent	Number of Items	Per Cent
Non-Violent	5,872	60.0
Violent	3,922	40.0

	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	41	1.0
Humans with Social Mandate	438	11.2
Humans on Own, Legal	1,622	41.4
Humans Illegally	1,136	29.0
Animals, Insects	29	.7
Natural Disasters	177	4.5
Man-Made Disasters	479	12.2
Total	3,922	100.0

Table 50

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Agent	Number of Items	Per Cent
Non-Violent	4,416	54.7
Violent	3,654	45.3

	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	26	.7
Humans with Social Mandate	432	11.8
Humans on Own, Legal	1,453	39.8
Humans Illegally	1,092	29.9
Animals, Insects	28	.8
Natural Disasters	173	4.7
Man-Made Disasters	450	12.3
Total	3,654	100.0

Table 51

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Agent	Number of Items	Per Cent
Non-Violent	1,456	84.5
Violent	268	15.5

	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	15	5.6
Humans with Social Mandate	6	2.2
Humans on Own, Legal	169	63.1
Humans Illegally	44	16.4
Animals, Insects	1	.4
Natural Disasters	4	1.5
Man-Made Disasters	29	10.8
Total	268	100.0

Table 52

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Agent	Number of Items	Per Cent
Non-Violent	1,874	60.1
Violent	1,245	39.9

	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	54	4.3
Humans with Social Mandate	126	10.1
Humans on Own, Legal	374	30.0
Humans Illegally	488	32.8
Animals, Insects	9	.7
Natural Disasters	56	4.5
Man-Made Disasters	216	17.4
Other	2	.2
Total	1,245	100.0

Table 53

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Agent	Number of Items	Per Cent
Non-Violent	1,221	51.2
Violent	1,144	48.8

	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	49	4.3
Humans with Social Mandate	120	10.5
Humans on Own, Legal	306	26.7
Humans Illegally	400	35.0
Animals, Insects	8	.7
Natural Disasters	56	4.9
Man-Made Disasters	203	17.8
Other	2	.1
Total	1,144	100.0

Table 54

Table 54

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Agent	Number of Items	Per Cent
Non-Violent	653	86.6
Violent	101	13.4

	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	5	5.0
Humans with Social Mandate	6	5.9
Humans on Own, Legal	68	67.3
Humans Illegally	8	7.9
Animals, Insects	1	1.0
Natural Disasters	0	.0
Man-Made Disasters	13	12.9
Total	101	100.0

Table 55

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Agent	Number of Items	Per Cent
Non-Violent	477	47.1
Violent	536	52.9

	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	25	4.7
Humans with Social Mandate	60	11.2
Humans on Own, Legal	163	30.4
Humans Illegally	177	33.0
Animals, Insects	4	.7
Natural Disasters	21	3.9
Man-Made Disasters	86	16.1
Total	536	100.0

Table 56

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Agent	Number of Items	Per Cent
Non-Violent	744	55.0
Violent	608	45.0

	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	24	3.9
Humans with Social Mandate	60	9.9
Humans on Own, Legal	143	23.5
Humans Illegally	223	36.7
Animals, Insects	4	.7
Natural Disasters	35	5.8
Man-Made Disasters	117	19.2
Other	2	.3
Total	608	100.0

C) Activity:
Non-violent conflict was the commonest activity involved in the overall sample of violence and conflict items studied (32.3 per cent of the items), but there were quite definite differences within the individual media divisions.

Differences between the newspaper sample and the television sample were apparent. Television newscasts carried items dealing with murder, suicide, or other unnatural death more often (23.3 per cent of items for television news and sports, compared with 14.3 per cent for newspapers) in their violence and conflict items. Newspapers carried more items dealing with non-violent conflict (35.2 per cent compared with 23.2 per cent).

Among newspapers, news items dealt with non-violent conflict (34.9 per cent), assault and attack (15.8 per cent) and murders, suicides, and death (15.1 per cent) in that order. With newspaper sports, however, the emphasis was on assault and attack first (46.6 per cent) and then non-violent conflict (38.8 per cent).

With television news the patterns were somewhat more closely ranked: 23.3 per cent of items dealt with murder, suicide, or death, 22.8 per cent with non-violent conflict, 16.2 per cent with assault or attack and 14.3 per cent with assault on property. Television sports items focused on assault or attack in 54.5 per cent of cases and non-violent conflict in 27.7 per cent.

Differences appeared between Canadian television news and American television news. Canadian newscasts dealt more with non-violent conflict (27.1 per cent as opposed to 19.0 per cent) and were less concerned about assault on property (12.5 per cent versus 16.0 per cent). There was marginally greater emphasis on murder, suicide, and death on American television news (24.3 per cent versus 22.0 per cent).

The coding categories cited in the tables below were as follows (see Appendix 4 for the full schema):

Unspecified
Murder, Suicide, Dying

(Unless indicated as unnatural death, natural death is not to be included.)

Assault, Attack
(Any activity threatening or causing injury to living entities. Includes slander, defamation.)

Forcible Detention
(Kidnapping, hijacking, holding hostage, abducting, and the like – illegally.)

Assault on or Destruction of Property
(Vandalism, pollution, theft, strikes and lockouts, riots, trespass, arson, fraud, embezzlement, forgery, plagiarism, et cetera.)

Exercising Legal Mandate
(Arresting, pacifying, executing, imprisoning, censoring.)

Expressing Non-Violent Conflict
(Protest, demonstration, games and sports, active competition, labour disputes.)

Breaking the Law in Non-Violent Manner

Other
Note: Categories include both actual and threatened activities.

Table 57

Newspaper and Television News and Sports
(ten-paper and 15-station sample)

Activity	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	36	.7
Murder, Suicide, Dying	833	16.1
Assault, Attack	941	18.2
Forcible Detention	76	1.5
Assault on Property	639	12.4
Legal Mandate	568	11.0
Non-Violent Conflict	1,669	32.3
Non-Violent Lawbreak	404	7.8
Other	1	.0
Total	5,167	100.0

Table 58

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Activity	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	4	.1
Murder, Suicide, Dying	563	14.3
Assault, Attack	701	17.9
Forcible Detention	60	1.5
Assault on Property	471	12.0
Legal Mandate	442	11.3
Non-Violent Conflict	1,380	35.2
Non-Violent Lawbreak	301	7.7
Total	3,922	100.0

Table 59

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Activity	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	4	.1
Murder, Suicide, Dying	552	15.1
Assault, Attack	576	15.8
Forcible Detention	60	1.7
Assault on Property	458	12.5
Legal Mandate	436	11.9
Non-Violent Conflict	1,276	34.9
Non-Violent Lawbreak	292	8.0
Total	3,654	100.0

Table 60

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Activity	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	0	.0
Murder, Suicide, Dying	11	4.1
Assault, Attack	125	46.6
Assault on Property	13	4.9
Legal Mandate	6	2.2
Non-Violent Conflict	104	38.8
Non-Violent Lawbreak	9	3.4
Total	268	100.0

Table 61

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Activity	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	32	2.6
Murder, Suicide, Dying	270	21.7
Assault, Attack	240	19.3
Forcible Detention	16	1.3
Assault on Property	168	13.5
Legal Mandate	126	10.1
Non-Violent Conflict	289	23.2
Non-Violent Lawbreak	103	8.3
Other	1	.0
Total	1,245	100.0

Table 62

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Activity	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	32	2.8
Murder, Suicide, Dying	266	23.3
Assault, Attack	185	16.2
Forcible Detention	13	1.2
Assault on Property	164	14.3
Legal Mandate	120	10.5
Non-Violent Conflict	261	22.8
Non-Violent Lawbreak	102	8.9
Other	1	.0
Total	1,144	100.0

Table 63

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Activity	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	0	.0
Murder, Suicide, Dying	4	4.0
Assault, Attack	55	54.5
Forcible Detention	3	3.0
Assault on Property	4	4.0
Legal Mandate	6	5.9
Non-Violent Conflict	28	27.7
Non-Violent Lawbreak	1	.9
Other	0	.0
Total	101	100.0

Table 64

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Activity	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	14	2.6
Murder, Suicide, Dying	118	22.0
Assault, Attack	78	14.6
Forcible Detention	6	1.1
Assault on Property	67	12.5
Legal Mandate	60	11.2
Non-Violent Conflict	145	27.1
Non-Violent Lawbreak	48	8.9
Total	536	100.0

Table 65

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Activity	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	18	2.9
Murder, Suicide, Dying	148	24.3
Assault, Attack	107	17.6
Forcible Detention	7	1.2
Assault on Property	97	16.0
Legal Mandate	60	9.9
Non-Violent Conflict	116	19.0
Non-Violent Lawbreak	54	8.9
Other	1	.2
Total	608	100.0

D) Target:

As with agents, humans were the principal targets in the violence and conflict sample studied. Overall, 81.3 per cent of the violence and conflict items had human targets. Property and the environment were the target of 13.3 per cent of the violence and conflict items. (The correlation is close: 81.4 per cent of the agents were humans too, as noted in Table 48 above.)

The only large variation among media and other categories emerged between American and Canadian television news. The targets were individual humans for 39.8 per cent of American television news items in the violence and conflict category compared with only 33.2 per cent for Canadian television news items. Conversely, 42.3 per cent of the Canadian television news items had human groups as targets, compared with only 33.4 per cent for American television news items. The reasons for this difference are not clear.

Table 66

Newspaper and Television News and Sports
(ten-paper and 15-station sample)

Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	119	2.3
Self	100	1.9
Other Human	1,715	33.2
Other Human Groups	2,390	46.2
Animals, Insects	55	1.1
Property, Environment	685	13.3
Non	101	2.0
Other	2	.0
Total	5,167	100.0

Table 67

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	45	1.1
Self	80	2.0
Other Human	1,227	31.3
Other Human Groups	1,936	49.4
Animals, Insects	36	.9
Property, Environment	512	13.1
None	84	2.2
Other	2	.0
Total	3,922	100.0

Table 68

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	37	1.0
Self	67	1.9
Other Human	1,100	30.1
Other Human Groups	1,835	50.2
Animals, Insects	36	1.0
Property, Environment	497	13.6
None	80	2.2
Other	2	.0
Total	3,654	100.0

Table 69

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	8	3.0
Self	13	4.8
Other Human	127	47.4
Other Human Groups	101	37.7
Property, Environment	15	5.6
None	4	1.5
Total	268	100.0

Table 70

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	74	6.0
Self	20	1.6
Other Human	488	39.1
Other Human Groups	454	36.5
Animals, Insects	19	1.5
Property, Environment	173	13.9
None	17	1.4
Total	1,245	100.0

Table 72

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	1	1.0
Self	2	2.0
Other Human	68	67.3
Other Human Groups	24	23.8
Animals, Insects	0	.0
Property, Environment	6	5.9
None	0	.0
Total	101	100.0

Table 71

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	73	6.3
Self	18	1.6
Other Human	420	36.7
Other Human Groups	430	37.6
Animals, Insects	19	1.7
Property, Environment	167	14.6
None	17	1.5
Total	1,144	100.0

Table 73

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	38	7.1
Self	10	1.9
Other Human	178	33.2
Other Human Groups	227	42.3
Animals, Insects	8	1.5
Property, Environment	70	13.1
None	5	.9
Total	536	100.0

Table 74

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	35	5.6
Self	8	1.4
Other Human	242	39.8
Other Human Groups	203	33.4
Animals, Insects	11	1.8
Property, Environment	97	16.0
None	12	2.0
Total	608	100.0

E) Direct Consequences:

Somewhat surprisingly, the direct consequences of the violence or conflict items examined were not specified almost half of the time (45.7 per cent of items). This seems to be a necessary consequence of the ongoing but fleeting nature of news and sports coverage, but is a little puzzling in view of the fact that direct consequences were unspecified more often in the newspaper sample (47.9 per cent) than in the television sample (38.6 per cent) despite the greater ephemerality of television and its more frequent editions.

Activities specified stressed injury in the case of sports and death in the case of news.

The American television news sample differed from the Canadian one in several respects. Consequences were specified more often in the violence and conflict items in the American newscasts (only 34.4 per cent were unspecified, compared with 44.2 per cent on Canadian television newscasts). Death and injury were cited more frequently in American television newscasts (27.6 per cent of items cited death and 10.9 per cent injury in the American violence and conflict sample, compared with 23.9 per cent death and 7.6 per cent injury on Canadian television newscasts). Property or environmental damage were cited more often in American newscasts (13.1 per cent of items) than on Canadian television newscasts (8.4 per cent of items).

The preoccupation with death in the violence and conflict items on television news in the sample is striking. When consequences are specified at all, death is cited for more than 40 per cent of the violence and conflict items involved. This seems to be a frequency very much at odds with reality.

Property or environmental damage was mentioned more often on American television newscasts (13.1 per cent) than on Canadian television newscasts (8.4 per cent).

Table 75

Newspaper and Television News and Sports
(ten-paper and 15-station sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	2,360	45.7
Death	941	18.2
Injury	456	8.8
Psychological Damage	27	.5
Uproar, Dislocation	307	5.9
Socio-Economic	168	3.3
Property, Environmental Damage	554	10.7
None	344	6.7
Other	10	.2
Total	5,167	100.0

Table 76

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	1,879	47.9
Death	641	16.3
Injury	311	7.9
Psychological Damage	22	.6
Uproar, Dislocation	258	6.6
Socio-Economic	108	2.8
Property, Environmental Damage	424	10.8
None	269	6.9
Other	10	.2
Total	3,922	100.0

Table 77

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	1,741	47.6
Death	630	17.2
Injury	237	6.5
Psychological Damage	22	.6
Uproar, Dislocation	246	6.7
Socio-Economic	107	2.9
Property, Environmental		
Damage	411	11.3
None	250	6.9
Other	10	.3
Total	3,654	100.0

Table 78

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	138	51.5
Death	11	4.1
Injury	74	27.6
Uproar, Dislocation	12	4.5
Socio-Economic	1	.4
Property	13	4.8
None	19	7.1
Total	268	100.0

Table 79

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	481	38.6
Death	300	24.0
Injury	145	11.7
Psychological Damage	5	.4
Uproar, Dislocation	49	4.0
Socio-Economic	60	4.8
Property, Environmental		
Damage	130	10.5
None	75	6.0
Total	1,245	100.0

Table 80

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	446	40.0
Death	296	25.9
Injury	107	9.4
Psychological Damage	2	.2
Uproar, Dislocation	45	3.9
Socio-Economic	56	4.9
Property, Environmental		
Damage	125	10.9
None	67	5.8
Total	1,144	100.0

Table 81

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	35	34.6
Death	4	4.0
Injury	38	37.6
Psychological Damage	3	2.9
Uproar, Dislocation	4	4.0
Socio-Economic	4	4.0
Property, Environmental Damage	5	5.0
None	8	7.9
Total	101	100.0

Table 82

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	237	44.2
Death	128	23.9
Injury	41	7.6
Psychological Damage	1	.2
Uproar, Dislocation	21	4.0
Socio-Economic	27	5.0
Property, Environmental Damage	45	8.4
None	36	6.7
Total	536	100.0

Table 83

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	209	34.4
Death	168	27.6
Injury	66	10.9
Psychological Damage	1	.2
Uproar, Dislocation	24	3.9
Socio-Economic	29	4.8
Property, Environmental Damage	80	13.1
None	31	5.1
Total	608	100.0

F) Context or Motives of Action:

Relatively sharp differences between newspaper and television news practice emerged when context of action was examined. Newspaper news items dwelt on matters of religious, racial, political, or ideological conviction (the ideological category) most frequently (35.8 per cent), with accidents or natural disasters second (28.7 per cent). Television news, on the other hand, most frequently cited contexts involving the influence of psychosis, drugs, liquor, mental illness, medications, and other intoxications (the lunacy, deviance category) for a total of 33.4 per cent of items, with accidents (24.8 per cent) and personal gain (17.2 per cent) following.

To the extent that the sample proportions provided an indication of general news priorities for newspapers and television, it would seem that religious, racial, political, and ideological differences and psychoses, drugs, liquor, mental illness, medication, and other intoxications are of particular importance – almost half of the violence and conflict items in the sample or 20 per cent of the total number of items studied dealt with these topics.

Differences between the media emerged as well. The newspaper sample of violence and conflict items had a greater proportion of items (35.9 per cent) dealing with the ideological category than did television news and sports (11.2 per cent). Items on television newscasts had a greater percentage in the lunacy and deviance category (31.3 per cent compared with 17.3 per cent) and in the personal gain category (17.2 per cent compared with 3.4 per cent).

The same differences emerged for straight news as well.

Television sports items in the newscasts studied made more of personal gain (15.8 per cent to nil for newspaper sports items). Newspaper sports items in the violence and conflict sample were more concerned with ideological issues (31.7 per cent of items compared with 9.9 per cent for television sports) and lunacy and deviance (12.3 per cent compared with 5.9 per cent).

Table 84

Newspaper and Television News and Sports
(ten-paper and 15-station sample)

Context of Action	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	241	4.7
Personal Gain	344	6.6
Accident	1,384	27.8
War, Rebellion, et cetera	440	8.5
Lunacy, Deviance	1,067	21.7
Ideological	1,531	29.6
Games and Sports	151	2.9
Other	9	.2
Total	5,167	100.0

Table 85

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Context of Action	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	147	3.7
Personal Gain	131	3.4
Accident	1,085	27.7
War, Rebellion, et cetera	390	9.9
Ideological	1,392	35.9
Lunacy, Deviance	679	17.3
Games and Sport	96	2.4
Other	2	.1
Total	3,922	100.0

Table 86

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Context of Action	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	132	3.6
Personal Gain	131	3.6
Accident	1,049	28.7
War, Rebellion, et cetera	381	10.4
Ideological	1,307	35.8
Lunacy, Deviance	646	17.7
Games and Sports	6	.2
Other	2	.0
Total	3,654	100.0

Table 87

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-station sample)

Context of Action	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	15	5.6
Accident	36	13.4
War, Rebellion, et cetera	9	3.4
Ideological	85	31.7
Lunacy, Deviance	33	12.3
Games and Sports	90	33.6
Total	268	100.0

Table 88

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Context of Action	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	94	7.6
War, Rebellion, et cetera	50	4.0
Lunancy, Deviance	388	31.3
Ideological	139	11.2
Personal Gain	213	17.2
Accident	299	24.1
Games and Sports	55	4.4
Other	7	.2
Total	1,245	100.0

Table 90

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Context of Action	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	3	3.0
War, Rebellion, et cetera	0	.0
Lunacy, Deviance	6	5.9
Ideological	10	9.9
Personal Gain	16	15.8
Accident	15	14.9
Games and Sports	51	50.5
Other	0	.0
Total	101	100.0

Table 89

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Context of Action	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	91	7.9
War, Rebellion, et cetera	50	4.4
Lunacy, Deviance	382	33.4
Ideological	129	11.3
Personal Gain	197	17.2
Accident	284	24.8
Games and Sports	4	.3
Other	7	.7
Total	1,144	100.0

Table 91

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Context of Action	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	44	8.2
War, Rebellion, et cetera	25	4.7
Lunacy, Deviance	169	31.5
Ideological	76	14.2
Personal Gain	100	18.7
Accident	113	21.1
Games and Sports	4	.7
Other	5	.9
Total	536	100.0

Table 92

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Context of Action	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	47	7.8
War, Rebellion, et cetera	25	4.1
Lunacy, Deviance	213	35.1
Ideological	53	8.7
Personal Gain	97	16.0
Accident	171	28.1
Games and Sports	0	.0
Other	2	.3
Total	608	100.0

G) Action Time:
The time at which violence or conflict events occurred was unspecified or irrelevant to the content of the item in the great majority of instances (78.3 per cent overall). When specified, it was daytime in about 15 per cent of cases and nighttime in about 6 per cent.

Table 93

Newspaper and Television News and Sports
(ten-paper and 15-station sample)

Action Time	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	2,540	49.1
Irrelevant	1,507	29.2
Night	325	6.3
Day	795	15.4
Total	5,167	100.0

Table 94

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Action Time	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	2,004	51.1
Irrelevant	1,068	51.1
Night	253	6.5
Day	597	15.2
Total	3,922	100.0

Table 95

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Action Time	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	1,825	49.9
Irrelevant	1,033	28.3
Night	229	6.3
Day	567	15.5
Total	3,654	100.0

Table 96

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Action Time	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	179	66.8
Irrelevant	35	13.1
Night	24	8.9
Day	30	11.2
Total	268	100.0

Table 97

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Action Time	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	536	43.0
Irrelevant	439	35.3
Night	72	5.8
Day	198	15.9
Total	1,245	100.0

Table 98

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Action Time	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	484	42.3
Irrelevant	421	36.8
Night	61	5.3
Day	178	15.6
Total	1,144	100.0

Table 99

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Action Time	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	52	51.5
Irrelevant	18	17.8
Night	11	10.9
Day	20	19.8
Total	101	100.0

Table 100

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Action Time	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	220	41.1
Irrelevant	208	38.8
Night	22	4.1
Day	86	16.0
Total	536	100.0

Table 101

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Action Time	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	264	74.6
Irrelevant	213	15.6
Night	39	2.9
Day	92	6.9
Total	608	100.0

H) Setting:
The fact that the majority of conflict and violence items occurred in urban settings was probably to be expected, but the extent of the preponderance (65.3 per cent versus 5.0 per cent) seems striking.

Table 102

Newspaper and Television News and Sports
(ten-paper and 15-station sample)

Setting	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	673	13.0
Irrelevant	539	10.4
Urban	3,375	65.3
Rural	256	5.0
Mixed	135	2.6
Other	189	3.7
Total	5,167	100.0

Table 103

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Setting	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	413	10.6
Irrelevant	366	9.3
Urban	2,718	69.3
Rural	178	4.5
Mixed	103	2.6
Other	144	3.7
Total	3,922	100.0

Table 104

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Setting	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	367	10.0
Irrelevant	348	9.5
Urban	2,523	69.1
Rural	175	4.8
Mixed	102	2.8
Other	139	3.8
Total	3,654	100.0

Table 105

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Setting	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	46	17.1
Irrelevant	18	6.7
Urban	195	72.8
Rural	3	1.1
Mixed	1	.4
Other	5	1.9
Total	268	100.0

Table 106

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Setting	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	260	20.9
Irrelevant	173	13.9
Urban	657	52.8
Rural	78	6.3
Mixed	32	2.5
Other	45	3.6
Total	1,245	100.0

Table 107

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Setting	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	236	20.6
Irrelevant	164	14.3
Urban	593	51.9
Rural	76	6.6
Mixed	32	2.8
Other	43	3.8
Total	1,144	100.0

Table 108

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Setting	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	24	23.7
Irrelevant	9	8.9
Urban	64	63.4
Rural	2	2.0
Mixed	0	.0
Other	2	2.0
Total	101	100.0

Table 109

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Setting	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	102	19.0
Irrelevant	85	15.9
Urban	267	49.8
Rural	48	9.0
Mixed	11	2.1
Other	23	4.2
Total	536	100.0

Table 110

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Setting	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	134	22.0
Irrelevant	79	13.0
Urban	326	53.6
Rural	28	4.6
Mixed	21	3.5
Other	20	3.3
Total	608	100.0

I) Weapon or Medium of Harm:

As noted, libel or blasphemy (essentially verbal abuse in most instances) was the most common weapon or medium of harm employed in the violence and conflict sample studied. These accounted for 32.6 per cent of the violence and conflict items overall, followed by acts of nature such as fires, floods, earthquakes, and the like (8.4 per cent) and red tape (6.3 per cent). However, a relatively large number of violence and conflict items did not have the weapon or medium of harm specified (19.9 per cent of items had weapons unspecified or irrelevant).

Differences were apparent between media and media categories. Overall and in the case of news items only, newspapers in the violence and conflict sample carried a greater proportion of items in which the weapon was libel or blasphemy (36.2 per cent overall, 36.3 per cent for news) than did the television newscasts (21.4 per cent overall and 21.3 per cent for news). The same was

true of red tape with newspapers carrying 7.1 per cent overall and 7.3 per cent for news compared with 3.5 per cent overall and 3.5 per cent for news on television newscasts.

Television newscasts underlined their built-in concern with picture possibilities by carrying more violence and conflict items about weapons such as acts of nature (11.3 per cent compared with newspapers, 7.4 per cent overall), industrial processes (5.5 per cent compared with 2.9 per cent) and the actions of crowds and mobs (7.8 per cent) compared with (5.1 per cent).

In the sports sector, television newscasts placed much greater emphasis on the human body as a weapon (30.7 per cent compared with 14.2 per cent for newspaper sports), probably for pictorial reasons too. Libel or blasphemy was cited more often in newspaper sports items (34.3 per cent of items compared with 22.8 per cent in television newscasts).

Canadian and American television newscasts were generally quite similar. The only large differences were in the libel and blasphemy category (Canadian stations had 27.4 per cent of their news items in this category compared with 15.8 per cent for American stations), and in the crowd and mob category (Canadian stations had 9.7 per cent, American stations 7.1 per cent).

Table 111

Newspaper and Television News and Sports
(ten-paper and 15-station sample)

Weapon or Medium of Harm	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified or Irrelevant	1,032	19.9
Body	159	3.1
Firearm	268	5.2
Small Hand Weapons	168	3.3
Vehicles	301	5.8
Explosives, et cetera	106	2.1
Crowd, Mob, Army	298	5.8
Red Tape	324	6.3
Libel, Blasphemy	1,686	32.6
Medical Procedure	24	.4
Alcohol, Drugs, et cetera	141	2.7
Act of Nature	432	8.4
Animal Violence	30	.6
Industrial Processes	181	3.5
Other	17	.3
Total	5,167	100.0

Table 112

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Weapon or Medium of Harm	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified or Irrelevant	716	18.3
Body	102	2.6
Firearm	205	5.2
Small Hand Weapons	127	3.5
Vehicles	214	5.5
Explosives, et cetera	79	2.0
Crowd, Mob, Army	201	5.1
Red Tape	280	7.1
Libel, Blasphemy	1,420	36.2
Medical Procedure	17	.5
Alcohol, Drugs, et cetera	116	3.0
Act of Nature	291	7.4
Animal Violence	25	.6
Industrial Processes	112	2.9
Other	17	.4
Total	3,922	100.0

Table 113

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Weapon or Medium of Harm	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified or Irrelevant	651	17.8
Body	64	1.8
Firearm	203	5.6
Small Hand Weapons	110	3.0
Vehicles	191	5.2
Explosives, et cetera	78	2.1
Crowd, Mob, Army	193	5.3
Red Tape	267	7.3
Libel, Blasphemy	1,328	36.3
Medical Procedure	17	.5
Alcohol, Drugs, et cetera	116	3.2
Act of Nature	288	7.9
Animal Violence	24	.6
Industrial Processes	109	3.0
Other	15	.4
Total	3,654	100.0

Table 114

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Weapon or Medium of Harm	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified or Irrelevant	65	24.2
Body	38	14.2
Firearm	2	.8
Small Hand Weapons	17	6.3
Vehicles	23	8.6
Explosives, et cetera	1	.4
Crowd, Mob, Army	8	3.0
Red Tape	13	4.9
Libel, Blasphemy	92	34.3
Act of Nature	3	1.1
Animal Violence	1	.4
Industrial Processes	3	1.1
Other	2	.7
Total	268	100.0

Table 115

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Weapon or Medium of Harm	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified or Irrelevant	316	25.4
Body	57	4.6
Firearm	63	5.1
Small Hand Weapons	41	3.3
Vehicles	87	7.0
Explosives, et cetera	27	2.1
Crowd, Mob, Army	97	7.8
Red Tape	44	3.5
Libel, Blasphemy	266	21.4
Medical Procedure	7	.6
Alcohol, Drugs, et cetera	25	2.0
Act of Nature	141	11.3
Animal Violence	5	.4
Industrial Processes	69	5.5
Total	1,245	100.0

Table 116

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Weapon or Medium of Harm	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified or Irrelevant	293	25.5
Body	26	2.3
Firearm	63	5.5
Small Hand Weapons	39	3.4
Vehicles	76	6.7
Explosives, et cetera	26	2.3
Crowd, Mob, Army	95	8.3
Red Tape	40	3.5
Libel, Blasphemy	243	21.3
Medical Procedure	7	.6
Alcohol, Drugs, et cetera	25	2.2
Act of Nature	139	12.2
Animal Violence	4	.3
Industrial Processes	68	5.9
Total	1,144	100.0

Table 117

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Weapon or Medium of Harm	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified or Irrelevant	23	22.7
Body	31	30.7
Firearm	0	.0
Small Hand Weapons	2	2.0
Vehicles	11	10.9
Explosives, et cetera	1	1.0
Crowd, Mob, Army	2	2.0
Red Tape	4	3.9
Libel, Blasphemy	23	22.8
Act of Nature	2	2.0
Animal Violence	1	1.0
Industrial Processes	1	1.0
Total	101	100.0

Table 118

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Weapon or Medium of Harm	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified or Irrelevant	130	24.2
Body	6	1.1
Firearm	24	4.5
Small Hand Weapons	14	2.6
Vehicles	34	6.4
Explosives, et cetera	16	3.0
Crowd, Mob, Army	52	9.7
Red Tape	15	2.8
Libel, Blasphemy	147	27.4
Medical Procedure	1	.2
Alcohol, Drugs, et cetera	7	1.3
Act of Nature	59	11.0
Animal Violence	2	.4
Industrial Processes	29	5.4
Total	536	100.0

Table 119

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Weapon or Medium of Harm	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified or Irrelevant	163	26.8
Body	20	3.3
Firearm	39	6.4
Small Hand Weapons	25	4.1
Vehicles	42	6.9
Explosives, et cetera	10	1.6
Crowd, Mob, Army	43	7.1
Red Tape	25	4.1
Libel, Blasphemy	96	15.8
Medical Procedure	6	1.0
Alcohol, Drugs, et cetera	18	3.0
Act of Nature	80	13.2
Animal Violence	2	.3
Industrial Processes	39	6.4
Total	608	100.0

J) Sex of Agent/Target:

When specified, the sex of the agents or doers of violence or conflict in our sample was predominantly male (34.2 per cent) over female (3.8 per cent). Among targets, to whom violence was done, males also predominated, but less strikingly (19.9 per cent versus 6.3 per cent when specified).

As might be expected, male emphasis was greatest in sports items (64.9 per cent of newspaper sports and 55.4 per cent for television sports) among agents and among targets (54.8 per cent in newspaper sports and 64.4 per cent on television sports).

Table 120

Newspaper and Television News and Sports
(ten-paper and 15-station sample)

Sex of Agent	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	2,103	40.7
Irrelevant	979	18.9
Male	1,765	34.2
Female	197	3.8
Male and Female	123	2.4
Total	5,167	100.0

Table 121

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Sex of Agent	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	1,537	39.2
Irrelevant	695	17.7
Male	1,453	37.1
Female	157	4.0
Male and Female	80	2.0
Total	3,922	100.0

Table 122

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Sex of Agent	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	1,509	41.3
Irrelevant	643	17.6
Male	1,279	35.0
Female	145	4.0
Male and Female	78	2.1
Total	3,654	100.0

Table 123

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Sex of Agent	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	28	10.4
Irrelevant	52	19.4
Male	174	64.9
Female	12	4.5
Male and Female	2	.8
Total	268	100.0

Table 124

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Sex of Agent	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	566	45.2
Irrelevant	284	22.9
Male	312	25.2
Female	40	3.2
Male and Female	43	3.5
Total	1,245	100.0

Table 125

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Sex of Agent	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	537	46.9
Irrelevant	270	23.6
Male	256	22.4
Female	39	3.4
Male and Female	42	3.7
Total	1,144	100.0

Table 126

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Sex of Agent	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	29	28.7
Irrelevant	14	13.9
Male	56	55.4
Female	1	1.0
Male and Female	1	1.0
Total	101	100.0

Table 127

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Sex of Agent	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	270	50.4
Irrelevant	112	20.9
Male	133	24.8
Female	7	1.3
Male and Female	14	2.6
Total	536	100.0

Table 128

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Sex of Agent	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	267	43.9
Irrelevant	158	26.0
Male	123	20.2
Female	32	5.3
Male and Female	28	4.6
Total	608	100.0

Table 129

Newspaper and Television News and Sports
(ten-paper and 15-station sample)

Sex of Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	2,806	54.3
Irrelevant	853	16.5
Male	1,026	19.9
Female	326	6.3
Male and Female	156	3.0
Total	5,167	100.0

Table 130

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Sex of Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	2,153	54.9
Irrelevant	641	16.3
Male	767	19.6
Female	260	6.6
Male and Female	101	2.6
Total	3,922	100.0

Table 131

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Sex of Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	2,086	57.0
Irrelevant	600	16.4
Male	620	17.0
Female	252	7.0
Male and Female		2.6
Total	3,654	100.0

Table 132

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Sex of Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	67	25.0
Irrelevant	41	15.3
Male	147	54.8
Female	8	3.0
Male and Female	5	1.9
Total	268	100.0

Table 133

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Sex of Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	53	52.3
Irrelevant	212	17.1
Male	259	20.9
Female	66	5.3
Male and Female	55	4.4
Total	1,245	100.0

Table 134

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Sex of Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	625	54.6
Irrelevant	206	18.0
Male	194	17.0
Female	64	5.6
Male and Female	55	4.8
Total	1,144	100.0

Table 135

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Sex of Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	28	27.7
Irrelevant	6	5.9
Male	65	64.4
Female	2	2.0
Male and Female	0	.0
Total	101	100.0

Table 136

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Sex of Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	318	59.3
Irrelevant	85	15.9
Male	82	15.3
Female	26	4.9
Male and Female	25	4.6
Total	536	100.0

Table 137

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Sex of Target	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Unspecified	307	50.5
Irrelevant	121	19.9
Male	112	18.4
Female	38	6.3
Male and Female	30	4.9
Total	608	100.0

K) Scenarios:

As discussed in the preceding chapter on our research methodology, 23 scenarios were tested and found sufficient to cover about 90 per cent of violence and conflict items in our sample. These were defined as follows:

(1) People die from causes other than natural.

(2) The actions of legal governments, or their representatives, result in the death of people.

(3) The actions of legal governments, or their representatives, result in social or economic dislocation.

(4) The actions of legal governments, or their representatives, result in non-violent conflict with other people.

(5) People, acting on their own, apparently legally, cause the death of people.

(6) People, acting on their own, apparently legally, cause injury to people.

(7) People, acting on their own, apparently legally, are involved in non-violent conflict, resulting in social or economic dislocation.

(8) People, acting on their own, apparently legally, are involved in non-violent conflict.

(9)People acting illegally or insanely do physical violence to other people or to property.

(10) People acting illegally or insanely cause the death of other people, with hand weapons.

(11) People acting illegally or insanely cause the death of other people.

(12) People acting illegally or insanely cause injury to other people, with hand weapons.

(13) People acting illegally or insanely cause injury to other people.

(14) People acting illegally or insanely cause damage to property.

(15) People threaten to commit violent crimes against other people or property.

(16) People commit non-violent crimes against other people or property, resulting in social or economic dislocation.·

(17) People commit non-violent crimes against other people or property.

(18) A natural disaster causes the death of people.

(19) A natural disaster causes injury to people, or damage to property.

(20) Accidents arising from highway, marine, and air traffic result in the death of people.

(21) Accidents arising from human error or irresponsibility result in the death of people.

(22) Accidents arising from human error or irresponsibility result in damage to property or the environment.

(23) Accidents arising from human error or irresponsibility threaten to take place or result in physical violence.

As is indicated below, the category of people engaging in legal, non-violent conflict was by far the most common scenario in our sample (29 per cent of the violence and conflict sample overall). Violent no-scenario items came next (10.7 per cent overall), followed by non-violent crime with unspecified consequences (8.0 per cent), mandate conflict (4.7 per cent) and other murders (4.5 per cent).

Differences between media and between media categories can be noted. Newspapers in the sample place much more emphasis on legal conflict items (people acting on their own, apparently legally, are involved in non-violent conflict). In the news category, newspapers carried 31.6 per cent legal conflict items in the violence and conflict-related total, compared with only 19.4 per cent for the television news sample. Television news, on the other hand, made more of damage in man-made disasters (5.8 per cent compared with 3.4 per cent in newspaper news).

In sports, many more items proved to be outside the scenario boundaries – 22.4 per cent of the violence and conflict sample for newspaper sports and 29.7 per cent for television newscast sports. And while legal conflict scenarios were those most commonly specified, the second most common sports scenario was the legal human-injury category (23.7 per cent for television, 11.9 per cent for newspapers). Newspaper sports also placed emphasis on scenarios in the other criminal assault category (9.7 per cent for newspaper sports, 3.0 per cent for television).

Canadian television news differed from American television news in the incidence of legal conflict scenario items (22.9 per cent of violence and conflict-related items on Canadian newscasts, 16.3 per cent on U.S. newscasts), mandate conflict items (7.5 per cent of Canadian newscasts, 2.3 per cent U.S.) and other criminal assaults (5.6 per cent on U.S. television newscasts, only 3.0 per cent on Canadian television newscasts).

Table 138

Newspaper and Television News and Sports
(ten-paper and 15-station sample)

Scenarios	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Random Deaths Human	45	.9
Mandate Causes Death	106	2.0
Mandate Dislocation	130	2.5
Mandate Conflict	244	4.7
Human Killing Legal	75	1.4
Human Injury Legal	96	1.8
Legal Conflict Dislocation	185	3.6
Legal Conflict	1,500	29.0
Random Criminal Violence	48	.9
Murder with Hand Weapons	168	3.3
Other Murders	234	4.5
Criminal Assault with Hand Weapons	99	1.9
Other Criminal Assaults	199	3.9
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	91	1.8
Criminal Threat	72	1.4
Non-Violent Crime with Socio-Economic Consequences	188	3.6
Non-Violent Crime with Unspecified Consequences	414	8.0
Death Natural Disasters	85	1.8
Damage Natural Disasters	147	2.8
Deaths Auto Accident	106	2.1
Deaths in Man-Made Disasters	62	1.2
Damage in Man-Made Disasters	199	3.9
Potential Man-Made Disasters	123	2.4
Violent no Scenario	551	10.7
Non-Violent no Scenario	0	.0
Total	5,167	100.0

Table 139

Newspaper News and Sports
(ten-paper sample)

Scenarios	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Random Deaths Human	16	.4
Mandate Causes Death	80	2.0
Mandate Dislocation	106	2.7
Mandate Conflict	189	4.8
Human Killing Legal	56	1.4
Human Injury Legal	61	1.6
Legal Conflict Dislocation	142	3.6
Legal Conflict	1,251	31.9
Random Criminal Violence	38	1.0
Murder with Hand Weapons	128	3.3
Other Murders	161	4.1
Criminal Assault with Hand Weapons	73	1.9
Other Criminal Assault	146	3.7
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	76	1.9
Criminal Threat	39	1.0
Non-Violent Crime with Socio-Economic Consequences	146	3.7
Non-Violent Crime with Unspecified Consequences	306	7.8
Deaths Natural Disasters	62	1.6
Damage Natural Disasters	113	2.9
Deaths Auto Accident	69	1.8
Deaths in Man-Made Disasters	34	.9
Damage in Man-Made Disasters	131	3.3
Potential Man-Made Disasters	91	2.3
Violent no Scenario	408	10.4
Non-Violent no Scenario	0	.0
Total	3,922	100.0

Table 140

Newspaper News Items
(ten-paper sample)

Scenarios	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Random Deaths Human	16	.4
Mandate Causes Death	80	2.2
Mandate Dislocation	104	2.8
Mandate Conflict	185	5.1
Human Killing Legal	53	1.5
Human Injury Legal	29	.8
Legal Conflict Dislocation	131	3.6
Legal Conflict	1,156	31.6
Random Criminal Violence	38	1.0
Murder with Hand Weapons	126	3.4
Other Murders	161	4.4
Criminal Assault with Hand Weapons	69	1.9
Other Criminal Assaults	120	3.3
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	75	2.1
Criminal Threat	37	1.0
Non-Violent Crime with Socio-Economic Consequences	146	4.0
Non-Violent Crime with Unspecified Consequences	297	8.1
Death Natural Disasters	62	1.7
Damage Natural Disasters	108	3.0
Deaths Auto Accident	65	1.8
Deaths in Man-Made Disasters	32	.9
Damage in Man-Made Disasters	125	3.4
Potential Man-Made Disasters	91	2.5
Violent no Scenario	348	9.5
Non-Violent no Scenario	0	.0
Total	3,654	100.0

Table 141

Newspaper Sports Items
(ten-paper sample)

Scenarios	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Mandate Dislocation	2	.7
Mandate Conflict	4	1.5
Human Killing Legal	3	1.1
Human Injury Legal	32	11.9
Legal Conflict Dislocation	11	4.1
Legal Conflict	95	35.4
Murder with Hand Weapons	2	.7
Criminal Assault with Hand Weapons	4	1.5
Other Criminal Assaults	26	9.7
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	1	.4
Criminal Threat	2	.7
Non-Violent Crime with Unspecified Consequences	9	3.4
Damage Natural Disasters	5	1.9
Deaths Auto Accident	4	1.5
Deaths in Man-Made Disasters	2	.7
Damage in Man-Made Disasters	6	2.2
Violent no Scenario	60	22.4
Non-Violent no Scenario	0	.0
Total	268	100.0

Table 142

Television News and Sports Items
(15-station sample)

Scenarios	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Random Deaths Human	29	2.3
Mandate Causes Death	26	2.1
Mandate Dislocation	24	1.9
Mandate Conflict	55	4.4
Human Killing Legal	19	1.5
Human Injury Legal	35	2.8
Legal Conflict Dislocation	43	3.4
Legal Conflict	249	20.0
Random Criminal Violence	10	.8
Murder with Hand Weapons	40	3.2
Other Murders	73	5.9
Criminal Assault with Hand Weapons	26	2.1
Other Criminal Assaults	53	4.3
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	15	1.2
Criminal Threat	33	2.6
Non-Violent Crime with Socio-Economic Consequences	42	3.4
Non-Violent Crime with Unspecified Consequences	108	8.7
Deaths Natural Disasters	23	1.8
Damage Natural Disasters	34	2.7
Deaths Auto Accident	37	3.0
Deaths in Man-Made Disasters	28	2.3
Damage in Man-Made Disasters	68	5.5
Potential Man-Made Disasters	32	2.6
Violent no Scenario	143	11.5
Non-Violent no Scenario	0	.0
Total	1,245	100.0

Table 143

Television News Items Only
(15-station sample)

Scenarios	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Random Deaths Human	29	2.5
Mandate Causes Death	26	2.3
Mandate Dislocation	21	1.8
Mandate Conflict	54	4.7
Human Killing Legal	19	1.7
Human Injury Legal	11	1.0
Legal Conflict Dislocation	40	3.5
Legal Conflict	222	19.4
Random Criminal Violence	9	.8
Murder with Hand Weapons	40	3.5
Other Murder	72	6.3
Criminal Assault with Hand Weapons	26	2.3
Other Criminal Assaults	50	4.4
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	15	1.3
Criminal Threat	31	2.7
Non-Violent Crime with Socio-Economic Consequences	41	3.6
Non-Violent Crime with Unspecified Consequences	108	9.4
Deaths Natural Disasters	22	1.9
Damage Natural Disasters	34	3.0
Deaths Auto Accident	35	3.1
Deaths in Man-Made Disasters	28	2.4
Damage in Man-Made Disasters	66	5.8
Potential Man-Made Disasters	32	2.8
Violent no Scenario	113	9.8
Non-Violent no Scenario	0	.0
Total	1,144	100.0

Table 144

Television Sports Items Only
(15-station sample)

Scenarios	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Mandate Dislocation	3	3.0
Mandate Conflict	1	1.0
Human Injury Legal	24	23.7
Legal Conflict Dislocation	3	3.0
Legal Conflict	27	26.6
Random Criminal Violence	1	1.0
Other Murders	1	1.0
Other Criminal Assaults	3	3.0
Criminal Threat	2	2.0
Non-Violent Crime with Socio-Economic Consequences	1	1.0
Deaths Natural Disasters	1	1.0
Deaths Auto Accident	2	2.0
Damage in Man-Made Disasters	2	2.0
Violent no Scenario	30	29.7
Non-Violent no Scenario	0	.0
Total	101	100.0

Table 145

Canadian Television News
(nine-station sample)

Scenarios	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Random Deaths Human	14	2.6
Mandate Causes Death	7	1.3
Mandate Dislocation	7	1.3
Mandate Conflict	40	7.5
Human Killing Legal	9	1.7
Human Injury Legal	3	.6
Legal Conflict Dislocation	22	4.1
Legal Conflict	123	22.9
Random Criminal Violence	2	.4
Murder with Hand Weapons	14	2.6
Other Murders	35	6.5
Criminal Assault with Hand Weapons	5	.9
Other Criminal Assaults	16	3.0
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	8	1.5
Criminal Threat	20	3.7
Non-Violent Crime with Socio-Economic Consequences	17	3.2
Non-Violent Crime with Unspecified Consequences	52	9.7
Deaths Natural Disasters	6	1.1
Damage Natural Disasters	14	2.6
Deaths Auto Accident	14	2.6
Deaths in Man-Made Disasters	13	2.4
Damage in Man-Made Disasters	20	3.7
Potential Man-Made Disasters	19	3.6
Violent no Scenario	56	10.5
Non-Violent no Scenario	0	.0
Total	536	100.0

Table 146

American Television News
(six-station sample)

Scenarios	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent	Scenarios	Number of Violent Items	Per Cent
Random Deaths Human	15	2.5	Violent Criminal Assault on Property	7	1.2
Mandate Causes Death	19	3.1	Criminal Threat	11	1.8
Mandate Dislocation	14	2.3	Non-Violent Crime with Socio-Economic Consequences	24	3.9
Mandate Conflict	14	2.3	Non-Violent Crime with Unspecified Consequences	56	9.2
Human Killing Legal	10	1.6	Deaths Natural Disasters	16	2.6
Human Injury Legal	8	1.3	Damage Natural Disasters	20	3.3
Legal Conflict Dislocation	18	2.9	Deaths Auto Accident	21	3.5
Legal Conflict	99	16.3	Deaths in Man-Made Disasters	15	2.5
Random Criminal Violence	7	1.1	Damage in Man-Made Disasters	46	7.6
Murder with Hand Weapons	26	4.3	Potential Man-Made Disasters	13	2.1
Other Murders	37	6.1	Violent no Scenario	57	9.4
Criminal Assault with Hand Weapons	21	3.5	Non-Violent no Scenario	0	.0
Other Criminal Assaults	34	5.6	Total	608	100.0

However, some useful patterns emerge when the scenarios are collapsed into four basic categories: those involving death, conflict and non-violent crime, damage in man-made and natural disasters, and criminal violence.

Table 147

Media Category	Deaths		Violent no Scenario	Criminal Violence		Damage in Disasters		Conflict and Non-Violent Crime	
		per cent		per cent		per cent			per cent
Newspaper and Television News and Sports	977	18.9	551	10.6	509	9.9	469	9.1	2,661	51.5
Newspaper News and Sports	667	17.0	408	10.4	372	9.5	335	8.5	2,140	54.6
Newspaper News	624	17.1	348	9.5	339	9.3	324	8.9	2,019	55.2
Newspaper Sports	43	16.0	60	22.4	33	12.3	11	4.1	121	45.2
Television News and Sports	310	24.9	143	11.5	137	11.0	134	10.8	521	41.8
Television News	282	24.6	113	9.9	131	11.5	132	11.5	486	42.5
Television Sports	28	27.7	30	29.7	6	5.9	2	2.0	35	34.7
Canadian Television News	115	21.5	56	10.4	51	9.5	53	9.9	261	48.7
U.S. Television News	167	27.5	57	9.4	80	13.1	79	13.0	225	37.0

From this tabulation, it emerges quite clearly that newscasts on television place more emphasis on violence and conflict-related items involving death while newspapers place greater emphasis on items involving non-violent crime and conflict. In sports, newspapers run more items in the criminal violence category than television does. And Canadian television stations, like the Canadian newspapers but to a lesser degree, run more conflict items and fewer death items than American television newscasts do.

It is not entirely clear why these differences exist, but reasonable possibilities seem to include picture preferences on television and, perhaps, differences in local crime rates between the American sample cities (Buffalo and Detroit) and the Canadian ones.

Appendices 4 and 5 indicate the scenario proportions for each of the individual television stations and newspapers in the sample.

Chapter Three

The Social Validation Scale: A Pilot Study

One of the most frequently heard objections to content analyses of violence is that they provide a census of acts, an inventory of violent actions, or a body count, but do not go beyond that. Notwithstanding some excellent content analysis of violence during the last decade, much of it from Dean George Gerbner's Annenberg School at the University of Pennsylvania, it is true that we cannot really be sure of the first-level effects of a given violent content upon an audience. What kind of *impact* does the content have upon a given audience? Does the audience see what the content coders see, feel what they feel? [1] What are the "violence values" of the audience?

Such questions are undoubtedly easier to answer when we are dealing with the relatively limited universe of acts portrayed in television drama and printed fiction. Theoretical models for analyzing fiction do not involve the universe of possibilities of news: truth (even media truth) is indeed stranger than fiction. A well-known book analyzing plot variations suggests there are only a few dozen in all of literary history. In any case, such questions require the generation of some kind of social validation tool that relies upon the assessment of content by audiences.

The present research has involved the analysis of 12,913 different news items (9,794 newspaper items and 3,119 television items), some covering the same events, over a period of six days, drawn from a limited number of television stations and newspapers. Apart from this issue of near-infinite variety and how one handles it, there is the question of the dimension that is to be tapped which makes it possible to convert discrete, qualitatively different items into something approaching a unidimensional assessment instrument that measures something relevant to the enterprise.

Given the fact that it is a formidable undertaking, akin at first glance to the creation of an encyclopedia of all possible world events, empirically, historically, and speculatively, we were encouraged by the Commission to undertake the beginnings of such an endeavour for what it might contribute to future studies in media violence: a scale whose basis is some form of social validation with a common dimension upon which all

violent acts presented in the news can be assessed. Such a tool might make it possible for local institutions to monitor the quality as well as the quantity of what is nominally violence. Among such local institutions are the media themselves. The latter could compare their own definitions of violence – as revealed by the assigned magnitudes – with definitions found in their own community, for the purpose of policy assessment.

The constraints that apply to such an undertaking include:

1. It must be capable of providing a common dimension which runs through all acts of violence and which has a "zero point" theoretically presumed to be located in non-violent acts.

2. It must be based upon a population other than trained coders.

3. It must involve materials that reproduce the essential meaning of an event while avoiding overspecification of details of the event.

4. It must be presented in a form capable of being assessed by a general population.

The Generation of the Instrument

We have produced an initial tool that we believe conforms to these imperatives. There are, of course, qualifications, as indicated below. Our social validation tool for measuring and generating an eventual "violence quotient" has the following elements:

1. Empirical examples derived from news events (drawn from the sample analyzed in this study).

2. An evaluation, by a sample of people in a community, of the magnitude of violence of each event.

3. The assignment of that score to similar events in its event class.[2]

4. The application of a central tendency, the mean, to the items representative of each class of items, which is then plugged into the data file for every medium, for every one of the 12,913 items.

The Construction of the Social Validation Tool

From the initial batch of 3,119 news items in the television news samples (of which approximately 40 per cent were considered to involve some violence or

conflict, according to the definition used in this study), we selected a ten-per-cent sample of the items, from each of 23 violent "scenarios". The ten-per-cent random sample was tempered to make certain that in smaller groupings of basic scenarios no fewer than three representative items were chosen. In addition, there was one other scenario, made up of varied items that did not fit into any of the existent violence categories and which represented a few items each. The ultimately derived mean for all other categories was assigned to such items (which represented, for television, 4.6 per cent of the sample, and for newspapers 4.17 per cent). In addition, a sample of the provisionally determined non-violent items was selected.[3]

There were 23 computer-generated scenarios of, for example, this nature: "People acting illegally and/or irrationally cause physical violence to other people or to property." Such scenarios were based on variables of subject or agent, the action taken, to whom or what the action was applied, and the consequences. Ultimately, the 23 violent scenarios – each mutually exclusive, of course – were grouped into five basic more general scenarios, which resembled our earlier "generic types".

The actual items selected were made up from comprehensive abstracts of items in the television sample. (The codes developed from such items worked as well for newspapers.) Each was condensed in order to retain the essential characteristics of the act while removing details that might make the event peculiar to individuals, groups, or localities. These ultimately became the stimulus-statements on our questionnaire instrument. Altogether 126 statements were selected and were then randomly assigned to one of two forms. Each form had 63 such statements to be coded as to intensity of violence from zero to seven (see Appendix 1). The instruments were pre-tested on university students to iron out any potential problems. Subsequently, there were not found to be any significant differences between the forms.

The pilot research was conducted in the following manner. Approximately 500 names were selected from the London City Directory systematically for a mailed questionnaire; in addition, from a random list of names in the London area, another 25 people were interviewed and filled out the forms in person. There were 89 usable responses to the single-wave mailed instrument. No follow-up mailing was carried out to bring up the percentage of response.

The mean of the values assigned by each of the total of 114 respondents for each statement was then assigned to the 25 scenarios from which the statements had been randomly chosen, thus providing a mean volume magnitude for each of the 25 scenarios.

Some Qualifications

If all the qualifications that should be attached to scientific findings, particularly in the behavioural sciences, were attended to, most of the contents of journals might not appear. As experimental psychologist David Bakan has noted, much of psychology has been afflicted by the unqualified use of statistically "significant" findings which may in themselves be a sampling artifact and little more.[4] Because of the potential policy implications of studies such as these, we believe all the known and suspected qualifications attached to the research should be spelled out before methods and findings become engraved in stone.

First, the sample of the population of news events was based on a two-week period in May 1976 when certain events (e.g., the American primaries) may have "chased" other events from the media. Subsamples taken over a much longer time frame would have produced a greater variety of more representative news events.

Second, the small audience sample selected – N = 114 – within one city represented certain potential biases, which a larger, more costly sampling program could help to obviate; yet it is not certain that socio-demographic or psychological factors associated with such sampling bias would in fact have any effect and if so, how much, on the sample's rating of different news events.

Third, the scale developed – with a range of values from zero to seven – assumes equal intervals between values. In the long run, with a larger sample, any differences might even out, but this is not certain.

Fourth, the very method consciously involves certain anomalies. We attempted to achieve something that would convey the sense of a news item and yet would not be news-event specific. This means that individual differences in the manner of presentation are not measured, although they may have substantial effects on the potential rating of violence. For example, a given station or newspaper may run fewer high-magnitude items, yet treat them more sensationally. While such disparities seem unlikely, they are always a possibility.

Yet the very creation of a method that incorporates the formal characteristics of each medium and style of presentation for each item defeats the generalizability of any findings. It means, in fact, that every individual news item is to be used, judged in its own right, and scored. It creates massive problems of sampling and leaves as a mystery the question of analysis of the various elements of the item which may have influenced the assigned value. The present method can be defended as at least allowing an assessment of the essential content without influence by other variables, important as they may be in the other context.

The General Findings on the Instrument

When the data of the 114 returns were transferred to IBM cards and processed, the mean values for each collapsed scenario category followed the rank order we had assumed at the beginning of the research. Physical violence committed illegally or without rational basis was far and away the most violently perceived kind of

act, followed by physical violence committed in an apparently legally sanctioned way, physical violence resulting from accident, from irresponsibility, or by natural phenomena, which was followed closely by non-violent crime and non-violent conflict. Those items we had coded as non-violent were assigned such a low score that we feel our own original distinctions between violent and non-violent items was shown to be corroborated. The actual scores were:

Table 3.1

Socially Validated Violence Magnitude of Random Selection of News Events by a Pilot Sample* Collapsed Scenarios

1. Physical Violence—illegal, irrational	5.02
2. Physical Violence—presumed within or enforcing the law	3.48
3. Physical Violence—accident, irresponsibility, natural phenomena	2.73
4. Non-Violent Crime	2.68
5. Non-Violent Conflict	1.62
6. Random Violence	3.11
7. Non-Violent	.28

* The category "random violence," which did not correspond to any of the others, based upon acts of violence that were of such a low frequency they were insufficient to make into a scenario and which represented, in total 4.6 per cent of all television events, and 4.17 per cent of all newspaper items, was assigned the mean violence rating of the other six, 3.11.

Table 3.2 indicates the full set of violence values for the 25 specific scenarios. It will be noted that, in addition to the value 0.28 assigned to the provisionally determined non-violent items, values for violent-conflictual events range from 1.63 for scenario no. 4: "The actions of legal governments, or their representatives, result in non-violent conflict with other people," to the highest value, 6.08, for scenario no. 10: "People acting illegally and/or irrationally cause the death of other people, with hand weapons."

It is these specific values that are to be plugged into each of the 12,913 items of our sample which correspond to the 25 scenarios, in order to compare different media. We further suggest that other investigators may wish to attempt to use these scenarios and their value rating in their own research.

1. "Non-violence" is taken to mean a lack of physical violence.

2. The aspect of crime, illegality, or insanity must be clearly indicated in the abstract statement to apply to those scenarios.

3. Accidents and man-made disasters are taken to operate independently of the people who may be held responsible for them.

4. Government representatives are taken to include members of all governing bodies, including commissions, armies, police, legal, medical, and economic conduct review boards and school administrators. The various stations of office are independent of the people holding them.

5. People acting independently of the office, or outside their jurisdiction, or without the explicit sanction of the greater body they represent, are not considered government respresentatives.

Discussion of General Findings

One of the interesting confirmations of the rank ordering of the collapsed scenarios is that the hierarchical order we imposed as the basis for selection of the *event* from the news item held. Physical violence, or its threat, of an illegal-irrational nature, within the law or without evidence of its irrational or illegal status, including accidental or natural events or the results of irresponsibility, rank slightly above non-violent crime and well above conflict. Yet conflict without violence clearly was distinguishable – and distinguished – by our respondents from news events that were, in fact, non-violent and non-conflictual. The difference between 0.28 and 1.62 (nearly six times the score) suggests this. Our finding also indicates the hierarchical schema of coding can be a valuable method of assessing complex, multifaceted news items in the future research.

Most centrally, it tells us that treatment of all types of violence as functionally equivalent, as in the past, is no longer necessary.

Although we have used a unidimensional scale – the magnitude of violence – as a first step, this single dimension can later be elaborated by the use of semantic differential techniques, which are not within the scope of the present research. The fact that the collapsed scenarios are replicated, at least via the clustering of specific news items in terms of the mean values, suggests that different semantic sectors are responsible for the variation in magnitude: illegality and irrationality result in a higher impact value for death, for example, than an accidental context.

Future assessments of violence can in fact take into account the changing norms toward specific kinds of violence by the use of such a meaning-integrated set of indicators.

The Application of the Scores to the Media

Having established the variation in the evaluation of different scenarios, we now turn to the use of the tool in establishing whether any differences obtain between the media and under what circumstances.

The questions to be asked are: Are there differences between television news and newspapers, between Canadian and U.S. televison, between network and local stations, between cities, in positioning?

Canadian and U.S. Television Compared

As Table 3.3 below indicates, U.S. television news

Table 3.2

*Violence Values of 25 Scenarios**

Collapsed Scenario		Extended Description	Violence Value
1.	*Physical violence committed illegally/and or irrationally*		
	Includes Scenarios:	(9) People acting illegally and/or irrationally cause physical violence to other people or to property.	4.73
		(10) People acting illegally and/or irrationally cause the death of other people, with hand weapons.	6.08
		(11) People acting illegally and/or irrationally cause the death of other people.	4.91
		(12) People acting illegally and/or irrationally cause injury to other people, with hand weapons.	5.53
		(13) People acting illegally and/or irrationally cause injury to other people.	4.88
		(14) People acting illegally and/or irrationally cause damage to property.	3.89
		(15) People threaten to commit violent crimes against other people or property.	4.12
2.	*Physical violence committed within, or enforcing, law with no indication of illegality and/or irrationality*		
	Includes Scenarios:	(1) People die from causes other than natural, but no indication of illegality or irrationality.	3.61
		(2) The actions of legal governments, or their representatives, result in the death of people.	4.05
		(3) The actions of legal governments, or their representatives, result in social or economic dislocation.	1.92
		(5) People acting on their own, apparently legally, cause the death of people.	4.07
		(6) People acting on their own, apparently legally, cause injury to people.	3.41
3.	*Physical violence committed through accident, through irresponsibility, or by natural phenomena*		
	Includes Scenarios:	(18) A natural disaster causes the death of people.	3.28
		(19) A natural disaster causes injury to people, or damage to property.	2.19
		(20) Accidents arising from highway, marine, and air traffic result in the death of people.	3.30
		(21) Accidents arising from human error or irresponsibility result in the death of people.	3.13
		(22) Accidents arising from human error or irresponsibility result in damage to property or the environment.	1.92
		(23) Accidents arising from human error or irresponsibility threaten to take place or result in physical violence.	2.64
4.	*Non-violent crime*		
	Includes Scenarios:	(16) People commit non-violent crimes against other people or property, resulting in social or economic dislocation.	2.61
		(17) People commit non-violent crimes against other people or property.	2.68

Collapsed Scenario	Extended Description		Violence Value
5. *Non-violent conflict* Includes Scenarios:	(4)	The actions of legal governments, or their representatives, result in non-violent conflict with other people.	1.63
	(7)	People acting on their own, apparently legally, are involved in non-violent conflict, resulting in social or economic dislocation.	2.18
	(8)	People acting on their own, apparently legally, are involved in non-violent conflict.	1.48
6. *Assorted random violence* Includes Scenarios:	(24)	Violent items with no scenario	3.40
7. *Non-violent story* Includes Scenarios:	(25)	Non-violent items	.28

presentations have a higher mean magnitude than do Canadian television news presentations.

Table 3.3

Violence Scores for All Canadian and All U.S. Television News Programs

Country	N	Mean Value
Canada	1,513	1.31
U.S.	1,606	1.40
Overall	3,119	1.36

Local and Network Television Compared

The national news is more violent than local news, on average according to Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4

Violence Scores for All Local and National News Programs

	N	Mean Value
Local	2,476	1.29
National	643	1.64

Violence Score of Local Television Stations, Individually

It will be noted, according to Table 3.5 below, that local Canadian stations tend to have lower violence means than local U.S. stations.

Table 3.5

Violence Means of Individual Local Television Stations

Station	N	Violence Score
(Canadian)		
CFTO (CTV)	142	1.41
CBLT (CBC)	119	1.33
CHCH (Indep.)	158	1.31
CHEX (CBC)	140	1.30
CKCO (CTV)	216	1.14
CBET (CBC)	129	1.05
CFPL (CBC)	92	1.01
CKWS (CBC)	150	.91
(U.S.)		
WXYZ (ABC)	207	1.45
WKBW (ABC)	222	1.47
WWJ (NBC)	275	1.44
WJBK (CBS)	190	1.40
WGR (NBC)	187	1.29
WBEN (CBS)	247	1.14
	2,476	1.29

(Mean for all local stations)

Violence on the Different Networks

The range of differences between the networks is 0.53; at the low end is NBC with 1.47, and at the top end is CBC with 2.00, according to Table 3.6 below.

Canadian network news scores slightly (0.11) higher than U.S. network news. This may be a consequence of the high degree of presidential primary coverage on U.S. stations.

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Table 3.6

Violence Scores for Different Television Networks

Network	N	Mean Value
CBC	108	2.00
CTV	116	1.57
Global	144	1.53
CBS	96	1.65
ABC	91	1.57
NBC	88	1.47
Overall	643	1.64

Mean Canadian
Networks: 1.68 (N = 368)
Mean U.S.
Networks
1.57 (N–275).

Television Cities and Violence Score

If there are no community antenna systems, we would be dependent upon our local television stations for television news. A question of interest is, do cities vary, at least as measured by our television station sample? In this case, the core would represent the mean of national and local news being broadcast by particular television stations in a particular area. Table 3.7 below indicates that there is a difference. Cities range in violence values from .91 to a high of 1.56. In general, it will be noted, the violence value is positively associated with city size. The Spearman rank correlation coefficient is 0.75.

It should be noted that the city scores may include more than one station and also include both network and local news programs. The definition used here: the mean violence values for stations in a given city regardless of source.

Table 3.7

Violence Scores for Different Television Cities in Sample

City	N	Mean Value	City Rank	Violence Mean Rank
Toronto	485	1.57	1	1
Detroit	688	1.44	2	3
Hamilton	157	1.32	3	5
Buffalo	916	1.37	4	4
Ottawa	145	1.53	5	2
London	92	1.01	6	9
Windsor	129	1.05	7	8
Kitchener	217	1.14	8	7
Kingston	150	.91	9	10
Peterborough	140	1.30	10	6
N =	3,119			

Spearman rank correlation coefficient: .75

Positioning of Items and Violence

The positioning of items within a medium may be associated with the violence of the event; the term, in newspaper parlance, has been "the amount of play". The criteria used to test this issue here is: (1) lead item status for television; (2) appearance on front pages of newspapers.

Television Lead Status

All television items for both countries have a mean rating of 1.36. The lead item has a rating of 1.78, compared with 1.29 for all other positions. Clearly, television broadcasters more often use high-violence items up front. An interesting difference between Canada and the U.S. is found here. Normally, the U.S., it will be recalled, has a higher television violence rating; however, Canadian broadcasters more often tend to move high-rated items up front than American broadcasters; the lead item scores, respectively, are 1.83 and 1.73.

Table 3.8 below indicates the differences on a local program – network program basis:

Table 3.8

Local and Network Programs Compared on Lead Item Basis

	Lead Item	Other Items
Local	1.94 (289)	1.20 (2,187)
National	1.43 (127)	1.69 (516)

Although national news, it will be recalled, has a higher mean overall (1.64) than local news (1.29), local television news broadcasters tend to move the more violent items up front.

Newspaper Front-Page Status and Violence Score

Although newspapers in our sample overall had a lower violence score than television stations (1.26, compared with 1.31 for Canadian stations and 1.40 for U.S. stations), it must be recalled that they publish a larger number of items (or on the other hand, because of time limitations television news calls for more selectivity) and this may explain some of the difference.

As Table 3.9 below indicates, newspaper front pages in general are higher than the mean for the entire paper; every paper with the exception of *The Ottawa Journal* has a higher-rated first page than the mean for the entire paper, with *The Toronto Sun* and *The London Free Press*, in that order, showing the largest increases.

Table 3.9

Mean Newspaper Violence Scores for Entire Paper and for Front Page

Newspaper	Overall N.	Front P. N.	Newspaper Mean	Front Page Mean
Toronto Sun	562	23	1.54	2.43
Hamilton Spectator	929	54	1.43	1.51
Toronto Star	1,111	79	1.38	1.79
Sault Ste. Marie Star	695	46	1.36	1.81
Ottawa Journal	890	60	1.30	1.24
Kitchener-Waterloo Record	1,196	52	1.21	1.54
St. Catharines Standard	1,342	61	1.15	1.58
Kingston Whig-Standard	762	65	1.15	1.21
Toronto Globe and Mail	1,246	41	1.14	1.43
London Free Press	1,031	53	1.11	1.78
Total Means			1.26	1.58

Summary and Conclusions for Chapter 3

In this chapter, we have laid out the rationale for a social validation tool and tested it. The tool has demonstrated that it is capable of discriminating differences between manifestly violent events in terms of a violence magnitude.

When it was applied to the actual analysis of media, in this case local and network television and newspapers, it found differences between U.S. and Canadian television, between different networks, between local television stations, between local programs and network programs.

For the time period studied, Canadian network news had a higher violence rating than U.S. network news.

Local television was less violent than national television overall, and Canadian local television was the least violent of all.

Furthermore, the social validation tool tapped differences between cities (on the basis of television programming) and established a significant correlation between city size (in population terms) and violence score for all television.

Both newspapers and local television stations share in positional increases, i.e., the violence level of front page items and lead items is substantially higher. This phenomenon appears to be reversed for network television news.

Endnotes

Chapter III

1 This issue was taken up in a discussion of the Kerner Commission's inquiry into mass media coverage of riots in Benjamin D. Singer, "The Report's Critique of Television", *Columbia Journalism Review*, Fall, 1968, pp.56-58.

2 The "event class" consists of a computer-generated "scenario" from which the specific item has been randomly drawn.

3 If, in fact, the population sample also evaluated our "non-violent" items as having a value close to 0, this would serve as some corroboration of our own designation. Subsequently, this proved to be the case.

4 See David Bakan on method, *Toward a Reconstruction of Psychological Investigation*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968).

Chapter Four

Summary and Conclusions

Summary

News and sports items from a sample of ten newspapers and 15 television stations were examined for a six-day period in May 1976. The 12,913 items were coded as being non-violent or violent in content in accordance with the definition outlined in detail in Chapter 1. The violent sample was further sub-coded in terms of generic type of violence, agent, activity, target, direct consequences, context, action time, setting, weapon or medium of harm, age of agent and target, sex of agent and target, and ethnicity of agent and target.

From such coding, in turn, 25 scenarios were abstracted essentially in the form of statements posed by the violence sub-coding. Draft scenarios were then tested in trial runs with varied subsamples of media material and with varied combinations of coders. Amendments were made and a scenario program devised which allowed the computer to select items conforming to the specific ingredients of each scenario category, and total the relative incidence of various scenarios.

After proofing of computer inputs was completed and a reliability check was run on the raw data, steps were taken to seek to determine the extent to which the relatively subjective codings and classifications paralleled the judgments of a random sample of general media consumers. By mail and direct interview, 114 respondents completed questionnaires calling for the ranking of two batches of 63 statements synthesizing the content and thrust of non-violent and violent news and sports items coded. These results were also coded for computation and varied results were examined and compared with the general coded sample.

Conclusions

Subject to varied reservations specified in the chapters above and the inescapable fact that some degrees of highly detailed analysis and cross-tabulation were not possible with a sample of the study's size, the following conclusions can reasonably be drawn from the data in this study.

1. News and sports coverage in the newspapers and on television newscasts sampled is relatively violent. Overall, 40 per cent of the selected items studied fell into the violence and conflict-related categories in the sample, and 24 per cent was outright violent material.

2. Sports items in newspapers and on television newscasts were not significantly violent in the sample studied. It would seem that such violence as is conveyed from sports comes more from actual live presentations of games than from regular news accounts. There may, however, have been an imbalance introduced by the sampling dates (May 18 - 28) since some rather contentious contact sports such as hockey, football, and lacrosse are quiescent at that time of year.

3. American television news was less violent than Canadian television news (55.0 per cent non-violent compared with 47.1 per cent) and about the same as Canadian newspaper news. Heavy emphasis on American presidential primary coverage on American television may have been a major factor explaining this, since virtually all primary reports were classed as non-violent.

4. Some quite clear differences in emphasis were apparent between the Canadian media in the sample and American television offerings studied. American television newscasts deal with death more often than Canadian television newscasts or Canadian newspapers. Canadian media placed greater emphasis on conflict and non-violent crimes such as those affecting property.

5. Sex, age, and ethnicity were not specified in the majority of violent news items studied. There was no indication that information sufficient to emphasize sexual, racial, or age-group stereotypes about violent behaviour was extensively available or emphasized.

6. The scenarios generated from a combination of empirical examination of a subsample, comparison with other content analysis schemes, consultation with specialists, and a dash of intuition managed to account

for most violent items in the sample of 12,913. It seems reasonable to suggest that the 23 violent scenarios spelled out can account for more than 90 per cent of news and sports content in mass media newscasts or columns. Furthermore, as is indicated in the appendices of this report, a quite high level of consistency was found among coders when reliability and commonality checks were applied. This suggests that such scenarios are likely to prove workable for classification purposes in the hands of quite divergent groups of potential users and, as such, sharing of concepts and information can be facilitated.

7. Social validation procedures described in Chapter 3 provided extensive confirmation of the coding, weighting, and classification of data used in this study. More than 100 respondents in a pilot study tended to agree with:

- the identification of scenario items as violent or non-violent
- the classification of various violent scenario items
- the weighting of various kinds of violence

While that was not a wholly conclusive sample in terms of its size, location, time-scale, semantics, or composition, the social validation group used provided a preliminary confirmation sufficient to argue for further refinement and more extensive validation.

8. Violent news tended to get some additional emphasis in the newspaper sample and on television newscasts through more frequent selection for front-page play in newspapers or as the leader newscast item. Approximately 41 per cent of lead television news items were violence-related, 16 per cent were conflict-related, and 43 per cent were non-violent as opposed to the general 60 per cent non-violent and 40 per cent violent figure for the television sample. As a whole, with newspapers 31 per cent of front-page items were violent, 27 per cent were conflict, and 42 per cent non-violent, compared with the 60 per cent non-violent and 40 per cent violent average figure overall.

Appendix 1

Annotated Bibliography

In addition to the many studies cited by the Commission in its preliminary report examining media and violence relationships, a number of rather more specialized studies proved to be useful in the formulation and execution of this project. We have winnowed and categorized these as follows: *User Aspects*, *Media Characteristics*, *Content Categories*, *Coding and Content Analysis*.

User Aspects

In a bid to relate the selection and categorization of media content to the judgments of actual users or consumers of such content, we turned to published reports delineating varied interactions. In particular, six of these seemed especially useful:

Monica D. Blumenthal, "Predicting Attitudes Towards Violence," *Science*, Vol. 176, June 23, 1972, pp. 1296-1303.
"The data presented indicate that, to a very substantial degree, attitudes toward violence are related to values and attitudes towards the contenders in the violence. Moreover, the same values that enable one to justify the use of police force in an effort to maintain social control enable one to justify the use of violence as a means of producing social change."

Robert L. Casey, Minoru Masuda and Thomas H. Holmes, "Quantitative Study of Recall of Life Events," *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, Vol. 11, pp. 239-247.
". . . . the most potent factor affecting consistency of recall was the saliency of the life event items . . . ."

David A. Hamburg, "A Perspective on Coping Behavior," *Archives of General Psychiatry*, Vol. 17, no. 3, 1967, pp. 277-284.
"The threatening event can be regulated in spite of the threat, or the blow, if it must come, can be absorbed in the prospect of substitute, alternate sources of self-esteem and rewarding interpersonal relationships."

Jeffrey C. Hubbard, Melvin L. DeFleur and Lois B. DeFleur, "Mass Media Influence on Public Conceptions of Social Problems," *Social Problems*, Vol. 23, no. 1, 1975, pp. 22-34.
"There was a low relationship between emphasis in the media and public beliefs concerning relative incidence for the social problems studied."

William H. Ittelson, "Perception of the Large-Scale Environment," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 32, no. 7, Dec. 1970, pp. 807-815.
"The way we view the environment, thus, is in a very general sense a function of what we do in it, including what strategies we use in exploring and conceptualizing it."

Michael B. Rothenberg, M.D., "Effect of Television Violence on Children and Youth," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 234, Dec. 8, 1975, pp. 1043-1046.
"The following conditions encourage the actual performance of aggression: a similarity between the observed setting and the viewer's real setting; when the observed aggression 'worked'; when it wasn't punished; and when it was the most favored and most frequent method used to attain goals."

Media Characteristics

Arthur M. Barnes, "Research in Radio and Television News, 1947-57", *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 35, 1958, pp. 323-332.
Edward R. Cony, "Conflict-Cooperation Content of Five American Dailies,"*Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 30, 1953, pp. 15-22.
"There are . . . . two paragraphs of cooperation for every three of conflict. This is an impressive proportion of cooperation and may surprise those that contend that the press presents society as a jungle."
"It is interesting to note that only 35.7 per cent of the space given over to conflict news describes conflict of an illegal nature."

F. James Davis, "Crime News in Colorado Newspapers," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 57, 1951-52, pp. 325-330.
"The findings of this study bear out the hypothesis that there is no consistent relationship between the amount of crime news in newspapers and the local crime rates."

Walter Gieber, "Do Newspapers Overplay 'Negative' News?", *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 32, 1955, pp. 311-318.
"Thus, there are grounds for stating with some confidence that as far as wire news is concerned, newspapers do not have a bias for *negative* news."

David Gold and Jerry L. Simmons, "News Selection Patterns Among Iowa Dailies," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* Vol. 29, 1965, pp. 425-430.
"The implication . . . . is that changes in wire-service emphasis on different types of news would be reflected in changes of emphasis in the small-town daily."

Russell F. Harney and Vernon A. Stone, "Television and Newspaper Front Page Coverage of a Major News Story," *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. 13, no. 2, Spring 1969, pp. 181-188.
". . . . a content analysis revealed that the early evening network television news program, averaged across networks, reported fewer of the key events in a continuing top interest news story than did the front pages of three leading daily newspapers."

Richard K. Kerckhoff, "Negro News in the Daily Press: A Publicity Frame of Reference," *Social Forces*, Vol. 29, 1950-51, pp. 277-281.
"More often than not they leave the race label out of unfavourable Negro news items and put it in favourable ones. But they have also descreased the *total* Negro news."

Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang, "The Inferential Structure of Political Communications: A Study in Unwitting Bias,"*Public Opinion Quarterly*, Summer 1955, pp. 168-183.
"The finding that monitoring groups tended to take over as their own the interpretation *most stressed* on their channel has an immediate bearing on any evaluation of the role of television in the formation of political opinion."

James B. Lemert, "Content Duplication by the Networks in Competing Evening Newscasts," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 51, no. 2, Summer 1974, pp. 238-250.
"Seventy per cent of all stories on weekday newscasts in two week period were used by at least two U.S. networks."

Dennis T. Lowry, "Gresham's Law and Network TV News Selection," *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. 15, no. 4, Fall 1971, pp. 397-408.
"Bad News does *not* drive out Other News on the network

television evening newscasts . . . . Bad News *is* given a significant position emphasis."

Timothy P. Meyer, "Some Effects of Real Newsfilm Violence on the Behavior of Viewers," *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. 15, no. 3, p. 285.

"The results of this study showed that the news reporter's description of a 'real violence' news event can substantially affect the viewer's perception of the violence in that event."

"Viewing real film violence that is perceived by the angered viewer as justified can lead to an increase in aggressive behavior. And the news reporter can, by himself, determine whether the violence will be perceived as justified or unjustified."

Chris J. Scheer and Sam W. Eiler, "A Comparison of Canadian and American Network Television News," *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. 16, no. 2, 1972, pp. 159-164.

"The CBS *Evening News* was paced faster, and its news presentation had a sense of urgency, even crisis. Key stories were followed closely for days until new on-going 'crisis' stories were picked up. This . . . . was not evident in the more sedate approach of CBC."

R. Smith Schuneman, "Visual Aspects of Television News: Communicator, Message, Equipment," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 43, no. 2, 1966, pp. 281-286.

"In the next few years . . . increasing pressure will be placed on television newsmen to increase their knowledge of the principles and theory of visual communication."

Percy H. Tannenbaum, "The Effect of Headlines on the Interpretation of News Stories," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 30, no. 2, 1953, pp. 189-197.

"This study has demonstrated the fact that headlines are not impotent instruments in the formations of opinions from newspaper reading. Indeed, their effect appears to be a most profound one, even within the confines of this laboratory situation."

Content Categories

Chilton R. Bush, "A System of Categories for General News Content," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 37, 1960, pp. 206-210.

"The unit of analysis should not be the entire news story but the *elements* of reader interest in the individual news stories."

"The category system should have logical and psychological dimensions."

Dennis Howitt and Guy Cumberbatch, "Audience Perceptions of Violent Television Content," *Communication Research*, Vol. 1, no. 2, April 1974, pp. 204-223.

" . . . . it is possible to investigate viewer's perceptions of television content at the level of programs in the same way as it is possible to study the isolated incidents that make up television."

Minoru Masuda and Thomas H. Holmes, "Magnitude Estimations of Social Readjustments," *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, Vol. 11, 1967, pp. 219-225.

" . . . . a method was defined for quantifying the amount of change in life adjustment required for forty-three items of life events . . . . It is the purpose of this report to present the results of further statistical analysis of the data."

Peter H. Rossi, Emily Waite, Christine E. Bose, and Richard E. Berk, "The Seriousness of Crimes: Normative Structure and Individual Differences," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 39, April 1974, pp. 224-237.

" . . . . there is considerable agreement from subgroup to subgroup on the relative ordering of the criminal acts rated and on the relative 'distance' between such acts on the scale used.

" . . . . the norms defining how serious various criminal acts are considered to be, are quite widely distributed among blacks and whites, males and females, high and low socio-economic levels, and among levels of educational attainment."

Dallas W. Smythe, "Reality as Presented by Television," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Summer 1954, pp. 143-156.

"It is possible to relate this analysis of television content categories to our earlier observation that content categories must be thought of as related to categories and hypotheses relevant to perception, motivation and learning."

Marvin E. Wolfgang, "Weighting Crime," in Thorstein Sellin and Marvin E. Wolfgang, *Constructing an Index of Delinquency; A Manual*, Philadelphia, Centre for Criminological Research, 1963, pp. 6-12.

"The scale was arrived at by having nearly 800 policemen, university students in Philadelphia, and juvenile court judges in Pennsylvania rate 141 different offense events on a magnitude scale of seriousness."

Coding and Content Analysis

Barry Kiefl, *A Collation of Readings in the Study of Content Analysis*, Ottawa, Canadian Radio and Television Commission, Broadcast Programmes Branch, (Draft) 1974.

Thomas E. Coffin and Sam Tuchman, "A Question of Validity: Some Comments on 'Apples, Oranges and the Kitchen Sink,' " *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. 17, no. 1, Winter 1972-73, pp. 31-33.

"Assuredly, reliability is important. But even more important, in our estimation, is *validity*. Are the specific actions that Gerbner's analysts categorize as 'violent' actually violent in a socially meaningful sense?"

Joseph R. Dominick, Alan Wurtzel and Guy Lometti, "Television Journalism vs. Show Business: A Content Analysis of Eyewitness News," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 52, 1975, pp. 213-218.

"The Eyewitness format . . . . was geared toward violent stories, human interest material and comic items."

A. Geller, D. Kaplan and Harold D. Lasswell, "An Experimental Comparison of Four Ways of Coding Editorial Content," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 20, 1943, pp. 362-370.

"Sentence, paragraph, three-sentence and article coding of the same editorial content give consistent differences in the count of symbol frequencies." (This led to substitution of hierarchical methods discussed in Chapter 1 above.)

George Gerbner, *Cultural Indicators Project, TV Message Analysis Recording Instrument*, Philadelphia, The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, Revised edition (mimeo.), 1974.

George Gerbner and Larry Gross, "Living With Television: The Violence Profile," *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 26, no. 2, Spring 1976, pp. 173-200.

Jack B. Haskins, "Headline-and-Lead Scanning vs. Whole Item Reading in Newspaper Content Analysis," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 43, pp. 333-335.

"The foreign affairs mentions found in the item but not in the headline-and-lead were judged to be of minor significance . . . ."

Robert L. Jones and Roy E. Carter Jr., "Some Procedures for Estimating 'News Hole' in Content Analysis," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 23, no. 3, 1959, pp. 399-403.

". . . . an artificial sample of one 'week' of papers from the three-week time span would estimate efficiently the news-hole proportion for the entire three weeks."

Malcolm W. Klein and Nathan Maccoby, "Newspaper Objectivity in the 1952 Campaign," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 31, no. 2, Summer 1954, pp. 285-296.

". . . . the data provide considerable evidence of reportorial bias . . . ."

Charles U. Larson, "A Content Analysis of Media Reporting of the Watergate Hearings," *Communication Research*, Vol. 1, no. 4, October 1974, pp. 440-448.

"There may be a kind of 'gatekeeping' monolith implicit in news reporting that features the dramatic or striking."

Dennis T. Lowry, "Agnew and the Network TV News: A Before/After Content Analysis," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 48, no. 2, 1971, pp. 205-210.

"If one returns to the question asked earlier in this study, 'Can an administration which has no *de jure* control over news content succeed in using *de facto* pressure to significantly influence network television news treatment of itself?' the answer, based upon the data produced in this study, would seem to be: Yes."

Gordon W. Russell, "The Perception and Classification of Collective Behavior," *The Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 87, 1972, pp. 219-227.

"A Classificatory model of collective behavior based upon perceptual dimensions was proposed. The four major dimensions found to underlie a domain of collective phenomena were identified as: (a) Violence (b) Amorphous-Focused (c) Anomie, and (d) Ideology."

Robert L. Stevenson, Richard A. Eisinger, Barry M. Feinberg, and Alan B. Kotok, "Untwisting *The News Twisters*: A Replication of Elfron's Study," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 50, no. 2, 1973, pp. 211-219.

"There was no evidence of any systematic evaluative bias for or against any of the three candidates."

Appendix 2
Television News Broadcasts: Consistency of Coding

The coding scheme used in the analysis of television news items was developed after the pre-viewing of a substantial number of television news broadcasts, and the discussion of the individual news items within them. With the central theme being the type and amount of violence portrayed in the news item, coding categories for 31 variables were made explicit. The first 15 variables were primarily for item identification and description; the remaining variables were designed to describe the content of the item.

Coders, working in pairs, viewed the sample of television broadcasts, and classified each news item according to this predetermined coding scheme. Nine individuals were involved in 24 different coding-pair combinations. A consensus between coders was reached when disagreements on the categorization of an item occurred. Since none of the news items were double-coded by different pairs of coders, a measure of inter-coder reliability could not be calculated. However, it was useful to check the consistency of coding across coder pairs and also across individuals.

The most important variable, given the focus of this analysis, was the *generic type* of news item. All items were classified either as being "non-violent" or as fitting into six broad categories of "violence." For the purposes of this check on coding consistency, this variable was collapsed into two categories; "violent" and "non-violent". 60.1 per cent of the total sample of news items (N = 3,119) were classified as non-violent. Consistency in coding was assessed by comparing the percentage of items which each coder pair, and also each individual (as part of several different coding pairs), classified as non-violent.

The range of "percentage of items considered non-violent" across the 24 coding pairs was large; 20 to 100 per cent. However, some of the coder combinations viewed only a very small number of news items. Since the basic assumption underlying this consistency check is that violent news items are randomly distributed across all broadcasts and stations, et cetera, one would expect outlying percentages to occur for those coder pairs who had viewed relatively few items. (For example, the coder-pair who rated as "non-violent" 100 per cent of the items they viewed assessed only four items.) Consequently, only coder pairs who had classified 50 or more items (14 of the 24 pairs) were compared. The range of "percentage of non-violent items" for these coder combinations, who together categorized 91.3 per cent of the 3,119 news items, was considerably smaller; 53 to 73 per cent.

The highest and lowest coder-pair non-violent percentages would be expected to occur when two individuals with similar "biases" worked together. But since coders worked in different combinations (nine coders; 24 pairs), individual percentages should be considered to assess the effects of different working combinations on coding consistency. It would be expected that assessments by individuals with a "violence" bias would be moderated by the countering opinion of a partner with a "non-violence" bias. The table below presents the percentage of all items classified by an individual coder, which were coded as "non-violent", for each of the nine coders. The total number of items shown in the table is twice the sample size of 3,119 since each items is considered twice; once for each of the coders involved.

Percentage of Items Classified as "Non-violent" by Individual Coder

Coder	Non-Violent percentage	Classifications number
A	58	1,126
B	60	955
C	60	546
D	61	276
E	58	1,057
F	59	449
G	64	944
H	60	850
I	63	35
		N x 2 = 6,238
Total	60.1	N = 3,119

When individual percentages are compared, the range across the nine coders is 58 to 64 per cent. It is apparent that, although certain coder pairs tended to classify a higher percentage of items as non-violent, the effect of using different combinations of coders was to moderate individual biases.

This coding check considers only one variable, albeit the most important variable. It is obviously not a check on the validity of the coding scheme itself, nor is it a measure of inter-coder reliability. However, it does demonstrate that the system employed in the accumulation of these television news data (rotating coder combinations) was helpful in achieving some consistency in the classification of the news items.

Harvey Krahn
January 3, 1977

Appendix 3
Social Validation Questionnaire

The purpose of this questionnaire is to give a score to each of a series of statements, according to the amount of violence in the statements. This booklet contains 63 numbered statements. Beside each statement is a scale from zero to seven which will be used to score the statement. Please read all your instructions before proceeding.

What is Violence . . . ?

The idea of violence applies to any kind or degree of physical violence or conflict. This includes, for example, actual or threatened physical brutality; damage or destruction to people, animals, society, property, or nature; political or social controversy; legal disputes; protests; simple disagreement. *Any statement referring to any of these kinds of "violence" is "violent".*

How To Score . . .

Carefully read all of the statements in the questionnaire once in advance. Then begin reading the statements again. Decide if each statement is violent or non-violent. If it is non-violent, circle the '0' on the scale. If it is violent, give it a score from 1 to 7, by circling a number on the scale. The *least* violent get a low score; the *most* violent get a high score. Always score for the most severe kind of violence in each statement. Then do the next statement.

But . . .

Do not assume that an activity could or should, potentially, lead to more or greater violence. To be called violent, there must be clearly expressed violence or conflict in the statement itself. Give only one score to each statement, and give a score to every statement.

Finally . . .

Complete the information form on the last page. Please return the questionnaire in the envelope provided, as soon as possible.
Thank you for your help. Without it, this research could not go on.

Statements

1. Severe weather destroys 25 per cent of a country's wheat crop.
2. Workers walk out in a contract dispute.
3. A 16-year-old girl shoots and injures another girl at school.
4. Potato brokers break contract by failing to deliver a shipment on time.
5. A youth suffers an overdose after stealing drugs from a pharmacy.
6. A 31-year-old prisoner attacks five prison guards.
7. Over 100 known companies use bribery and under-the-table concessions to win foreign contracts.
8. A young woman faces 11 criminal charges resulting from her activities as an urban revolutionary.
9. A 23-year-old ice-cream-store manager is stabbed to death by thieves attempting to rob the store.
10. The government opens new computer facilities to aid in job location for the unemployed.

11. A man is sentenced to jail for raping a woman.
12. Rubber workers strike against three major companies.
13. Banks announce an increase in the prime interest rate.
14. Machinists picket a manufacturer in a wage dispute.
15. A postal worker is fired after he is blamed for damage done to packages during machine sorting.
16. A group of Boy Scouts claims that 40 acres of an island are Crown property, despite cottage owners' claims to the contrary.
17. Salt on the roads causes extensive damage to cars annually.
18. Opponents of supersonic transport jets request that landing privileges be refused.
19. A 19-year-old is charged with vehicular homicide in a motorcycle-car accident.
20. The Pope threatens to excommunicate people voting for the Communist party in an upcoming election.
21. Improper and inaccurate labelling by manufacturers results in clothing being ruined by dry cleaning.

Answers

State-ment	Non-Violent	Least Violent				Most Violent		
1.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	0	1	2	3	4.	5	6	7
15.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

22. A country's allies attempt to stop it from establishing peace with a mutual enemy.
23. Pulp and paper mills pollute water with chemical wastes
24. A national leader says his country would intervene in a foreign civil war, if the foreign country were to ask for assistance.
25. A man and his two children drown in a boating accident.
26. A power company requests an increase in its electrical rates to finance the construction of new power plants.
27. Two youths are charged with assaulting an officer during

a park brawl.

28. Labour and government agree to talk over economic policy together.

29. A man kills two people in a northern town.

30. A legislative member misappropriates government money.

31. A 31-year-old man is killed in a single-car accident.

32. A political party leader is found guilty of "political corruption".

33. Four sailors missing from their ships are found drowned on a beach.

34. A child suffers brain damage as a result of an infectious disease.

35. Government cutbacks in medical research result in a man dying of a blood disease.

36. Hospital administrators oppose a government's proposed closing of a hospital.

37. A man has to appeal to the provincial cabinet to have a faulty drainage system corrected.

38. A shopping centre plans to build space for new stores.

39. Rowdies threaten to harm a campground owner.

40. A typhoon kills and injures many people.

41. A boy cuts his arm severely while doing farm chores.

42. Two political leaders give conflicting reports on accusations of their involvement in illegal wiretapping.

45. Juveniles under probationary surveillance commit 41 per cent of the crimes in a major city.

46. A car strikes and kills a little girl.

47. A nursing-home operator embezzles $200,000 from a national medical-insurance plan.

48. Some "pacemakers" are prone to corrosion and malfunction, posing a serious threat to patients dependent on the device.

49. Labour groups plan for a national general strike.

50. A charity organization appoints a chairman for its fund-raising drive.

51. An air-traffic controllers' strike shuts down national commercial air traffic.

52. Interest groups dispute the procedures used to settle land claims along the site of a new pipeline.

53. A school-bus accident kills 26 people.

54. A military alliance warns a country to halt their arms build-up to avoid an arms race.

55. A militant activist kills himself to protest the government's treatment of his people.

56. Demonstrators protest a political candidate's past treatment of them during one of his campaign appearances.

57. A man shoots and kills two policemen.

58. Terrorists take 100 hostages in an airplane highjacking.

59. Provincial leaders criticize a federal oil-price hike.

60. Two countries agree to a fishing rights treaty.

61. Opposition MPs call for a cabinet minister's resignation, on the grounds of having mismanaged a major financial commitment.

62. People criminally misuse credit cards.

63. A civic action group accuses the government of manipulating air traffic regulations to create a need for a new airport.

Answers

State-ment	Non-Violent	Least Violent				Most Violent		
22.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

43. People smuggle an illegal drug into the country for cancer treatment.

44. A country's arms build-up and involvement in a foreign civil war are threats to international peace.

Answers

State-ment	Non-Violent	Least Violent				Most Violent		
43.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
58.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
59.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
60.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
61.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
62.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
63.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Personal Information

The following information will help us in knowing more about the kinds of people who are participating. Please answer all of the questions. You are *NOT* required to write your name and address anywhere on the questionnaire, or on the return envelope.

Your age:——

Your sex:——

What kind of work do you do?——
(Fill in your actual job, not where you work)

Your education: (check one)

Grade School	——
Some High School	——
High School complete	——
Some College (or trade school)	——
College complete	——
Some University	——
University complete	——
Some Post-Graduate	——
Post-Graduate Degree	——

How often do you watch television news?
(number of days per month) ——

Do you believe that the amount of violence in television news is: (check one)
Too much—— Too little—— About right—— Don't know——

Do you believe that the amount of violence in newspapers is: (check one)
Too much—— Too little—— About right—— Don't know——

Do you believe that the amount of violence in radio news is: (check one)
Too much—— Too little—— About right—— Don't know——

Which is most violent? (check one)
Television news—— Newspapers—— Radio news—— Can't say——

Thank you kindly for your time and assistance.
If you have any comments on this survey, feel free
to pass them along with your questionnaire.

Appendix 4
The Coding Instruments

Coding Sheet: Television

Coded by _____

1. Identification number

2. Location in (measured by counter)

3. Coder Number

4. Broadcast Date

5. Type of Broadcast

6. Country of Origin

7. Time of Broadcast

8. Length of Newshole

9. City of Origin

10. Station

11. Network

12. Sports

13. Item Number

14. Film or Graphics

15. Length of Item

16. Location of Action

17. Generic Type

If other, specify

If 17 (above) is coded 00, do not complete the remainder of this form. If, however, it receives any other code except 00, complete the remainder of this form.

18. Agent

If other, specify

19. Activity
If other, specify

20. Target
If other, specify

21. Direct Consequences
If other, specify

22. Context of Activity
If other, specify

23. Activity Time
If other, specify

24. Setting
If other, specify

25. Weapon or Medium of Harm
If other, specify

26. Age of Agent

27. Sex of Agent

28. Ethnicity of Agent

If other, specify

29. Age of Target

30. Sex of Target

31. Ethnicity of Target
If other, specify

Code

1. I.D. Number
(7-digit number) (Coder: Leave Blank)

2. Location
(Measured by counter)

3. Coder Number

4. Broadcast Date
(Enter date May 15 as 15)

5. Type of Broadcast:

1) Local

2) National

6. Country of Origin:

1) Canada

2) U.S.

7. Time of Broadcast:

1) Evening

2) Night

(Evening means early evening broadcasts at 6:00, 6:30 p.m., et cetera. Night refers to late news at 11:00, 11:30, 11:45 p.m.)

8. Length of Newshole (Not to be entered by coder)
(This figure is the sum total of the "times" of all codable items.)

9. City of Origin:
01 Buffalo
02 Detroit
03 Hamilton
04 Kingston
05 Kitchener
06 London
07 Ottawa
08 Peterborough
09 Sudbury
10 Toronto
11 Thunder Bay
12 Windsor

10. Station:
01 WKBW
02 WGR
03 WBEN
04 WXYZ
05 WJBK
06 WWJ
07 CKSO
08 CKNC
09 CKPR
10 CHFD
11 CBET
12 CKWS
13 CFPL
14 CKCO
15 CHCH
16 CFTO
17 CBLT
18 CHEX
19 CJOH
20 CBOT
21 Global

11. Network:

1) CBC

2) CTV

3) Global

4) ABC

5) NBC

6) CBS

7) No network

12. Sports
(Sports as 1, News as 2. Includes sports on regular news broadcasts.)

13. Item Number
(Counting news items only, how many items in the news length? Enter position such that first item is 01, second item is 02, et cetera.)

14. Does the story use film or graphics?

1) No

2) Graphics only

3) Film (with or without graphics)
(If graphic includes words but no visual, do not include.)

15. Length of Item
(Measured by stopwatch. Enter the number of seconds.)

16. Location of Action
00   Unspecified
01   Local
02   Provincial
03   National/Ottawa
04   United States
05   International
06   Canada-U.S.
07   Other (do not specify)

17. Generic Type
00   None
(No apparent violence or conflict.)
10   Actual Violence
(Death, destruction or injury to present or formerly living entities; man's artifacts or the environment.)
20   Actual Violence
(Psychological – death or injury to cerebral, emotional processes.) Driving a person mad and other Specifics as they emerge.
30   Threatened or Potential Violence
Threatened
Somebody or something has been threatened with harm or believes himself to be threatened with harm.

Potential (Future)
Harm could result to somebody or something if precautions are not taken; example, increased border guards during Olympics.
40   Non-Violent Crime
(No apparent death, injury or psychological violence expressed or implied – usually would include most swindles, prostitution, many thefts, fraud and conspiracy, embezzlement, trespassing, immigration offences, most traffic violations, et cetera.)
50   Non-Violent Conflict
(Disputation, disagreement, discord which do not involve death, injury or psychological violence – usually would include verbal abuse; labour disputes; demonstrations; most sports, games and other active competitions. If can't tell who aggressor is, such as in union and management problems, code twice and split the time, using the same item number.)
60   Other (Fill in)

18. Agent
00   Unspecified
10   Humans Acting with Legal Mandate

(Police, army, firemen, watchmen, customs officers, parliaments, border patrols, et cetera.)
20   Humans Acting on Their Own, but Apparently Legally
(Householders, spouses, parents, self-defenders, machine operators, scientists, political leaders, administrators, athletes, et cetera.)
Any interest group as an agent, in which there is no indication they are operating illegally, is considered to be operating legally.
30   Humans Acting Illegally and/or Insanely
(Criminals, psychopaths, terrorists, rioters, lynchers, arsonists, sexual offenders, et cetera.)
40   Animals/Insects
50   Natural Disasters, Diseases
(Naturally-caused fires, floods, earthquakes, weather, et cetera.)
60   Man-Made Disaster
(Fires, floods, explosions, tanker spills, train-plane auto accidents, building collapses, pollutions caused by humans, industrial processes, and the like; results of technological process or device, new technology.)

(Dramatic disasters and subtle harm, such as massive unemployment.)

(Includes machines, both under man's control and not under man's control.)
70   Other (Specify)

19. Activity
Note: All Items Under Activity are Actual and Threatened.
00   Unspecified
10   Murder, Suicide, Dying
(Unless indicated as unnatural death, natural death is not to be included.)
20   Assault, Attack
(Any activity threatening or causing injury to living entities. Includes slander, defamation.)
30   Forcible Detention
(Kidnapping, highjacking, holding hostage, abducting, and the like – illegally.)
40   Assault on or Destruction of Property
(Vandalism, pollution, theft, strikes and lockouts, riots, trespass, arson, fraud, embezzlement, forgery, plagiarism, et cetera.)
50   Exercising Legal Mandate
(Arresting, pacifying, executing, imprisoning, censoring.)
60   Expressing Non-Violent Conflict
(Protest, demonstration, games and sports, active competition, labour disputes.)
70   Breaking the Law in Non-Violent Manner
80   Other (Specify)

20. Target
00   Unspecified
10   Self
20   Other Human
30   Other Human Groups
(Group of people includes a geographical area; when it refers to a specific province – e.g., Quebec will pay for Olympics; law enforcement officials; mankind in general; class of human beings as a plurality.)
40   Animals/Insects
50   Property/Environment
60   None
70   Other (Specify)

21. Direct Consequences
(As they mainly affect the target)
00   Unspecified

10   Death
20   Injury
30   Psychological/Psychiatric Damage or Destruction
40   Uproar/Dislocation (at social level)
50   Socio-Economic
60   Property/Environmental Damage or Destruction
70   None
80   Other (Specify)

Consequence Affects the Target!!

22. Context of Activity
(Reason/Motivation)
(Context flows from item in parenthesis)
00   Unspecified
10   War, Insurrection, Civil War, Revolution
(As specified by broadcaster.)
20   Lunacy, Deviance (Criminal Activity)
(Influence of psychosis, drugs, liquor, mental illness, medications,
other intoxications, et cetera; criminal activity.)
30   (Religious, Racial, Political) – Ideology
(Unions as economic unless actually allied with political, racial,
religious group.)
40   Personal Gain, Revenge, Satisfaction
50   Accident and/or Natural Disaster
(Irresponsibility – ignorance of consequences.)
60   Games and Sports
70   Other (Specify)

23. Activity Time
00   Unspecified
01   Irrelevant
02   Night
03   Day

24. Setting
00   Unspecified
01   Irrelevant
02   Urban (any specifically incorporated city or town)
03   Rural
04   Mixed
05   Other

25. Weapon or Medium of Harm
00   Unspecified
02   Irrelevant
10   Body
(Fist, hand, foot, kung fu, et cetera.)
20   Firearm
(Individual weapon – pistol, rifle, et cetera.)
30   Small Hand Weapons and Non-Violent Materials or
Objects
(Not firearms – club, knife, spoon, icepick, whip, stick, pillows,
scarves, ice cubes.)
40   Vehicles
50   Explosives and War Materials
(Small bombs to nuclear device; other war-waging
devices/materials – flame thrower, tank, napalm, et cetera.)
60   Crowd, Mob, Organized Group
70   Administrative Interference (Mainly in Conflict
Situations)
(Red tape, bureaucratic delay or indifference.)
80   Libel, Blasphemy
90   Medical Procedure
(Abortion)
91   Alcohol, Drugs, Poisons
(Incidents arisings from)

92   Act of Nature
(Fire, water, lightning, lava, etc; poison gases, falling trees,
explosions, landslides, et cetera.)
93   Animal
94   Technology and Industrial Processes
(Man-made disasters, such as industrial pollution)
95   Other

26. Age of Agent
0   Unspecified
1   Irrelevant
2   Child (to 11 years approx.)
3   Adolescent (12 to 18 approx.)
4   Adult (19 to 40)
5   Middle (41 to 64)
6   Old (65 and older)
7   Mixed

27. Sex of Agent
0   Unspecified
1   Irrelevant
2   Male
3   Female
4   Mixed (Male and Female)

28. Ethnicity of Agent
0   Unspecified/Irrelevant
1   White (European)
2   Black
3   Oriental-Asian
4   Native-Indian-Inuit
5   Arab
6   Latin American
7   Israeli
8   Other
9   Mixed

29. Age of Target
0   Unspecified
1   Irrelevant
2   Child (to 11 years)
3   Adolescent (12 to 18 years)
4   Adult (19 to 40)
5   Middle (41 to 64)
6   Old (65 and older)
7   Mixed

30. Sex of Target
0   Unspecified
1   Irrelevant
2   Male
3   Female
4   Mixed (Male and Female)

31. Ethnicity of Target

Check if one or more of target is:
0   Unspecified/Irrelevant
1   White (European)
2   Black
3   Oriental/Asian
4   Native-Indian-Inuit
5   Arab
6   Latin American
7   Israeli
8   Other
9   Mixed

Coding Sheet: Newspapers

Coded by _____

1. Identification Number

2. Coder Number

3. Publication Date

4. City of Origin

5. Title

6. Page

7. Placement (on page)

8. Report Type

9. Graphic

10. Wire

11. Location of Action

12. Sports/News

13. Column Width

14. Column Length

15. Generic Type
If 15 (above) is coded 00, do not complete the remainder of this form. If, however, it receives any other code except 00, complete the remainder of this form.

16. Agent
If other, specify

17. Activity
If other, specify

18. Target
If other, specify

19. Direct Consequences
If other, specify

20. Context of Activity
If other, specify

21. Activity Time
If other, specify

22. Setting
If other, specify

23. Weapon or Medium of Harm
If other, specify

24. Age of Agent

25. Sex of Agent

26. Ethnicity of Agent
If other, specify

27. Age of Target

28. Sex of Target

29. Ethnicity of Target
If other, specify

Revised instructions to coders for newspapers

As with television coding, we are limited to coding the content and treatment of hard news items. Editorial comments, cartoons, and regular feature columns are not to be included. In sports, box scores, league standing, and similar tables are not to be coded. Weather features such as daily maps and predictions and other regular tables are not to be included.

A small percentage of the newspapers will be coded by two coders individually to maintain a reliability check. The exact subsample will be later indicated and occasionally revised.

When an article is continued from one page to another, the entire item is counted as appearing all together on the page on which it begins. The headline is counted only on the first page, but the total length (entered in #14) will include the continued portion of the article.

1. Leave blank

2. Coder number

> If you are the first to code a given newspaper, enter your number in the first two places provided. Enter your number in the last two places if the paper has been previously coded.

3. Date

> Enter the newspaper's date of publication (May 18 = 18)

4. City

> Enter the appropriate number to indicate the city of publication.

5. Title

> Enter the appropriate number to indicate the name of the newspaper.

6. Page

> The four-digit number representing the page on which the article being coded appears fulfils two functions: (1) the first number entered indicates the section placement of the article. The front page of the first section of the paper is coded 1. The front page of any inside section is coded 2. Any inside page of any section is coded 3.

> (2) In the remaining three places, enter the actual page number for the article. The front page of the first section would then be coded 1001. Page 5 of the first section would be coded 3005. If section 2 of the paper began at page 21, that page would be coded 2021, and page 22 would be coded 3022.

> In some newspapers, the various sections are indicated alphabetically (Section 2 is "b" with pages B1, B2, et cetera). In these, convert the items to a numerical, followed by the given page number. The front page of section B, numbered B1, would be coded 2201. Succeeding pages in the same section would be coded 3202, 3203. . . . If the page numbers of the first section are prefixed "A", do *not* convert to "1", Simply drop the literal and enter the page number.

7. Placement

> Enter a "1" here if any portion of the article's headline falls above the fold in the newspaper. Enter a "2" if the headline is wholly below the fold.

8. Report Type

> We will be considering only two basic types of articles; standard written report, and the photostory.

> (1) The written report may come from any news service or agency, with or without a byline, in any of the editorial forms, and may be augmented by illustrations, maps, photographs, etc.; its distinguishing feature is that it is predominantly made up of written copy.

> (2) A photostory will be predominantly graphic in content, although usually with a cutline, caption, or brief description of the event illustrated. This does not include photos supplementary to a written report, such as single column picture of some personality featured in the article, or a small map indicating the location of the events described.

Frequently, an event will be reported with one of each type of article, in which case the two should be individually coded.

9. Graphic

This applies only to type-1 articles as described above. If the article has no graphic content, enter 1. If it does have graphic content, enter 2. If the article is a photo story, enter 1.

10. Wire

The number entered here indicates the source of the article or photo story. If the article is a staff report or photo, with or without byline, enter 1. If the article indicates that the story was provided by a Canadian service (CP, Southam), enter 2; for an American service (AP, Los Angeles Times Syndicate), enter 3; for any other service (Reuter, UPI) enter 4. If the story was a combination of any of these, enter 15.

11. Location of Action

From the dateline, enter as per in television coding.

12. Sports/News

Enter as in television coding.

13. Column Width

Enter the number of columns across the page spanned by the headline of the article. The actual width of single columns in any paper is taken to be standard throughout the paper, regardless of alterations made for graphic effect, peculiar to a given article. Once the standard width for a paper is determined this width is used to measure the column width of all headlines throughout that paper. Most papers maintain either an eight-column or a nine-column page format. If difficulty is encountered in establishing a paper's format, the measure can be taken from the classified ads section.

14. Column Length

Enter the length in inches of the article, for the total length of each column, or column width. If the width of the line in an article has been extended over 2, 3, or 1½ columns in the lead paragraphs, or for the entire item, measure length of each column width.

15-29 are coded identically to the television coding, #17-31.

Coders' Instruction Book

1.1 The *Unit of Analysis* for this study is the news item. One set of coding sheets is to be completed for each news item. For the violent crime and conflict items, the coder is also to complete one abstract form.

1.2 *Item Boundaries.* For the purpose of the present study, the unit of analysis is not the real world event but rather the news treatment of the real world event. Thus two news items dealing with different aspects of the same story are to be treated as two items. For example, a report on a plane highjacking, followed by a report on President Ford's reaction to the highjacking are to be treated as two items.

In determining item boundaries the following guidelines should be used: A is to be considered an item separate and apart from B if

1) A is of such a nature that it could (for journalistic purposes) exist as an independent story, capable of being understood and appreciated by itself, (or)

2) It reports on an event that has transpired since the last newscast (or on the day of the present newscast).

1.3 *Include as Items.* All news stories, feature stories, stock-market reports (which are part of the news – don't include those regular stock-market reports that are part of the regular business report). Also include weather stories (hurricanes, floods, storms) which are part of the news.

1.4 *Exclude as Items.* Commercials, editorials, commentaries, regular weather reports, regular business features, banter or idle conversation between newsmen.

All of the programs to be viewed are located on one set of shelves in the Research Room. When the program is selected for coding, ensure that no one else has alreaded coded it. If there is more than one program on each tape, also make sure that you are coding the correct program. This information may be checked on the sample sheet which is posted near the tape shelves.

Coding the program

When the tape is inserted into the tape machine, set the tape counter to 0. Let the tape and counter proceed to the first item. Hit the "pause" button. Enter the location on the code sheet (Code 2), and then continue to code the rest of the item. The counter should not be touched (be set back to 0) until the program is completed. The number of feet showing in the window is to be used to locate each codable item.

Code

1 *Identification Number*

This is not to be completed by the coder.

2 *Location*

As explained above, the location is determined by the number showing in the counter window when the item begins. This is always to be entered as a four-digit number. If the item is only 28 units in, for instance, this should be entered on the coding sheet as 0028.

3 *Coder Number*

Each coder is assigned a two-digit number. These numbers are entered in the appropriate space.

4 *Broadcast Date*

Ascertain the date of the broadcast (either from the tape box or from the program itself). Enter the date as a two-digit number.

5 *Type of Broadcast*

Determine whether the program is a local news program or a national news program, and enter the appropriate one-digit code.

6 *Country of Origin*

Determine whether the broadcast originates in Canada or in the United States. (If the call letters of the station begin with a "W" then it is a "2", American. If the call letters start with "C" or if it is the Global network, then code 1.

7 *Time of Broadcast*

Note whether it is an evening (6:00, 6:30, 7:00 p.m.) broadcast or night (11:00, 11:15, 11:30 p.m.) broadcast. This information is either on the tape label, on the tape box, or on the program itself.

8 *Length of Newshole*

Not to be entered by coder. (The figure is the sum total of all the codable item times.)

9 *City of Origin*

Enter the appropriate two-digit code which corresponds to the city from which the broadcast is originating. For national news programs, code the affiliate that is carrying the news program. For Global, code 07 – Ottawa.

10 *Station*

Enter the code that corresponds to the call letters of the station that is carrying the newscast. See 9 above regarding the coding of national news programs.

11 *Network*

When the station has a network affiliation, note this affiliation here. This information is contained either in the program itself or on the tape or the tape box. Global is coded as both a station and a network.

12 *Item Number*

Enter the appropriate two-digit number. The first item coded is 01; the fifth item coded, 05; the 15th item coded, 15. Enter S in third box if item is a sports item.

13 *Film or Graphics*

Enter the appropriate one-digit code. A graphic is any backdrop or picture that is used to illustrate a news item. The graphic should not be included if it only contains words (with no visuals).

14 *Length of Item*

Using the stopwatch, determine the length of the news item in seconds. Enter this as a three-digit number. A five-second story is entered as 005, a three-minute story is entered as 180.

15 *Location of Action*

Use this space to describe the physical setting of the news item. A local news story is coded 01, a story located in the Province (other than a local story) is coded 02. A story that takes place in Europe, Africa, Australia, South America, et cetera, is coded 05.

16 *Generic Type*

The coder must determine the hierarchically most important theme in the news item. If the item contains no references to

a) *Actual violence*

b) *Threatened or potential violence*

c) *Non-violent crime*

d) *Non-violent conflict*

then it is to be coded 00. If the item receives a code of 00, the coder need not complete items 17 through 30. If, however, the item receives a code other than 00, the coder must decide which code (10 through 50) shall be assigned. This decision is arrived at through a hierarchy principle, such that actual physical violence to another person or persons is considered hierarchically more salient than physical violence directed towards property. Actual violence is always considered more violent than violence that is threatened or possible (potential). Actual violence or violence threatened-potential are always more salient than non-violent crime or non-violent conflict, et cetera. In terms of the images which the item presents to the viewer, the coder is to "remove" the lesser "evils" and code according to the most salient "evil". If an item is encountered which does not suitably fit any of the categories, then code 60 and

indicate in the space provided the nature of the coding problem.

N.B. For an item to be coded 40, the criminality should be clearly specified. For the purposes of this study, criminality may also include violations requiring disciplinary action in institutions operating with public mandate (e.g., government, education, intelligence). For an item to be coded 20, the coder must be able to identify a condition which is deserving of professional attention (anxieties, tensions, et cetera, are not to be included unless it is indicated that they are of a certifiable nature).

N.N.B. The hierarchically more salient category is determined irrespective of the time when the incident occurred. (That is, background information, rather than the central newsworthiness of the story, may contain the most hierarchically salient image, e.g., Consider this news item:

"President Nixon said today that he is convinced that Charles Manson is guilty of the murder of Sharon Tate."

The hierarchically dominant image is "Charles Manson killed Sharon Tate." It would, therefore, be coded violence actual.

17 *Agent*

The agent of the hierarchically greater violence is the active source of the violent incident, as indicated by the news report. For an agent to be entered as (30) "Humans acting illegally or insanely," the criminality or insanity of the agent or its actions must be specified by the report. "Humans acting with social mandate" are included only when the violent incident occurs in the execution of their appointed duties, e.g., a policeman who murders his wife at home is acting independently of his "policeman" role, and so is classed as (30) human acting illegally. The same policeman who kills his wife as she shoots her way out of a bank she has robbed is acting in the course of his "social mandate" and is therefore classed (10).

Category (60) "Man-made disasters" includes agents of accidental or unwitting violence, whether due to carelessness, ignorance, negligence, et cetera, such as industrial polluters, drivers of vehicles in fatal accidents. Such instances are not considered illegal unless specified.

18 *Activity*

The categories of "activity" are applied irrespective of time. Reports of violence are all considered as occurring in the present tense, including items that report historical events, or predict potential or real violence in the future, e.g., "Scientists believe that the human race will self-destruct next Thursday." The violent activity involved is the death of people, therefore entered as (10) "Murder, suicide, dying," e.g., "It has been confirmed that Judas Iscariot was framed by the Martian CIA." The violent activity is the defamation of Judas, therefore, is included in (29), "Assault, Attack."

(30) "Forcible Detention" includes only illegal detention. Imprisonment and detainment resulting from legal activity and requirement is coded as (50) "Exercising legal mandate."

(70) "Breaking the Law in a Non-violent Manner" includes only incidents specified as illegal.

19 *Target*

Here the coder should indicate the person, persons, thing, or things that are affected by the violent activity in 17 above. If

the violent conflict/criminal activity affects one or more *individuals,* then it is to be coded 20. If, however, the target is a collectivity of persons which may be defined as a group (Blacks, Indians, corporate executives), code 30.

20 *Direct Consequences*

Code the hierarchically most salient consequences of the violent/crime/conflict activity *as these consequences* affect the target.

(40) "Uproar/Dislocation" refers to the creation of social turbulence (disruption in courtroom, discontinuation of some sort of service, et cetera).

(50) "Socio-Economic" is a category that refers to consequences such as strikes, lockouts, firings, et cetera. The coder should always be interested in the most immediate consequences of the activity.

21 *Context of Activity*

This refers to the general framework within which the Agent/Activity/Target/Consequence scene was played. If A takes the life of B in a car accident this is different from "A takes the life of B as an act of war." Both may be distinguished from "A takes the life of B as the result of a criminal action." Thus, the same scenario may occur in different frameworks and thus each of the above incidents would require a different code with respect to context (respectively 20, 30, 50).

Generally, it can be stated that this variable refers to the reason for a motivation behind the activity. The context variable is completed for other parenthetical items (see section on abstracting below).

22 *Activity Time*

This variable is primarily intended to provide a greater understanding of violent items but should be coded wherever possible. An item such as "another gangland slaying on the city's East Side last night" would receive a code of 02.

The item "the number of muggings in the city has greatly increased" would be coded 01.

And the item "a hurricane is expected to hit London some time this week" would be coded 00.

23 *Setting*

Note the spatial setting within which the incident takes place.

24 *Weapon or Medium of Harm*

By entering the appropriate two-digit code note the nature of the weapon or medium of harm. If more than one of these choices seems applicable note that which results in the most serious consequences. If a weapon or medium is employed which is not listed, code 93 and specify its exact nature.

25 *Age of Agent*

If the agent is a human actor, note whether adult or child. Both "adult" and "child" codes may be used to refer to collectivities as well as individuals. If it is not possible to code the age of human agents then code 0-unspecified. If the agent is not a human actor then code 1-irrelevant.

26 *Sex of Agent*

As with 25 above, code sex when the agent is human. Both the codes "male" and "female" may apply to collectivities as well as individuals. If the agent is non-human, then code 1–1 irrelevant.

27 *Ethnicity of Agent*

If the agent is human, then enter a code for ethnicity according to the categories provided. If the agent is human and "white" then do not code. If the agent, however, is human, non-white, and a member of a category other than those listed, then code "other-6" and specify the code.

In addition, if any multiple of these categories is entered, code 6 and specify the combination.

28 *Age of Target*

See 25 above.

29 *Sex of Target*

See 26 above.

30 *Ethnicity of Target*

See 27 above.

If the item has been coded anything other than 00 under Generic category, then it is necessary to complete an Abstract sheet.

An abstract is a brief written description (a summary of the news item). The abstract should be

1. Specific
2. Detailed
3. Written in the present tense (parenthetic statement)

Once the abstract is written, the coder is to put in parentheses the hierarchically most salient image. It is with reference to the parenthetic hierarchically salient image that codes 16 through 30 above are completed.

Example I

Abstract

President Ford said today that a nuclear war between Canada and Mexico is a real possibility in the near future. The Canadian ambassador to the United States criticized Ford for what he called an irresponsible statement.

(A nuclear war is possible between Canada and Mexico)

N.B. This item would be coded violence potential on variable 16.

Example II

Police spokesmen said today that they have made real headway in the investigation of the John Doe murder case. They expect to have a suspect in custody by Wednesday. The investigation follows an incident that occurred in the CPR hotel last Wednesday when Doe was shot by an unknown assailant.

(Unknown assailant murders hotel patron)

After the entire program has been coded

1. Note any problems encountered in the coding and place the problem sheet along with the code sheets in a file folder.

2. Make sure that all applicable spaces have been filled and all abstract sheets have been stapled to the appropriate code sheets.

3. If coding problems occurred, place the folder in the box marked uncodable.

4. If no coding problems occurred, place the folder in the "Action Box."

5. On the outside of the folder note the date, time, station of the newscast.

6. Return the program to its proper location on the shelf.

7. Indicate on the sample sheet that the program has been coded.

8. When shift is over make sure all equipment is turned off, and dust covers placed back on VTRS.

Appendix IV—Chart 1

Cross-Tabulation of Incidence of Scenarios on Individual Stations

All Television News Items

		Random Deaths Human	Mandate Causes Dislocation	Mandate Dislocation	Mandate Conflict	Legal Human Killing	Legal Human Injury	Legal Conflict Dislocation	Legal Conflict	Random Criminal Violence	Murder with Hand Weapon	Other Murder	Criminal Assault with Hand Weapon	Other Criminal Assault
WKBW	No.	5.0	3.0	.0	5.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	12.0	2.0	8.0	8.0	4.0	3.0
	Row %	1.9	1.1	.0	1.9	.8	.8	1.5	4.6	.8	3.1	3.1	1.5	1.1
	Column %	17.2	11.1	.0	9.3	10.5	18.2	10.0	5.4	22.2	20.0	11.1	15.4	6.0
	Total %	.2	.1	.0	.2	.1	.1	.1	.5	.1	.3	.3	.2	.1
WGR	No.	2.0	7.0	2.0	.0	1.0	3.0	4.0	14.0	2.0	4.0	7.0	2.0	3.0
	Row %	.9	3.0	.9	.0	.4	1.3	1.7	6.1	.9	1.7	3.0	.9	1.3
	Column %	6.9	26.9	9.5	.0	5.3	27.3	10.0	6.3	22.2	10.0	9.7	7.7	6.0
	Total %	.1	.3	.1	.0	.0	.1	.2	.6	.1	.2	.3	.1	.1
WBEN	No.	4.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	.0	2.0	24.0	2.0	5.0	9.0	2.0	6.0
	Row %	1.4	1.4	1.1	.7	.4	.0	.7	8.4	.7	1.8	3.2	.7	2.1
	Column %	13.8	15.4	14.3	3.7	5.3	.0	5.0	10.8	22.2	12.5	12.5	7.7	12.0
	Total %	.2	.2	.1	.1	.0	.0	.1	1.0	.1	.2	.4	.1	.3
WXYZ	No.	1.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	15.0	1.0	3.0	5.0	2.0	5.0
	Row %	.6	1.7	1.7	1.1	.6	1.1	2.2	8.3	.6	1.7	2.8	1.1	2.8
	Column %	3.4	11.5	14.3	3.7	5.3	18.2	10.0	6.8	11.1	7.5	6.9	7.7	10.0
	Total %	.0	.1	.1	.1	.0	.1	.2	.6	.0	.1	.2	.1	.2
WJBK	No.	2.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	.0	.0	1.0	13.0	.0	.0	6.0	4.0	6.0
	Row %	1.3	1.3	.6	1.9	.0	.0	.6	8.4	.0	.0	3.9	2.6	3.9
	Column %	6.9	7.7	4.8	5.6	.0	.0	2.5	5.9	.0	.0	8.3	15.4	12.0
	Total %	.1	.1	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0	.5	.0	.0	.3	.2	.3
WWJ	No.	1.0	.0	5.0	2.0	5.0	1.0	3.0	21.0	.0	6.0	2.0	7.0	11.0
	Row %	.4	.0	2.1	.8	2.1	.4	1.3	8.9	.0	2.5	.8	3.0	4.6
	Column %	3.4	.0	23.8	3.7	26.3	9.1	7.5	9.5	.0	15.0	2.8	26.9	22.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.2	.1	.2	.0	.1	.9	.0	.3	.1	.3	.5
CBET	No.	.0	.0	.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	14.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	.0
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	5.3	1.3	1.3	4.0	18.7	.0	.0	.0	1.3	.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	7.4	5.3	9.1	7.5	6.3	.0	.0	.0	3.8	.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.2	.0	.0	.1	.6	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
CKWS	No.	.0	.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0	2.0	20.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0	1.0
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	1.2	.0	.0	2.5	24.7	.0	1.2	.0	.0	1.2
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	1.9	.0	.0	5.0	9.0	.0	2.5	.0	.0	2.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.8	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
CFPL	No.	.0	.0	2.0	.0	.0	.0	2.0	5.0	.0	.0	1.0	.0	1.0
	Row %	.0	.0	5.4	.0	.0	.0	5.4	13.5	.0	.0	2.7	.0	2.7
	Column %	.0	.0	9.5	.0	.0	.0	5.0	2.3	.0	.0	1.4	.0	2.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0	.1	.2	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
CKCO	No.	1.0	.0	1.0	3.0	.0	.0	1.0	16.0	.0	2.0	3.0	.0	3.0
	Row %	.7	.0	.7	2.2	.0	.0	.7	11.6	.0	1.4	2.2	.0	2.2
	Column %	3.4	.0	4.8	5.6	.0	.0	2.5	7.2	.0	5.0	4.2	.0	6.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0	.7	.0	.1	.1	.0	.1
CHCH	No.	3.0	.0	2.0	7.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	16.0	.0	1.0	2.0	.0	.0
	Row %	2.3	.0	1.5	5.3	.8	.8	3.0	12.1	.0	.8	1.5	.0	.0
	Column %	10.3	.0	9.5	13.0	5.3	9.1	10.0	7.2	.0	2.5	2.8	.0	.0
	Total %	.1	.0	.1	.3	.0	.0	.2	.7	.0	.0	.1	.0	.0
CFTO	No.	3.0	1.0	.0	8.0	3.0	.0	6.0	21.0	.0	5.0	12.0	.0	2.0
	Row %	1.5	.5	.0	4.1	1.5	.0	3.1	10.7	.0	2.6	6.1	.0	1.0
	Column %	10.3	3.8	.0	14.8	15.8	.0	15.0	9.5	.0	12.5	16.7	.0	4.0
	Total %	.1	.0	.0	.3	.1	.0	.3	.9	.0	.2	.5	.0	.1

IA

	Random Deaths Human	Mandate Causes Dislocation	Mandate Dislocation	Mandate Conflict	Legal Human Killing	Legal Human Injury	Legal Conflict Dislocation	Legal Conflict	Random Criminal Violence	Murder with Hand Weapon	Other Murder	Criminal Assault with Hand Weapon	Other Criminal Assault
CBLT No.	2.0	2.0	2.0	11.0	3.0	.0	4.0	15.0	1.0	3.0	10.0	3.0	4.0
Row %	1.1	1.1	1.1	6.0	1.6	.0	2.2	8.2	.5	1.6	5.5	1.6	2.2
Column %	6.9	7.7	9.5	20.4	15.8	.0	10.0	6.8	11.1	7.5	13.9	11.5	8.0
Total %	.1	.1	.1	.5	.1	.0	.2	.6	.0	.1	.4	.1	.2
CHEX No.	.0	.0	.0	2.0	1.0	.0	.0	6.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	.0	3.0
Row %	.0	.0	.0	2.6	1.3	.0	.0	7.8	1.3	1.3	3.9	.0	3.9
Column %	.0	.0	.0	3.7	5.3	.0	.0	2.7	11.1	2.5	4.2	.0	6.0
Total %	.0	.0	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0	.3	.0	.0	.1	.0	.1
Global No.	5.0	4.0	.0	4.0	.0	1.0	.0	10.0	.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	2.0
Row %	5.2	4.2	.0	4.2	.0	1.0	.0	10.4	.0	1.0	4.2	1.0	2.1
Column %	17.2	15.4	.0	7.4	.0	9.1	.0	4.5	.0	2.5	5.6	3.8	4.0
Total %	.2	.2	.0	.2	.0	.0	.0	.4	.0	.0	.2	.0	.1
Column Total	29.0	26.0	21.0	54.0	19.0	11.0	40.0	222.0	9.0	40.0	72.0	26.0	50.0
	1.2	1.1	.9	2.3	.8	.5	1.7	9.4	.4	1.7	3.0	1.1	2.1

IB

	Violent Criminal Assault on Property	Criminal Threat	Non-Violent Crime, Socio-economic Consequences	Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	Deaths from Natural Disasters	Damage from Natural Disasters	Deaths from Auto Accident	Deaths from Man-Made Disasters	Damage from Man-Made Disasters	Potential Man-Made Disasters	Violent no Scenario	Non-Violent no Scenario	Row Total
WKBW No.	3.0	3.0	5.0	11.0	4.0	1.0	5.0	5.0	7.0	2.0	10.0	148.0	
Row %	1.1	1.1	1.9	4.2	1.5	.4	1.9	1.9	2.7	.8	3.8	56.5	262.0
Column %	20.0	9.7	12.2	10.2	18.2	2.9	14.3	17.9	10.6	6.3	8.8	12.1	11.1
Total %	.1	.1	.2	.5	.2	.0	.2	.2	.3	.1	.4	6.3	
WGR No.	.0	2.0	5.0	10.0	.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	8.0	.0	12.0	133.0	
Row %	.0	.9	2.2	4.3	.0	1.3	1.3	1.7	3.5	.0	5.2	57.6	231.0
Column %	.0	6.5	12.2	9.3	.0	8.8	8.6	14.3	12.1	.0	10.6	10.9	9.8
Total %	.0	.1	.2	.4	.0	.1	.1	.2	.3	.0	.5	5.6	
WBEN No.	2.0	2.0	5.0	12.0	4.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	12.0	1.0	8.0	163.0	
Row %	.7	.7	1.8	4.2	1.4	1.8	1.4	1.1	4.2	.4	2.8	57.2	285.0
Column %	13.3	6.5	12.2	11.1	18.2	14.7	11.4	10.7	18.2	3.1	7.1	13.3	12.1
Total %	.1	.1	.2	.5	.2	.2	.2	.1	.5	.0	.3	6.9	
WXYZ No.	2.0	2.0	2.0	9.0	2.0	7.0	5.0	1.0	5.0	2.0	8.0	89.0	
Row %	1.1	1.1	1.1	5.0	1.1	3.9	2.8	.6	2.8	1.1	4.4	49.2	181.0
Column %	13.3	6.5	4.9	8.3	9.1	20.6	14.3	3.6	7.6	6.3	7.1	7.3	7.7
Total %	.1	.1	.1	.4	.1	.3	.2	.0	.2	.1	.3	3.8	
WJBK No.	.0	2.0	2.0	7.0	5.0	1.0	.0	1.0	3.0	4.0	10.0	81.0	
Row %	.0	1.3	1.3	4.5	3.2	.6	.0	.6	1.9	2.6	6.5	52.6	154.0
Column %	.0	6.5	4.9	6.5	22.7	2.9	.0	3.6	4.5	12.5	8.8	6.6	6.5
Total %	.0	.1	.1	.3	.2	.0	.0	.0	.1	.2	.4	3.4	
WWJ No.	.0	.0	5.0	7.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	11.0	4.0	9.0	129.0	
Row %	.0	.0	2.1	3.0	.4	.8	1.7	.4	4.6	1.7	3.8	54.4	237.0
Column %	.0	.0	12.2	6.5	4.5	5.9	11.4	3.6	16.7	12.5	8.0	10.6	10.0
Total %	.0	.0	.2	.3	.0	.1	.2	.0	.5	.2	.4	5.5	
CBET No.	.0	2.0	.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	6.0	35.0	
Row %	.0	2.7	.0	2.7	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	8.0	46.7	75.0
Column %	.0	6.5	.0	1.9	4.5	2.9	2.9	3.6	1.5	3.1	5.3	2.9	3.2
Total %	.0	.1	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.3	1.5	

IC

	Violent Criminal Assault on Property	Criminal Threat	Non-Violent Crime, Socio-economic Consequences	Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	Deaths from Natural Disasters	Damage from Natural Disasters	Deaths from Auto Accident	Deaths from Man-Made Disasters	Damage from Man-Made Disasters	Potential Man-Made Disasters	Violent no Scenario	Non-Violent no Scenario	Row Total
CKWS No.	.0	1.0	.0	5.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0	.0	2.0	3.0	44.0	81.0
Row %	.0	1.2	.0	6.2	.0	1.2	.0	.0	.0	2.5	3.7	54.3	
Column %	.0	3.2	.0	4.6	.0	2.9	.0	.0	.0	6.3	2.7	3.6	3.4
Total %	.0	.0	.0	.2	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.1	1.9	
CFPL No.	.0	2.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	19.0	37.0
Row %	.0	5.4	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.7	.0	2.7	2.7	5.4	51.4	
Column %	.0	6.5	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.9	.0	1.5	3.1	1.8	1.6	1.6
Total %	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.8	
CKCO No.	1.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	5.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	6.0	78.0	138.0
Row %	.7	2.2	2.9	2.2	.7	1.4	3.6	1.4	.7	1.4	4.3	56.5	
Column %	6.7	9.7	9.8	2.8	4.5	5.9	14.3	7.1	1.5	6.3	5.3	6.4	5.8
Total %	.0	.1	.2	.1	.0	.1	.2	.1	.0	.1	.3	3.3	
CHCH No.	2.0	2.0	1.0	8.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	.0	3.0	2.0	8.0	65.0	132.0
Row %	1.5	1.5	.8	6.1	.8	1.5	.8	.0	2.3	1.5	6.1	49.2	
Column %	13.3	6.5	2.4	7.4	4.5	5.9	2.9	.0	4.5	6.3	7.1	5.3	5.6
Total %	.1	.1	.0	.3	.0	.1	.0	.0	.1	.1	.3	2.7	
CFTO No.	4.0	3.0	5.0	12.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	5.0	2.0	7.0	88.0	196.0
Row %	2.0	1.5	2.6	6.1	.5	1.5	1.5	1.0	2.6	1.0	3.6	44.9	
Column %	26.7	9.7	12.2	11.1	4.5	8.8	8.6	7.1	7.6	6.3	6.2	7.2	8.3
Total %	.2	.1	.2	.5	.0	.1	.1	.1	.2	.1	.3	3.7	
CBLT No.	.0	4.0	4.0	12.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	2.0	7.0	1.0	12.0	73.0	182.0
Row %	.0	2.2	2.2	6.6	1.1	2.2	.5	1.1	3.8	.5	6.6	40.1	
Column %	.0	12.9	9.8	11.1	9.1	11.8	2.9	7.1	10.6	3.1	10.6	6.0	7.7
Total %	.0	.2	.2	.5	.1	.2	.0	.1	.3	.0	.5	3.1	
CHEX No.	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	.0	4.0	9.0	35.0	77.0
Row %	1.3	1.3	1.3	2.6	.0	1.3	2.6	5.2	.0	5.2	11.7	45.5	
Column %	6.7	3.2	2.4	1.9	.0	2.9	5.7	14.3	.0	12.5	8.0	2.9	3.3
Total %	.0	.0	.0	.1	.0	.0	.1	.2	.0	.2	.4	1.5	
Global No.	.0	2.0	2.0	8.0	.0	1.0	.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	3.0	40.0	96.0
Row %	.0	2.1	2.1	8.3	.0	1.0	.0	2.1	2.1	4.2	3.1	41.7	
Column %	.0	6.5	4.9	7.4	.0	2.9	.0	7.1	3.0	12.5	2.7	3.3	4.1
Total %	.0	.1	.1	.3	.0	.0	.0	.1	.1	.2	.1	1.7	
Column Total	15.0	31.0	41.0	108.0	22.0	34.0	35.0	28.0	66.0	32.0	113.0	1221.0	2365.0
	.6	1.3	1.7	4.6	.9	1.4	1.5	1.2	2.8	1.4	4.8	51.6	100.0

Appendix IV—Chart 2

Cross-Tabulation of Incidence of Scenarios on Individual Stations

Violent Television News Items

		Random Deaths Human	Mandate Causes Dislocation	Mandate Dislocation	Mandate Conflict	Legal Human Killing	Legal Human Injury	Legal Conflict Dislocation	Legal Conflict	Random Criminal Violence	Murder with Hand Weapon	Other Murder	Criminal Assault with Hand Weapon	Other Criminal Assault
WKBW	No.	5.0	3.0	.0	5.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	12.0	2.0	8.0	8.0	4.0	3.0
	Row %	4.4	2.6	.0	4.4	1.8	1.8	3.5	10.5	1.8	7.0	7.0	3.5	2.6
	Column %	17.2	11.5	.0	9.3	10.5	18.2	10.0	5.4	22.2	20.0	11.1	15.4	6.0
	Total %	.4	.3	.0	.4	.2	.2	.3	1.0	.2	.7	.7	.3	.3
WGR	No.	2.0	7.0	2.0	.0	1.0	3.0	4.0	14.0	2.0	4.0	7.0	2.0	3.0
	Row %	2.0	7.1	2.0	.0	1.0	3.1	4.1	14.3	2.0	4.1	7.1	2.0	3.1
	Column %	6.9	26.9	9.5	.0	5.3	27.3	10.0	6.3	22.2	10.0	9.7	7.7	6.0
	Total %	.2	.6	.2	.0	.1	.3	.3	1.2	.2	.3	.6	.2	.3
WBEN	No.	4.0	4.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	.0	2.0	24.0	2.0	5.0	9.0	2.0	6.0
	Row %	3.3	3.3	2.5	1.6	.8	.0	1.6	19.7	1.6	4.1	7.4	1.6	4.9
	Column %	13.8	15.4	14.3	3.7	5.3	.0	5.0	10.8	22.2	12.5	12.5	7.7	12.0
	Total %	.3	.3	.3	.2	.1	.0	.2	2.1	.2	.4	.8	.2	.5
WXYZ	No.	1.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	15.0	1.0	3.0	5.0	2.0	5.0
	Row %	1.1	3.3	3.3	2.2	1.1	2.2	4.3	16.3	1.1	3.3	5.4	2.2	5.4
	Column %	3.4	11.5	14.3	3.7	5.3	18.2	10.0	6.8	11.1	7.5	6.9	7.7	10.0
	Total %	.1	.3	.3	.2	.1	.2	.3	1.3	.1	.3	.4	.2	.4
WJBK	No.	2.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	.0	.0	1.0	13.0	.0	.0	6.0	4.0	6.0
	Row %	2.7	2.7	1.4	4.1	.0	.0	1.4	17.8	.0	.0	8.2	5.5	8.2
	Column %	6.9	7.7	4.8	5.6	.0	.0	2.5	5.9	.0	.0	8.3	15.4	12.0
	Total %	.2	.2	.1	.3	.0	.0	.1	1.1	.0	.0	.5	.3	.5
WWJ	No.	1.0	.0	5.0	2.0	5.0	1.0	3.0	21.0	.0	6.0	2.0	7.0	11.0
	Row %	.9	.0	4.6	1.9	4.6	.9	2.8	19.4	.0	5.6	1.9	6.5	10.2
	Column %	3.4	.0	23.8	3.7	26.3	9.1	7.5	9.5	.0	15.0	2.8	26.9	22.0
	Total %	.1	.0	.4	.2	.4	.1	.3	1.8	.0	.5	.2	.6	1.0
CBET	No.	.0	.0	.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	14.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	.0
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	10.0	2.5	2.5	7.5	35.0	.0	.0	.0	2.5	.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	7.4	5.3	9.1	7.5	6.3	.0	.0	.0	3.8	.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.3	.1	.1	.3	1.2	.0	.0	.0	.1	.0
CKWS	No.	.0	.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0	2.0	20.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0	1.0
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	2.7	.0	.0	5.4	54.1	.0	2.7	.0	.0	2.7
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	1.9	.0	.0	5.0	9.0	.0	2.5	.0	.0	2.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.1	.0	.0	.2	1.7	.0	.1	.0	.0	.1
CFPL	No.	.0	.0	2.0	.0	.0	.0	.2	.5	.0	.0	.1	.0	.1
	Row %	.0	.0	11.1	.0	.0	.0	11.1	27.8	.0	.0	5.6	.0	5.6
	Column %	.0	.0	9.5	.0	.0	.0	5.0	2.3	.0	.1	1.4	.0	2.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.2	.0	.0	.0	.2	.4	.0	.0	.1	.0	.1
CKCO	No.	1.0	.0	1.0	3.0	.0	.0	.0	16.0	.0	2.0	3.0	.0	3.0
	Row %	1.7	.0	1.7	5.0	.0	.0	1.7	26.7	.0	3.3	5.0	.0	5.0
	Column %	3.4	.0	4.8	5.6	.0	.0	2.5	7.2	.0	5.0	4.2	.0	6.0
	Total %	.1	.0	.1	.3	.0	.0	.1	1.4	.0	.2	.3	.0	.3
CHCH	No.	3.0	.0	2.0	7.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	16.0	.0	1.0	2.0	.0	.0
	Row %	4.5	.0	3.0	10.4	1.5	1.5	6.0	23.9	.0	1.5	3.0	.0	.0
	Column %	10.3	.0	9.5	13.0	5.3	9.0	10.0	7.2	.0	2.5	2.8	.0	.0
	Total %	.3	.0	.2	.6	.1	.1	.3	1.4	.0	.1	.2	.0	.0
CFTO	No.	3.0	1.0	.0	8.0	3.0	.0	6.0	21.0	.0	5.0	12.0	.0	2.0
	Row %	2.8	.9	.0	7.4	2.8	.0	5.6	19.4	.0	4.6	11.1	.0	1.9
	Column %	10.3	3.8	.0	14.8	15.8	.0	15.0	9.5	.0	12.5	16.7	.0	4.0
	Total %	.3	.1	.0	.7	.3	.0	.5	1.8	.0	.4	1.0	.0	.2

IIA

		Random Deaths Human	Mandate Causes Dislocation	Mandate Dislocation	Mandate Conflict	Legal Human Killing	Legal Human Injury	Legal Conflict Dislocation	Legal Conflict	Random Criminal Violence	Murder with Hand Weapon	Other Murder	Criminal Assault with Hand Weapon	Other Criminal Assault
CBLT	No.	2.0	2.0	2.0	11.0	3.0	.0	4.0	15.0	1.0	3.0	10.0	3.0	4.0
	Row %	1.8	1.8	1.8	10.1	2.8	.0	3.7	13.8	.9	2.8	9.2	2.8	3.7
	Column %	6.9	7.7	9.5	20.4	15.8	.0	10.0	6.8	11.1	7.5	13.9	11.5	8.0
	Total %	.2	.2	.2	1.0	.3	.0	.3	1.3	.1	.3	.9	.3	.3
CHEX	No.	.0	.0	.0	2.0	1.0	.0	.0	6.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	.0	3.0
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	4.8	2.4	.0	.0	14.3	2.4	2.4	7.1	.0	7.1
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	3.7	5.3	.0	.0	2.7	11.1	2.5	4.2	.0	7.1
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.2	.1	.0	.0	.5	.1	.1	.3	.0	6.0
Global	No.	5.0	4.0	.0	4.0	.0	1.0	.0	10.0	.0	1.0	4.0	1.0	2.0
	Row %	8.9	7.1	.0	7.1	.0	1.8	.0	17.9	.0	1.8	7.1	1.8	3.6
	Column %	17.2	15.4	.0	7.4	.0	9.1	.0	4.5	.0	2.5	5.6	3.8	4.0
	Total %	.4	.3	.0	.3	.0	.1	.0	.9	.0	.1	.3	.1	.2
Column Total		29.0	26.0	21.0	54.0	19.0	11.0	40.0	222.0	9.0	40.0	72.0	26.0	50.0
		2.5	2.3	1.8	4.7	1.7	1.0	3.5	19.4	.8	3.5	6.3	2.3	4.4

IIB

		Violent Criminal Assault on Property	Criminal Threat	Non-Violent Crime, Socio-economic Consequences	Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	Deaths from Natural Disasters	Damage from Natural Disasters	Deaths from Auto Accident	Deaths from Man-Made Disasters	Damage from Man-Made Disasters	Potential Man-Made Disasters	Non-Violent no Scenario	Row Total
WKBW	No.	3.0	3.0	5.0	11.0	4.0	1.0	5.0	5.0	7.0	2.0	10.0	114.0
	Row %	2.6	2.6	4.4	9.6	3.5	.9	4.4	4.4	6.1	1.8	8.8	10.0
	Column %	20.0	9.7	12.2	10.2	18.2	2.9	14.3	17.9	10.6	6.3	8.8	
	Total %	.3	.3	.4	1.0	.3	.1	.4	.4	.6	.2	.9	
WGR	No.	.0	2.0	5.0	10.0	.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	8.0	.0	12.0	98.0
	Row %	.0	2.0	5.1	10.2	.0	3.1	3.1	4.1	8.2	.0	12.2	8.6
	Column %	.0	6.5	12.2	9.3	.0	8.8	8.6	14.3	12.1	.0	10.6	
	Total %	.0	.2	.4	.9	.0	.3	.3	.3	.7	.0	1.0	
WBEN	No.	2.0	2.0	5.0	12.0	4.0	5.0	4.0	3.0	12.0	1.0	8.0	122.0
	Row %	1.6	1.6	4.1	9.8	3.3	4.1	3.3	2.5	9.8	.8	6.6	10.7
	Column %	13.3	6.5	12.2	11.1	18.2	14.7	11.4	10.7	18.2	3.1	7.1	
	Total %	.2	.2	.4	1.0	.3	.4	.3	.3	1.0	.1	.7	
WXYZ	No.	2.0	2.0	2.0	9.0	2.0	7.0	5.0	1.0	5.0	2.0	8.0	92.0
	Row %	2.2	2.2	2.2	9.8	2.2	7.6	5.4	1.1	5.4	2.2	8.7	8.0
	Column %	13.3	6.5	4.9	8.3	9.1	20.6	14.3	3.6	7.6	6.3	7.1	
	Total %	.2	.2	.2	.8	.2	.6	.4	.1	.4	.2	.7	
WJBK	No.	.0	2.0	2.0	7.0	5.0	1.0	.0	1.0	3.0	4.0	10.0	73.0
	Row %	.0	2.7	2.7	9.6	6.8	1.4	.0	1.4	4.1	7.5	13.7	6.4
	Column %	.0	6.5	4.9	6.5	22.7	2.9	.0	3.6	4.5	12.5	8.8	
	Total %	.0	.2	.2	.6	.4	.1	.0	.1	.3	.3	.9	
WWJ	No.	.0	.0	5.0	7.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	11.0	4.0	9.0	108.0
	Row %	.0	.0	4.6	6.5	.9	1.9	3.7	.9	10.2	3.7	8.3	9.4
	Column %	.0	.0	12.2	6.5	4.5	5.9	11.4	3.6	16.7	12.5	8.0	
	Total %	.0	.0	.4	.6	.1	.2	.3	.1	1.0	.3	.8	
CBET	No.	.0	2.0	.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	6.0	40.0
	Row %	.0	5.0	.0	5.0	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	15.0	3.5
	Column %	.0	6.5	.0	1.9	4.5	2.9	2.9	3.6	1.5	3.1	5.3	
	Total %	.0	.2	.0	.2	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.5	
CKWS	No.	.0	1.0	.0	5.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0	.0	2.0	3.0	37.0
	Row %	.0	2.7	.0	13.5	.0	2.7	.0	.0	.0	5.4	8.1	3.2
	Column %	.0	3.2	.0	4.6	.0	2.9	.0	.0	.0	6.3	2.7	
	Total %	.0	.1	.0	.4	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0	.2	.3	

IIC

	Violent Criminal Assault on Property	Criminal Threat	Non-Violent Crime, Socio-economic Consequences	Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	Deaths from Natural Disasters	Damage from Natural Disasters	Deaths from Auto Accident	Deaths from Man-Made Disasters	Damage from Man-Made Disasters	Potential Man-Made Disasters	Violent no Scenario	Non-Violent no Scenario	Row Total
CFPL No.	.0	2.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	.0	1.0	1.0	2.0		18.0
Row %	.0	11.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	4.5	.0	4.5	4.5	11.1		1.6
Column %	.0	6.5	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.9	.0	1.5	2.1	1.8		
Total %	.0	.2	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.0	.1	.1	.2		
CKCO No.	1.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	1.0	2.0	5.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	6.0		60.0
Row %	1.7	5.0	6.7	5.0	1.7	3.3	8.3	3.3	1.7	3.3	10.0		5.2
Column %	6.7	9.7	9.8	2.8	4.5	5.9	14.3	7.1	1.5	6.3	5.3		
Total %	.1	.3	.3	.3	.1	.2	.4	.2	.1	.2	.5		
CHCH No.	2.0	2.0	1.0	8.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	.0	3.0	2.0	8.0		67.0
Row %	3.0	3.0	1.5	11.9	1.5	3.0	1.5	.0	4.5	3.0	11.9		5.9
Column %	13.3	6.5	2.4	7.4	4.5	5.9	2.9	.0	4.5	6.3	7.1		
Total %	.2	.2	.1	.7	.1	.2	.1	.0	.3	.2	.7		
CFTO No.	4.0	3.0	5.0	12.0	1.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	5.0	2.0	7.0		108.0
Row %	3.7	2.8	4.6	11.1	.9	2.8	2.8	1.9	4.6	1.9	6.3		9.4
Column %	26.7	9.7	12.2	11.1	4.5	8.8	8.6	7.1	7.6	6.3	6.2		
Total %	.3	.3	.4	1.0	.1	.3	.3	.2	.4	.2	.6		
CBLT No.	.0	4.0	4.0	12.0	2.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	7.0	1.0	12.0		109.0
Row %	.0	3.7	3.7	11.0	1.8	3.7	.9	.9	6.4	.9	11.0		9.5
Column %	.0	12.9	9.8	11.1	9.1	11.8	2.9	3.6	10.6	3.1	10.6		
Total %	.0	.3	.3	1.0	.2	.3	.1	.2	.6	.1	1.0		
CHEX No.	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	.0	1.0	2.0	4.0	.0	4.0	9.0		42.0
Row %	2.4	2.4	2.4	4.8	.0	2.4	4.8	9.5	.0	9.5	21.4		3.7
Column %	6.7	3.2	2.4	1.9	.0	2.9	5.7	14.3	.0	12.5	8.0		
Total %	.1	.1	.1	.2	.0	.1	.2	.3	.0	.3	.8		
Global No.	.0	2.0	2.0	8.0	.0	1.0	.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	3.0		56.0
Row %	.0	3.6	3.6	14.3	.0	1.8	.0	3.6	3.6	7.1	5.4		4.9
Column %	.0	6.5	4.9	7.4	.0	2.9	.0	7.1	3.0	12.5	2.7		
Total %	.0	.2	.2	.7	.0	.1	.0	.2	.2	.3	.3		
Column Total	15.0	31.0	41.0	108.0	22.0	34.0	35.0	28.0	66.0	32.0	113.0		1144.0
	1.3	2.7	3.6	9.4	1.9	3.0	3.1	2.4	5.8	2.8	9.9		100.0

Appendix IV—Chart 3

Cross-Tabulation of Incidence of Scenarios on Individual Stations

All Televison Sports Items

		Mandate Dislocation	Mandate Conflict	Legal Mandate Injury	Legal Conflict Dislocation	Legal Conflict	Random Criminal Violence	Other Murders	Other Criminal Assault
WKBW	No.	.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
	Row %	.0	.0	2.8	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
	Column %	.0	.0	4.2	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
WGR	No.	.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0
	Row %	.0	.0	2.3	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.3
	Column %	.0	.0	4.2	.0	.0	.0	.0	33.3
	Total %	.0	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1
WBEN	No.	.0	.0	3.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0	.0
	Row %	.0	.0	5.2	.0	1.7	.0	.0	.0
	Column %	.0	.0	12.5	.0	3.7	.0	.0	.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.4	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0
WXYZ	No.	.0	.0	1.0	.0	3.0	.0	.0	.0
	Row %	.0	.0	2.4	.0	7.3	.0	.0	.0
	Column %	.0	.0	4.2	.0	11.1	.0	.0	.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.1	.0	.4	.0	.0	.0
WJBK	No.	.0	.0	1.0	.0	2.0	.0	.0	.0
	Row %	.0	.0	2.8	.0	5.6	.0	.0	.0
	Column %	.0	.0	4.2	.0	7.4	.0	.0	.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.1	.0	.3	.0	.0	.0
WWJ	No.	.0	.0	3.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
	Row %	.0	.0	7.9	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
	Column %	.0	.0	12.5	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.4	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0
CBET	No.	.0	.0	.0	1.0	1.0	.0	.0	1.0
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	1.9	1.9	.0	.0	1.9
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	33.3	3.7	.0	.0	33.3
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.1	.1	.0	.0	.1
CKWS	No.	.0	1.0	1.0	.0	3.0	.0	.0	.0
	Row %	.0	1.4	1.4	.0	4.3	.0	.0	.0
	Column %	.0	100.0	4.2	.0	11.1	.0	.0	.0
	Total %	.0	.1	.1	.0	.4	.0	.0	.0
CFPL	No.	.0	.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	.0	1.0	.0
	Row %	.0	.0	1.8	1.8	3.6	.0	1.8	.0
	Column %	.0	.0	4.2	33.3	7.4	.0	100.0	.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.1	.1	.3	.0	.1	.0
CKCO	No.	.0	.0	3.0	.0	3.0	.0	.0	.0
	Row %	.0	.0	3.8	.0	3.8	.0	.0	.0
	Column %	.0	.0	12.5	.0	11.1	.0	.0	.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.4	.0	.4	.0	.0	.0
CHCH	No.	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	3.8	.0	.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	100.0	.0	.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.0	.0
CFTO	No.	1.0	.0	4.0	.0	3.0	.0	.0	.0
	Row %	1.6	.0	6.5	.0	4.8	.0	.0	.0
	Column %	33.3	.0	16.7	.0	11.1	.0	.0	.0
	Total %	.1	.0	.5	.0	.4	.0	.0	.0

IIIA

		Mandate Dislocation	Mandate Conflict	Legal Mandate Injury	Legal Conflict Dislocation	Legal Conflict	Random Criminal Violence	Other Murders	Other Criminal Assault
CBLT	No.	.0	.0	1.0	,0	3.0	.0	.0	.0
	Row %	.0	.0	2.2	.0	6.7	.0	.0	.0
	Column %	.0	.0	4.2	.0	11.1	.0	.0	.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.1	.0	.4	.0	.0	.0
CHEX	No.	1.0	.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	.0	.0	1.0
	Row %	1.6	.0	1.6	1.6	3.2	.0	.0	1.6
	Column %	33.3	.0	4.2	33.3	7.4	.0	.0	33.3
	Total %	.1	.0	.1	.1	.3	.0	.0	.1
Global	No.	1.0	.0	3.0	.0	4.0	.0	.0	.0
	Row %	2.0	.0	6.1	.0	8.2	.0	.0	.0
	Column %	33.3	.0	12.5	.0	14.8	.0	.0	.0
	Total %	.1	.0	.4	.0	.5	.0	.0	.0
Items in col.		3.0	1.0	24.0	3.0	27.0	1.0	1.0	3.0
% of total		.4	.1	3.2	.4	3.6	.1	.1	.4

IIIB

		Criminal Threat	Non-Violent Crime, Socio-Economic Consequences	Deaths from Natural Disasters	Deaths from Auto Accidents	Damage from Man-Made Disasters	Violent no Scenario	Non-Violent no Scenario	Row Total
WKBW	No.	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	3.0	32.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	8.3	88.9	36.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	10.0	4.9	4.8
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.4	4.2	
WGR	No.	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	41.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.3	93.2	44.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	3.3	6.3	5.8
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	5.4	
WBEN	No.	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	.0	53.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.7	.0	91.4	58.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	.0	50.0	.0	91.4	7.7
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.0	7.0	
WXYZ	No.	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.0	35.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	4.9	85.4	41.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	6.7	5.4	5.4
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.3	4.6	
WJBK	No.	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	33.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	91.7	36.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	5.1	4.8
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	4.4	
WWJ	No.	1.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	33.0	
	Row %	2.6	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.6	86.8	38.0
	Column %	50.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	3.3	5.1	5.0
	Total %	.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	4.4	
CBET	No.	.0	.0	1.0	.0	.0	1.0	49.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	1.9	.0	.0	1.9	90.7	54.0
	Column %	.0	.0	100.0	.0	.0	3.3	7.5	7.2
	Total %	.0	.0	.1	.0	.0	.1	6.5	

IIIC

		Criminal Threat	Non-Violent Crime, Socio-Economic Consequences	Deaths from Natural Disasters	Deaths from Auto Accidents	Damage from Man-Made Disasters	Violent no Scenario	Non-Violent no Scenario	Row Total
CKWS	No.	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	5.0	59.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	7.2	85.5	69.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	16.7	9.0	9.2
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.7	7.8	
CFPL	No.	.0	.0	.0	2.0	.0	2.0	46.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	3.6	.0	3.6	83.6	55.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	100.0	.0	6.7	7.0	7.3
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.3	.0	.3	6.1	
CKCO	No.	.0	1.0	.0	.0	1.0	5.0	65.0	
	Row %	.0	1.3	.0	.0	1.3	6.4	83.3	78.0
	Column %	.0	100.0	.0	.0	50.0	16.7	10.0	10.3
	Total %	.0	.1	.0	.0	.1	.7	8.6	
CHCH	No.	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.0	23.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	7.7	88.5	26.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	6.7	3.5	3.4
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.3	3.1	
CFTO	No.	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.0	53.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	1.6	85.5	62.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	3.3	8.1	8.2
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	7.0	
CBLT	No.	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.0	39.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	4.4	86.7	45.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	6.7	6.0	6.0
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.3	5.2	
CHEX	No.	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	2.0	55.0	
	Row %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	3.2	87.3	63.0
	Column %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	6.7	8.4	8.4
	Total %	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.3	7.3	
Global	No.	1.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	3.0	37.0	
	Row %	2.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	6.1	75.5	49.0
	Column %	50.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	10.0	5.7	6.5
	Total %	.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.4	4.9	
Items in col.		2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	30.0	653.0	754.0
% of Total		.3	.1	.1	.3	.3	4.0	86.6	100.0

Appendix 5
Incidence of Scenarios in Individual Newspapers

Scenarios: Key List

1) Random Deaths Human
2) Mandate Causes Death
3) Mandate Dislocation
4) Mandate Conflict
5) Human Killing Legal
6) Human Injury Legal
7) Legal Conflict Dislocation
8) Legal Conflict
9) Random Criminal Violence
10) Murder with Hand Weapons
11) Other Murders
12) Criminal Assault with Hand Weapons
13) Other Criminal Assaults
14) Violent Criminal Assault on Property
15) Criminal Threat
16) Non-Violent Crime with Socio-Economic Consequences
17) Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences
18) Deaths Natural Disasters
19) Damage Natural Disasters
20) Deaths Auto Accident
21) Deaths in Man-Made Disasters
22) Damage in Man-Made Disasters
23) Potential Man-Made Disasters
24) Violent no Scenario
25) Non-Violent no Scenario

All Newspapers

Scenario	News Number	News per cent	Sports Number	Sports per cent	News and Sports Number	News and Sports per cent
25	4,416	54.7	1,456	84.5	5,872	60.0
1	16	.2			16	.2
2	80	1.0			80	.8
3	104	1.3	2	.1	106	1.1
4	185	2.3	4	.2	189	1.9
5	53	.7	3	.2	56	.6
6	29	.4	32	1.9	61	.6
7	131	1.6	11	.6	142	1.4
8	1,156	14.3	95	5.5	1,251	12.8
9	38	.5			38	.4
10	126	1.6	2	.1	128	1.3
11	161	2.0			161	1.6
12	69	.9	4	.2	73	.7
13	120	1.5	26	1.5	146	1.5
14	75	.9	1	.1	76	.8
15	37	.5	2	.1	39	.4
16	146	1.8			146	1.5
17	297	3.7	9	.5	306	3.1
18	62	.8			62	.6
19	108	1.3	5	.3	113	1.2
20	65	.8	4	.2	69	.7
21	32	.4	2	.1	34	.3
22	125	1.5	6	.3	131	1.3
23	91	1.1			91	.9
24	348	4.3	60	3.5	408	4.2
	8,070	100.0	1,724	100.0	9,794	100.0

Hamilton Spectator

Scenario	News Num-ber	News per cent	Sports Num-ber	Sports per cent	News and Sports Num-ber	News and Sports per cent
25	391	51.8	112	76.2	503	52.5
1	1	.1			1	.1
2	7	.9			7	.7
3	9	1.1			9	.9
4	13	1.6	1	.7	14	1.5
5	5	.6	1	.7	6	.6
6	4	.5	2	1.4	6	.6
7	12	1.5	1	.7	13	1.4
8	19	2.3	11	7.5	30	3.1
9	3	.4			3	.3
10	19	2.3			19	2.0
11	20	2.5			20	2.1
12	3	.4	1	.7	4	.4
13	10	1.2	9	6.1	19	2.0
14	9	1.1			9	.9
15	4	.5			4	.4
16	16	2.0			16	1.7
17	27	3.3	2	1.4	29	3.0
18	9	1.1			9	.9
19	15	1.8			15	1.6
20	9	1.1			9	.9
21	4	.5			4	.4
22	17	2.1	1	.7	18	1.9
23	10	1.2			10	1.0
24	46	5.7	6	4.1	52	5.4
	812	100.0	147	100.0	959	100.0

Kingston Whig–Standard

Scenario	News Num-ber	News per cent	Sports Num-ber	Sports per cent	News and Sports Num-ber	News and Sports per cent
25	386	58.9	93	86.9	479	62.9
1	1	.2			1	.1
2	4	.6			4	.5
3	3	.5			3	.4
4	13	2.0	1	.9	14	1.8
5	2	.3			2	.3
6	4	.6	2	1.9	6	.8
7	10	1.5			10	1.3
8	84	12.8	6	5.6	90	11.8
9	5	.8			5	.7
10	6	.9			6	.8
11	6	.9			6	.8
12	7	1.1			7	.9
13	5	.8			5	.7
14	11	1.8			11	1.4
15	3	.5			3	.4
16	8	1.2			8	1.0
17	24	3.7			24	3.2
18	7	1.1			7	.9
19	6	.9			6	.8
20	3	.5			3	.4
21	3	.5	1	.9	4	.5
22	17	2.6	1	.9	18	2.4
23	11	1.8			11	1.4
24	26	4.0	3	2.8	29	3.8
	655	100.0	107	100.0	762	100.0

Kitchener–Waterloo Record

Scenario	News Number	News per cent	Sports Number	Sports per cent	News and Sports Number	News and Sports per cent
25	620	59.6	131	84.5	751	62.8
1	3	.3			3	.3
2	8	.8			8	.7
3	11	1.1			11	.9
4	13	1.3	1	.7	14	1.2
5	4	.4			4	.3
6	3	.3	3	1.9	6	.5
7	15	1.4	2	1.3	17	1.4
8	129	12.4	7	4.5	136	11.4
9	8	.8			8	.7
10	15	1.4			15	1.3
11	14	1.3			14	1.2
12	13	1.3	1	.7	14	1.2
13	16	1.5	4	2.6	20	1.7
14	8	.8			8	.7
15	6	.6	1	.7	7	.6
16	20	1.9			20	1.7
17	41	4.0	1	.7	42	3.5
18	6	.6			6	.5
19	13	1.3	1	.7	14	1.2
20	13	1.3			13	1.1
21	1	.1			1	.1
22	13	1.3			13	1.1
23	9	.9			9	.8
24	39	3.7	3	1.9	42	3.5
	1,041	100.0	155	100.0	1,196	100.0

London Free Press

Scenario	News Number	News per cent	Sports Number	Sports per cent	News and Sports Number	News and Sports per cent
25	513	60.6	156	84.8	669	64.9
1	1	.1			1	.1
2	11	1.3			11	1.1
3	14	1.7			14	1.4
4	17	2.0	1	.5	18	1.8
5	7	.8			7	.7
6			6	3.3	6	.6
7	19	2.2			19	1.8
8	109	12.9	11	6.0	120	11.6
9	3	.4			3	.3
10	5	.6			5	.5
11	19	2.2			19	1.8
12	6	.7			6	.6
13	11	1.3	1	.5	12	1.2
14	6	.7			6	.6
15	3	.4			3	.3
16	11	1.3			11	1.1
17	22	2.6			22	2.1
18	5	.6			5	.5
19	12	1.4			12	1.2
20	10	1.2	1	.5	11	1.1
21	2	.2			2	.2
22	6	.7			6	.6
23	9	1.0			9	.9
24	26	3.1	8	4.3	34	3.3
	847	100.0	184	100.0	1,031	100.0

Ottawa Journal

Scenario	News Number	News per cent	Sports Number	Sports per cent	News and Sports Number	News and Sports per cent
25	346	48.3	149	86.1	495	55.6
1						
2	10	1.4			10	1.1
3	11	1.5			11	1.2
4	26	3.6			26	2.9
5	4	.6			4	.5
6	3	.4	4	2.3	7	.8
7	8	1.1	2	1.2	10	1.1
8	152	21.2	8	4.6	160	18.0
9	2	.3			2	.2
10	20	2.8	1	.6	21	2.4
11	8	1.1			8	.9
12	7	1.0			7	.8
13	11	1.5	1	.6	12	1.4
14	3	.4			3	.3
15	4	.6			4	.5
16	13	1.8			13	1.5
17	28	3.9	1	.6	29	3.3
18	3	.4			3	.3
19	6	.8			6	.7
20	2	.3			2	.2
21			1	.6	1	.1
22	8	1.1	1	.6	9	1.0
23	7	1.0			7	.8
24	35	4.9	5	2.9	40	4.5
	717	100.0	173	100.0	890	100.0

St. Catharines Standard

Scenario	News Number	News per cent	Sports Number	Sports per cent	News and Sports Number	News and Sports per cent
25	625	58.9	250	89.0	875	65.2
1	7	.7			7	.5
2	10	.9			10	.8
3	14	1.3			14	1.0
4	18	1.7			18	1.3
5	3	.3			3	.2
6	3	.3	4	1.4	7	.5
7	13	1.2	2	.7	15	1.1
8	118	11.1	9	3.2	127	9.5
9	5	.5			5	.4
10	16	1.5	1	.4	17	1.3
11	16	1.5			16	1.2
12	6	.6	1	.4	7	.5
13	14	1.3	1	.4	15	1.1
14	27	2.6			18	1.3
15	5	.5			5	.4
16	14	1.3			14	1.0
17	41	3.9	1	.4	41	3.1
18	12	1.1			12	.9
19	16	1.5			16	1.2
20	8	.8	2	.7	10	.8
21						
22	23	2.2			23	1.7
23	9	.8			9	.7
24	48	4.5	10	3.6	58	4.3
	1,061	100.0	281	100.0	1,342	100.0

Sault Ste. Marie Star

Scenario	News Number	News per cent	Sports Number	Sports per cent	News and Sports Number	News and Sports per cent
25	324	51.8	54	79.4	378	54.4
1						
2	13	2.1			13	1.9
3	12	1.9			12	1.7
4	15	2.4			15	2.2
5	2	.3			2	.3
6	2	.3	2	3.0	4	.6
7	20	3.2	1	1.5	21	3.0
8	93	14.8	6	8.8	99	14.2
9	2	.3			2	.3
10	9	1.4			9	1.3
11	14	2.2			14	2.0
12	6	1.0			6	.9
13	6	1.0	2	3.0	8	1.2
14	6	1.0			6	.9
15	3	.5			3	.4
16	10	1.6			10	1.4
17	23	3.7			23	3.3
18	7	1.1			7	1.0
19	7	1.1	1	1.5	8	1.2
20	3	.5			3	.4
21	5	.8			5	.7
22	12	1.9	1	1.5	13	1.9
23	8	1.3			8	1.2
24	25	4.0	1	1.5	26	3.7
	627	100.0	68	100.0	695	100.0

Toronto Globe and Mail

Scenario	News Number	News per cent	Sports Number	Sports per cent	News and Sports Number	News and Sports per cent
25	564	55.7	202	86.3	766	61.5
1	1	.1			1	.1
2	7	.7			7	.6
3	12	1.2			12	1.0
4	36	3.6			36	2.9
5	5	.5			5	.4
6	1	.1	2	.9	3	.2
7	19	1.9	1	.4	20	1.6
8	161	15.9	14	6.0	175	14.0
9	5	.5			5	.4
10	11	1.1			11	.9
11	15	1.5			15	1.2
12	4	.4			4	.3
13	14	1.4	5	2.1	19	1.5
14	3	.3			3	.2
15	3	.3	1	.4	4	.3
16	25	2.5			25	2.0
17	36	3.6	1	.4	37	3.0
18	3	.3			3	.2
19	13	1.3	1	.4	14	1.1
20	4	.4			4	.3
21	4	.4			4	.3
22	12	1.2			12	1.0
23	9	.9			9	.7
24	45	4.4	7	3.0	52	4.2
	1,012	100.0	234	100.0	1,246	100.0

	Toronto Star						Toronto Sun					
	News		Sports		News and Sports			News		Sports		News and Sports
Scenario	Num-ber	per cent	Num-ber	per cent	Num-ber	per cent	Scenario	Num-ber	per cent	Num-ber	per cent	Num-ber	per cent
25	475	51.0	146	81.6	621	55.9	25	142	38.8	163	83.2	305	54.3
1	2	.2			2	.2	1						
2	5	.5			5	.5	2	5	1.4			5	.9
3	14	1.5	1	.6	15	1.4	3	4	1.1	1	.5	5	.9
4	24	2.6			24	2.2	4	10	2.7			10	1.8
5	16	1.7	2	1.1	18	1.6	5	5	1.4			5	.9
6	5	.5	5	2.8	10	.9	6	4	1.1	2	1.0	6	1.1
7	10	1.1	1	.6	11	1.0	7	5	1.4	1	.5	6	1.1
8	136	14.6	10	5.6	146	13.1	8	55	15.0	13	6.6	68	12.1
9	31	3.3			31	2.8	9	2	.5			2	.4
10	8	.9			8	.7	10	17	4.6			17	3.0
11	31	3.3			31	2.8	11	18	4.9			18	3.2
12	11	1.2			11	1.0	12	6	1.6	1	.5	7	1.2
13	23	2.5	1	.6	24	2.2	13	10	2.7	2	1.0	12	2.1
14	7	.8	1	.6	8	.7	14	5	1.4			5	.9
15	5	.5			5	.5	15	1	.3			1	.2
16	22	2.4			22	2.0	16	7	1.9			7	1.2
17	32	3.5	2	1.1	34	3.1	17	23	6.3	1	.5	24	4.3
18	6	.6			6	.5	18	4	1.1			4	.7
19	13	1.4	1	.6	14	1.3	19	7	1.9	1	.5	8	1.4
20	7	.8			7	.6	20	6	1.6	1	.5	7	1.2
21	11	1.2			11	1.0	21	2	.5			2	.4
22	11	1.2	1	.6	12	1.1	22	6	1.6	1	.5	7	1.2
23	16	1.7			16	1.4	23	3	.8			3	.5
24	39	4.2	8	4.5	47	4.2	24	19	5.2	9	4.6	28	5.0
	932	100.0	179	100.0	1,111	100.0		366	100.0	196	100.0	562	100.0

Content Analysis of the News Media: Radio

D.R. Gordon
University of Waterloo
Waterloo, Ontario
and
T.L. Ibson
London, Ontario

Introduction

This study seeks to determine the amount and kinds of violent news content in a selected sample of Canadian and American radio newscasts during the period May 17-31, 1976. It also seeks to test the "scenario" approach to news content analysis as proposed in the Commission's much larger study of newspaper and television news content.

Nine stations in Ontario and the U.S. – seven Ontario and two U.S. – were selected for a detailed examination likely to provide a reasonable example of Ontario listeners' news supply and to cover the CBC, NBC, and CBS network outputs. Three stations in London, Ontario, were also studied as a cross check and a one-city profile. Altogether 140 newscasts were coded. Four other newscasts (CFPL, May 19, p.m., CKWS, May 20, a.m. and p.m., and WXYZ, May 28, a.m.) could not be coded owing to technical errors in recording.

Stations selected were chosen in terms of representativeness, compatibility with the newspaper and television sampling, and availability of reasonably cheap and accurate recording capacities. Altogether 1,482 non-violent and violent news and sports items were examined, measured, classified, and coded.

The classification and coding was done with an instrument based upon the newspaper and television news-analysis sheet with minor modifications to switch from television to radio formats. These involved different call letters and substitution of "special effects" for "film or graphics".

The findings of this study are rather more limited than those that emerged from the newspaper/television analysis. While the "scenario" methodology proved to be useful, accounting for 92.1 per cent of all the items of a violent or conflict nature, there was no attempt made to apply the social validation tools devised by Dr. B. D. Singer for newspapers and television content. The constraints of time and cost ruled this out.

As a basic "quick and dirty" foray, however, it appears to confirm that general media characteristics in news and sports-news handling apply to radio. Differences between American and Canadian practice, kinds of emphasis, and incidence of the very minor role of violence in sports newscasts all appeared.

Also notable was the fact that radio news proved to have the highest percentage of violence-conflict items of the three news and sports media studied. This may have been the result of somewhat shorter time-periods for newscasts, or simply because of editorial taste. Further study on that seems necessary.

Radio News: The content sample

A total of 1,482 news and sports items carried on our nine-station sample was examined. Of these, 1,377 were news items and 105 were sports items.

Canadian stations carried 1,089 items in the sample and American stations 393.

Detailed tables on sample perspectives follow:

Table 1

News and Sports (nine-station sample)

Broadcast Date	Number of Items	Per cent
May 18	213	14.4
May 19	217	14.6
May 20	207	14.0
May 21	221	14.9
May 24	210	14.2
May 26	215	14.5
May 28	199	13.4
Total	1,482	100.0

Table 2

News and Sports (nine-station sample)

City of Origin	Number of Items	Per cent
Toronto	466	31.4
London	191	12.9
Sault Ste. Marie	127	8.6
Hamilton	81	5.5
St. Catharines	155	10.5
Kingston	69	4.7
Buffalo	141	9.5
Detroit	252	17.0
Total	1,482	100.0

Table 3

News Only (nine-station sample)

City of Origin	Number of Items	Per cent
Toronto	460	33.4
London	147	10.7
Sault Ste. Marie	125	9.1
Hamilton	74	5.4
St. Catharines	154	11.2
Kingston	69	5.0
Buffalo	141	10.2
Detroit	207	15.0
Total	1,377	100.0

Table 4

Sports Only (seven-station sample)

City of Origin	Number of Items	Per cent
Toronto	6	5.7
London	44	41.9
Sault Ste. Marie	2	1.9
Hamilton	7	6.7
St. Catharines	1	1.0
Detroit	45	42.9
Total	105	100.0

Table 5

News and Sports (nine-station sample)

Station	Number of Items	Per cent
CBL, Toronto	323	21.8
CFPL, London	191	12.9
CJIC, Sault Ste. Marie	127	8.6
CFRB, Toronto	143	9.6
CKOC, Hamilton	81	5.5
CKTB, St. Catharines	155	10.5
CKWS, Kingston	69	4.7
WGR, Buffalo	141	9.5
WXYZ, Detroit	252	17.0
Total	1,482	100.0

Table 6

News Items (nine-station sample)

Station	Number of Items	Per cent
CBL, Toronto	319	23.1
CFPL, London	147	10.7
CJIC, Sault Ste. Marie	125	9.1
CFRB, Toronto	141	10.2
CKOC, Hamilton	74	5.4
CKTB, St. Catharines	154	11.2
CKWS, Kingston	69	5.0
WGR, Buffalo	141	10.2
WXYZ, Detroit	207	15.0
Total	1,377	100.0

Radio News: Content Characteristics

Examination of the content data secured in this study revealed a variety of content predispositions characteristic of radio station newscasts and differences between

Table 7

Sports Items	(seven-station sample)	
Station	Number of Items	Per cent
CBL, Toronto	4	3.8
CFPL, London	44	41.9
CJIC, Sault Ste. Marie	2	1.9
CFRB, Toronto	2	1.9
CKOC, Hamilton	7	6.7
CKTB, St. Catharines	1	1.0
WXYZ, Detroit	45	42.9
Total	105	100.0

Table 8

News and Sports	(nine-station sample)	
Special Effects*	Number of Items	Per cent
No Special Effects	1,145	77.3
Special Effects	337	22.7
Total	1,482	100.0

* Mainly live telephone interviews or reports from correspondents

Table 9

News Items	(nine-station sample)	
Special Effects	Number of Items	Per cent
No Special Effects	1,054	76.5
Special Effects	323	23.5
Total	1,377	100.0

Table 10

Sports Items	(seven-station sample)	
Special Effects	Number of Items	Per cent
No Special Effects	91	86.7
Special Effects	14	13.3
Total	105	100.0

Table 11

Canadian Items	(seven-station sample)	
Special Effects	Number of Items	Per cent
No Special Effects	796	77.4
Special Effects	233	22.6
Total	1,029	100.0

Table 12

American Items	(two-station sample)	
Special Effects	Number of Items	Per cent
No Special Effects	258	74.1
Special Effects	90	25.9
Total	348	100.0

Table 13

News and Sports	(nine-station sample)	
Location of Action	Number of Items	Per cent
Unspecified	1	.1
Local	271	18.3
Provincial	208	14.0
National	334	22.5
U.S.	451	30.4
International	195	13.2
Canada-U.S.	22	1.5
Total	1,482	100.0

Table 14

News Items	(nine-station sample)	
Location of Action	Number of Items	Per cent
Local	257	18.7
Provincial	198	14.4
National	319	23.2
U.S.	403	29.3
International	189	13.7
Canada-U.S.	11	.8
Total	1,377	100.0

Table 15

Sports Items   (seven-station sample)

Location of Action	Number of Items	Per cent
Unspecified	1	1.0
Local	14	13.3
Provincial	10	9.5
National	15	14.3
U.S.	48	45.7
International	6	5.7
Canada-U.S.	11	10.5
Total	105	100.0

Table 16

Canadian Items   (seven-station sample)

Location of Action	Number of Items	Per cent
Local	257	25.0
Provincial	194	18.9
National	316	30.7
U.S.	84	8.2
International	168	16.3
Canada-U.S.	10	1.0
Total	1,029	100.0

Table 17

American Items   (two-station sample)

Location of Action	Number of Items	Per cent
Provincial	4	1.1
National	3	.9
U.S.	319	91.7
International	21	6.0
Canada-U.S.	1	.3
Total	348	100.0

stations in Canada and the United States. We will discuss these in greater detail in subsections below, but would cite the following broad assertions at this point:

Radio news, in general, deals with violent, violence-related, and conflict topics 62.7 per cent of the time (compared with 48.4 per cent of the television news sample). Radio sports mentions in newscasts were 89.5 per cent non-violent (compared with 86.6 per cent for television sports items in newscasts).

Most of the doers of violence (77.3 per cent) and the targets of violence (81.9 per cent) were humans, individ-

ually or in groups. However, their sex, age, or ethnic origin was seldom mentioned.

Consequences of violent, violence-related, or conflict events were not specified in almost half the items recorded (44.2 per cent).

There were striking differences in the relative emphasis accorded violent, violence-related and conflict events on the United States stations and the Canadian stations. American stations tended to emphasize physical violence more often, to select more items about murder and assault, and to be relatively preoccupied with red tape as the weapon of attack. Canadian stations picked out conflict items more often, stressed property damage more often, and cited verbal attack as the most frequently used weapon.

Since only 11 of the 105 sports items coded were put in the violent category, findings about sports news on radio are far too sketchy to show trends or suggest conclusions.

A) Generic Type of Violence:

Among news items, 42.1 per cent of the violence and conflict-related reports identified fell into the conflict category, 37.5 per cent in the physical violence category and 10.5 per cent in the category of potential or threatened violence. There was, however, a clear difference between Canadian and American stations (Canadian stations had 43.4 per cent conflict items compared with 37.7 per cent on the American stations while American stations had 41.4 per cent physical violence items compared with 36.4 per cent on the Canadian stations).

When ranged alongside the television and newspaper results produced in a companion study, it appears that radio stations placed less emphasis on physical violence than television newscasts did (37.5 per cent overall for radio news, 47.9 per cent for television news overall and 55.3 per cent for U.S. television news). The generic pattern was actually quite similar to that for Canadian newspapers.

Table 18

News and Sports   (nine-station sample)

Generic Type of Action	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Non-Violent	607	41.0	0	.0
Physical Violence	329	22.2	329	37.6
Psychological Violence	.4	.3	4	.5
Potential Violence	93	6.3	93	10.6
Non-Violent Crime	81	5.5	81	9.3
Conflict	368	24.8	368	42.1
Total	1,482	100.0	875	100.0

Table 19

Table 19

News Items			(nine-station sample)		
Generic Type of Action	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent	
Non-Violent	513	37.3	0	.0	
Physical Violence	324	23.5	324	37.5	
Psychological Violence	4	.3	4	.5	
Potential Violence	91	6.6	91	10.5	
Non-Violent Crime	81	5.9	81	9.4	
Conflict	364	26.4	364	42.1	
Total	1,377	100.0	864	100.0	

Table 20

Sports Items			(seven-station sample)		
Generic Type of Action	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent	
Non-Violent	94	89.5	0	.0	
Physical Violence	5	4.8	5	45.5	
Potential Violence	2	1.9	2	18.2	
Conflict	4	3.8	4	36.4	
Total	105	100.0	11	100.0	

Table 21

Canadian News			(seven-station sample)		
Generic Type of Action	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent	
Non-Violent	356	34.6	0	.0	
Physical Violence	245	23.8	245	36.4	
Psychological Violence	3	.3	3	.4	
Potential Violence	70	6.8	70	10.4	
Non-Violent Crime	63	6.1	63	9.4	
Conflict	292	28.4	292	43.4	
Total	1,029	100.0	673	100.0	

B) Agent:

As noted, humans acting with a legal mandate, on their own or acting illegally, were the principal agents in 77.3 per cent of all the violent, violence-related, or conflict items coded. Another 17.2 per cent of the items featured man-made disasters with humans as the implied agents.

Table 22

American News			(two-station sample)		
Generic Type of Action	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent	
Non-Violent	157	45.1	0	.0	
Physical Violence	79	22.7	79	41.4	
Psychological Violence	1	.3	1	.5	
Potential Violence	21	6.0	21	11.0	
Non-Violent Crime	18	5.2	18	9.4	
Conflict	72	20.7	72	37.7	
Total	348	100.0	191	100.0	

There were slight differences in emphasis between Canadian and American stations: 20.4 per cent of the items on American stations dealing with violence had humans acting with a legal mandate, whereas only 14.9 per cent of the Canadian items did; Americans were told about natural disasters as 2.6 per cent of their newscasts, and Canadian stations carried 4.5 per cent of the violence items dealing with natural disasters.

By contrast, findings for newspapers and television newscasts in the companion study indicated that, of the violence and conflict items, newspapers carried 39.8 per cent in the category of humans with a legal mandate and 4.5 per cent in the category of natural disasters while television newscast news had 26.7 per cent in the humans-with-legal-mandate category and 4.9 per cent in the natural-disasters category.

Table 23

News and Sports			(nine-station sample)		
Agent	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent	
Unspecified	614	41.4	0	.8	
Legal Mandate	139	9.4	139	15.9	
Humans on Their Own	318	21.5	318	36.3	
Humans Illegally	219	14.8	219	25.0	
Animals, Insects	6	.4	6	.7	
Natural Disasters	35	2.4	35	4.0	
Man-Made Disasters	151	10.1	151	17.3	
Total	1,482	100.0	875	100.0	

Table 24

Agent	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
News Items	(nine-station sample)			
Unspecified	519	37.7	6	.7
Legal Mandate	139	10.1	139	16.1
Humans On Their Own	313	22.7	313	36.2
Humans Illegally	216	15.7	216	25.0
Animals, Insects	6	.4	6	.7
Natural Disasters	35	2.5	35	4.1
Man-Made Disasters	149	10.8	149	17.2
Total	1,377	100.0	864	100.0

Table 25

Agent	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Sports Items	(seven-station sample)			
Unspecified	95	90.5	1	9.1
Humans on Their Own	5	4.8	5	45.5
Humans Illegally	3	2.9	3	27.3
Man-Made Disasters	2	1.9	2	18.2
Total	105	100.0	11	100.0

Table 26

Agent	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Canadian Items	(seven-station sample)			
Unspecified	358	34.8	2	.3
Legal Mandate	100	9.7	100	14.9
Humans on Their Own	261	25.4	261	38.8
Humans Illegally	163	15.8	163	24.2
Animals, Insects	5	.5	5	.7
Natural Disasters	30	2.9	30	4.5
Man-Made Disasters	112	10.9	112	16.6
Total	1,029	100.0	673	100.0

Table 27

Agent	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
American Items	(two-station sample)			
Unspecified	161	46.3	4	2.1
Legal Mandate	39	11.2	39	20.4
Humans on Their Own	52	14.9	52	27.2
Humans Illegally	53	15.2	53	27.7
Animals, Insects	1	.3	1	.5
Natural Disasters	5	1.4	5	2.6
Man-Made Disasters	37	10.6	37	19.4
Total	348	100.0	191	100.0

C) Activity:

Overall, non-violent conflict was the most frequently cited activity in the violent sample studied, accounting for 32.3 per cent of events. Murder (16.0 per cent), assault (15.8 per cent), and the exercise of a legal mandate (15.5 per cent) followed.

There were, however, quite distinct differences between Canadian and American stations:

Table 28

Percentages of Violent Items Coded	Canadian stations	American stations
Expressing Conflict	34.5	25.7
Assault	12.2	25.7
Murder	17.1	13.1
Exercising Mandate	14.4	20.4
Assault on Property	13.4	8.9

Results for newspaper news and television news cited in the companion study were:

	Newspaper news	U.S. Television	Canadian Television
Conflict	34.9	19.0	27.1
Assault	15.8	17.6	14.6
Murder	15.1	24.3	22.0
Exercising mandate	11.9	9.9	11.2
Assault on Property	12.5	16.0	12.5

Table 29

News and Sports   (nine-station sample)

Activity	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	609	41.1	2	.2
Murder	140	9.4	140	16.0
Assault	138	9.3	138	15.8
Detention	22	1.5	22	2.5
Assault on Property	108	7.3	108	12.3
Exercising Mandate	136	9.2	136	15.5
Expressing Conflict	283	19.1	283	32.3
Non-Violent Lawbreaking	46	3.1	46	5.3
Total	1,482	100.0	875	100.0

Table 30

News Items   (nine-station sample)

Activity	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	515	37.4	2	.2
Murder	140	10.2	140	16.2
Assault	131	9.5	131	15.2
Detention	21	1.5	21	2.4
Assault on Property	107	7.8	107	12.4
Exercising Mandate	136	9.9	136	15.7
Expressing Conflict	281	20.4	281	32.5
Non-Violent Lawbreaking	46	3.3	46	5.3
Total	1,377	100.0	864	100.0

Table 31

Sports Items   (seven-station sample)

Activity	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	94	89.5	0	.0
Assault	7	6.7	7	63.6
Detention	1	1.0	1	9.1
Assault on Property	1	1.0	1	9.1
Expressing Conflict	2	1.9	2	18.2
Total	105	100.0	11	100.0

Table 32

Canadian Items   (seven-station sample)

Activity	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	358	34.8	2	.3
Murder	115	11.2	115	17.1
Assault	82	8.0	82	12.2
Detention	18	1.7	18	2.7
Assault on Property	90	8.7	90	13.4
Exercising Mandate	97	9.4	97	14.4
Expressing Conflict	232	22.5	232	34.5
Non-Violent Lawbreaking	37	3.6	37	5.5
Total	1,029	100.0	673	100.0

Table 33

American Items   (two-station sample)

Activity	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	157	45.1	0	.0
Murder	25	7.2	25	13.1
Assault	49	14.1	49	25.7
Detention	3	.9	3	1.6
Assault on Property	17	4.9	17	8.9
Exercising Mandate	39	11.2	39	20.4
Expressing Conflict	49	14.1	49	25.7
Non-Violent Lawbreaking	9	2.6	9	4.7
Total	348	100.0	191	100.0

Table 34

News and Sports   (nine-station sample)

Target	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	617	41.6	10	1.1
Self	14	.9	14	1.6
Human	266	17.9	266	30.4
Groups	451	30.4	451	51.5
Animals, Insects	5	.3	5	.6
Property	119	8.0	119	13.6
None	10	.7	10	1.1
Total	1,482	100.0	875	100.0

D) Target:

As noted, humans were the preponderant target in all categories studied.

The only notable difference in news handling was the slightly greater emphasis on property as a target on Canadian stations (14.6 per cent) compared with American stations (10.5 per cent).

Results were similar in the newspaper and television study.

Table 35

News Items	(nine-station sample)			
Target	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	523	38.0	10	1.2
Self	14	1.0	14	1.6
Human	258	18.7	258	29.9
Groups	449	32.6	449	52.0
Animals, Insects	5	.4	5	.6
Property	118	8.6	118	13.7
None	10	.7	10	1.2
Total	1,377	100.0	864	100.0

Table 36

Sports Items	(seven-station sample)			
Target	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	94	89.5	0	.0
Human	8	7.6	8	72.7
Groups	2	1.9	2	18.2
Property	1	1.0	1	9.1
Total	105	100.0	11	100.0

E) Direct consequences:

Almost half of the violent items coded did not indicate the consequences of violent actions taken (44.2 per cent).

Table 37

Canadian Items	(seven-station sample)			
Target	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	363	35.3	7	1.0
Self	11	1.1	11	1.6
Human	183	17.8	183	27.2
Groups	362	35.2	362	53.8
Animals, Insects	5	.5	5	.7
Property	98	9.5	98	14.6
None	7	.7	7	1.0
Total	1,029	100.0	673	100.0

Table 38

American Items	(two-station sample)			
Target	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	160	46.0	3	1.6
Self	3	.9	3	1.6
Human	75	21.6	75	39.3
Groups	87	25.0	87	45.5
Property	20	5.7	20	10.5
None	3	.9	3	1.6
Total	348	100.0	191	100.0

When consequences were specified, the most frequently mentioned were death (18.2 per cent), property damage (12.3 per cent) and uproar (9.3 per cent).

American stations tended to focus more on injury as a consequence (11 per cent of all items compared with 4.6 per cent on Canadian stations) and less on property damage (9.9 per cent of all items compared with 13.2 per cent on Canadian stations).

Comparative percentages from the newspaper and television newscast study follow:

Table 39

	Not Specified	Death	Property Damage	Uproar	Injury	None
Newspaper News	47.6	17.2	11.3	6.7	6.5	6.9
U.S. Television News	34.4	27.6	13.1	3.9	10.9	5.1
Can. Television News	44.2	23.9	8.4	4.0	7.6	6.7

Table 40

News and Sports (nine-station sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	994	67.1	387	44.2
Death	159	10.7	159	18.2
Injury	56	3.8	56	6.4
Psychological Damage	7	.5	7	.8
Uproar	81	5.5	81	9.3
Socio-Economic	34	2.3	34	3.9
Property Damage	108	7.3	108	12.3
None	42	2.8	42	4.8
Other	1	.1	1	.1
Total	1,482	100.0	875	100.0

Table 41

News Items (nine-station sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	896	65.1	383	44.3
Death	159	11.5	159	18.4
Injury	52	3.8	52	6.0
Psychological Damage	7	.5	7	.8
Uproar	80	5.8	80	9.3
Socio-Economic	34	2.5	34	3.9
Property Damage	108	7.8	108	12.5
None	40	2.9	40	4.6
Other	1	.1	1	.1
Total	1,377	100.0	864	100.0

Table 42

Sports Items (seven-station sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	98	93.3	4	36.4
Injury	4	3.8	4	36.4
Uproar	1	1.0	1	9.1
None	2	1.9	2	18.2
Total	105	100.0	11	100.0

Table 43

Canadian Items (seven-station sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	655	63.7	299	44.4
Death	127	12.3	127	18.9
Injury	31	3.0	31	4.6
Psychological Damage	5	.5	5	.7
Uproar	60	5.8	60	8.9
Socio-Economic	27	2.6	27	4.0
Property Damage	89	8.6	89	13.2
None	34	3.3	34	5.1
Other	1	.1	1	.1
Total	1,029	100.0	673	100.0

Table 44

American Items (two-station sample)

Direct Consequences	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	241	69.3	84	44.0
Death	32	9.2	32	16.8
Injury	21	6.0	21	11.0
Psychological Damage	2	.6	2	1.0
Uproar	20	5.7	20	10.5
Socio-Economic	7	2.0	7	3.7
Property Damage	19	5.5	19	9.9
None	6	1.7	6	3.1
Total	348	100.0	191	100.0

F) Context or motives of action:

Crime or lunacy (24.1 per cent), accident (23.3 per cent), and personal gain (19.9 per cent) were the most commonly cited contexts among the violent items in the sample. Context was unspecified in only 18.7 per cent of the violent cases.

The following table gives an overall comparison of percentages of news items in the violence and conflict-related sector among the various media:

Table 45

	Accident	Crime or Lunacy	Personal Gain	Ideology	War	Not Specified
Newspaper News	28.7	17.7	3.6	35.8	10.4	3.6
Can. Television News	21.1	31.5	18.7	14.2	4.7	8.2
Can. Radio News	23.2	23.6	22.4	10.8	3.4	8.2
U.S. Television News	28.1	35.1	16.0	8.7	4.1	7.8
U.S. Radio News	24.1	25.7	11.0	7.3	4.2	27.7

Table 46

News and Sports (nine-station sample)

Context	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	771	52.0	164	18.7
War	31	2.1	31	3.5
Crime or Lunacy	211	14.2	211	24.1
Ideological	87	5.9	87	9.9
Personal Gain	174	11.7	174	19.9
Accidental	203	13.7	203	23.2
Games and Sports	4	.3	4	.5
Other	1	.1	1	.1
Total	1,482	100.0	875	100.0

Table 47

News Items (nine-station sample)

Context	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	675	49.0	162	18.8
War	31	2.3	31	3.6
Crime or Lunacy	208	15.1	208	24.1
Ideological	87	6.3	87	10.1
Personal Gain	172	12.5	172	19.9
Accidental	202	14.7	202	23.4
Games and Sports	1	.1	1	.1
Other	1	.1	1	.1
Total	1,377	100.0	864	100.0

Table 48

Sports Items (seven-station sample)

Context	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	96	91.4	2	18.2
Crime or Lunacy	3	2.9	3	27.3
Personal Gain	2	1.9	2	18.2
Accidental	1	1.0	1	9.1
Games and Sports	3	2.9	3	27.3
Total	105	100.0	11	100.0

Table 49

Canadian Items (seven-station sample)

Context	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	465	45.2	109	16.2
War	23	2.2	23	3.4
Crime or Lunacy	159	15.5	159	23.6
Ideological	73	7.1	73	10.8
Personal Gain	151	14.7	151	22.4
Accidental	156	15.2	156	23.2
Games and Sports	1	.1	1	.1
Other	1	.1	1	.1
Total	1,029	100.0	673	100.0

Table 50

American Items	(two-station sample)			
Context	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	210	60.3	53	27.7
War	8	2.3	8	4.2
Crime or Lunacy	49	14.1	49	25.7
Ideological	14	4.0	14	7.3
Personal Gain	21	6.0	21	11.0
Accidental	46	13.2	46	24.1
Total	348	100.0	191	100.0

G) Setting:

Setting was not mentioned in very many of the radio items in the sample. Almost half of the items had no setting specified at all and in a further 21.1 per cent it proved to be an irrelevant factor. When setting was specified it was urban in the great majority of the violent and conflict-related items.

The contrast with newspapers and television newscasts is quite sharp since most newspaper and television items specified setting, primarily urban.

Table 51

News and Sports	(nine-station sample)			
Setting	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	706	47.6	99	11.3
Irrelevant	312	21.1	312	35.7
Urban	365	24.6	365	41.7
Rural	49	3.3	49	5.6
Mixed	9	.6	9	1.0
Other	41	2.8	41	4.7
Total	1,482	100.0	875	100.0

Table 52

News Items	(nine-station sample)			
Setting	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	608	44.2	95	11.0
Irrelevant	309	22.4	309	35.8
Urban	361	26.2	361	41.8
Rural	49	3.6	49	5.7
Mixed	9	.7	9	1.0
Other	41	3.0	41	4.7
Total	1,377	100.0	864	100.0

Table 53

Sports Items	(seven-station sample)			
Setting	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	98	93.3	4	36.4
Irrelevant	3	2.9	3	27.3
Urban	4	3.8	4	36.4
Total	105	100.0	11	100.0

Table 54

Canadian Items	(seven-station sample)			
Setting	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	420	40.8	64	9.5
Irrelevant	249	24.2	249	37.0
Urban	276	26.8	276	41.0
Rural	41	4.0	41	6.1
Mixed	9	.9	9	1.3
Other	34	3.3	34	5.1
Total	1,029	100.0	673	100.0

Table 55

American Items	(two-station sample)			
Setting	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	188	54.0	31	16.2
Irrelevant	60	17.2	60	31.4
Urban	85	24.4	85	44.5
Rural	8	2.3	8	4.2
Other	7	2.0	7	3.7
Total	348	100.0	191	100.0

H) Weapon or medium of harm:

Verbal means of harm were mentioned more often in the violent items coded from the sample (20.2 per cent) with crowd, mob, army means (12.9 per cent), red tape (12.5 per cent) and natural disasters (9.5 per cent) following.

Canadian radio newscasts gave much more attention to items in which the weapon or means of harm was crowd or mob action (14.3 per cent of the violence and conflict news sample) than American stations did (8.9 per cent). American radio carried more items with red tape as weapon (17.3 per cent) than did Canadian stations (11.0 per cent).

Comparisons with newspapers and television newscasts produced these percentages for violence and conflict news items:

Table 56

	Libel Blasphemy	Vehicle	Crowd Mob	Red Tape	Act of Nature	Unspecified
Can. Newspaper News	36.3	5.2	5.3	7.3	7.9	17.8
Can. Television News	27.4	6.4	9.7	2.8	11.0	24.2
Can. Radio News	21.5	6.4	14.3	11.0	10.0	18.6
U.S. Television News	15.8	6.9	7.1	4.1	13.2	26.8
U.S. Radio News	16.2	5.8	8.9	17.3	8.4	27.2

It is apparent that the American media items in the violence and conflict-related sample of news dealt less often with libel and blasphemy as weapons than did Canadian media items. Fewer American items specified the weapons or means of harm.

Table 57

News and Sports	(nine-station sample)			
Weapon or Means of Harm	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	787	53.1	180	20.6
Body	25	1.7	25	2.9
Firearm	39	2.6	39	4.5
Hand Weapons	20	1.3	20	2.3
Vehicle	54	3.6	54	6.2
Explosives	13	.9	13	1.5
Crowd, Mob, Army	113	7.6	113	12.9
Red Tape	109	7.4	109	12.5
Verbal	177	11.9	177	20.2
Medical	4	.3	4	.5
Drugs	32	2.2	32	3.7
Natural	83	5.6	83	9.5
Animal	1	.1	1	.1
Industrial	25	1.7	25	2.9
Total	1,482	100.0	875	100.0

Table 58

News Items	(nine-station sample)			
Weapon or Means of Harm	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	690	50.1	177	20.5
Body	22	1.6	22	2.5
Firearm	39	2.8	39	4.5
Hand Weapons	19	1.4	19	2.2
Vehicle	54	3.9	54	6.3
Explosives	13	.9	13	1.5
Crowd, Mob, Army	113	8.2	113	13.1
Red Tape	107	7.8	107	12.4
Verbal	176	12.8	176	20.4
Medical	3	.2	3	.3
Drugs	32	2.3	32	3.7
Natural	83	6.0	83	9.6
Animal	1	.1	1	.1
Industrial	25	1.8	25	2.9
Total	1,377	100.0	864	100.0

Table 59

Sports Items (seven-station sample)

Weapon or Means of Harm	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	97	92.4	3	27.3
Body	3	2.9	3	27.3
Hand Weapons	1	1.0	1	9.1
Red Tape	2	1.9	2	18.2
Verbal	1	1.0	1	9.1
Medical	1	1.0	1	9.1
Total	105	100.0	11	100.0

Table 60

Canadian Items (seven-station sample)

Weapon or Means of Harm	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	481	46.7	125	18.6
Body	16	1.6	16	2.4
Firearm	32	3.1	32	4.8
Hand Weapons	12	1.2	12	1.8
Vehicle	43	4.2	43	6.4
Explosives	12	1.2	12	1.8
Crowd, Mob, Army	96	9.3	96	14.3
Red Tape	74	7.2	74	11.0
Verbal	145	14.1	145	21.5
Medical	3	.3	3	.4
Drugs	26	2.5	26	3.9
Natural	67	6.5	67	10.0
Animal	1	.1	1	.1
Industrial	21	2.0	21	3.1
Total	1,029	100.0	673	100.0

Table 61

American Items (two-station sample)

Weapon or Means of Harm	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	209	60.1	52	27.2
Body	6	1.7	6	3.1
Firearm	7	2.0	7	3.7
Hand Weapons	7	2.0	7	3.7
Vehicle	11	3.2	11	5.8
Explosives	1	.3	1	.5
Crowd, Mob, Army	17	4.9	17	8.9
Red Tape	33	9.5	33	17.3
Verbal	31	8.9	31	16.2
Drugs	6	1.7	6	3.1
Natural	16	4.6	16	8.4
Industrial	4	1.1	4	2.1
Total	348	100.0	191	100.0

J) Scenarios:

Most significantly, the scenario approach accounted for 92.1 per cent of all violent items coded in the sample and 92.2 per cent of the violent news items. This suggests that there really are quite specific and stylized conventions in news presentation that are commonly and widely recognized.

Among the specified scenarios, legal conflict items appeared most often (27.0 per cent) followed by mandate conflict (6.9 per cent), legal uproar (5.8 per cent), and non-violent crime with unspecified consequences (5.1 per cent). Comparison with the percentages in newspapers and television indicated further differences in practice among the five most common scenarios:

Table 62

	Legal conflict	Non-violent crime with unspecified consequences	Mandate conflict	Legal conflict or dislocation	Other murders
Newspaper News	31.6	8.1	5.1	3.6	4.4
Can. Television News	22.9	3.2	7.5	4.1	6.5
Can. Radio News	28.5	5.5	5.9	6.2	4.3
U.S. Television News	16.3	9.2	2.3	2.9	6.1
U.S. Radio News	21.5	4.2	10.5	4.7	2.6

In this table, American and Canadian television stations in the sample carried more violence and conflict-related items in the other murders categoty than did either radio or the newspapers. Also Canadian media tended overall to give somewhat greater attention to legal conflict items.

When scenarios were collapsed into major categories, as was done with newspapers and television in the companion study, the following percentages emerged:

Table 63

	Death	Criminal violence	Damage in disasters	Conflict and non-violent crime	Violent no scenario
Newspaper News	17.1	9.3	8.9	55.2	9.5
Can. Television News	21.5	9.5	9.9	48.7	10.4
Can. Radio News	19.1	7.3	11.0	54.6	8.0
U.S. Television News	27.5	13.1	13.0	37.0	9.4
U.S. Radio News	18.9	13.6	12.0	48.7	6.8

Canadian media then emerge as being somewhat more likely to carry violence and conflict-related items about conflict and non-violent crime, while American media favour criminal violence and damage related to disasters. Deaths from murders, suicides and other unnatural causes, oddly enough, seem to be preferred by television newscasts in both Canada and the U.S. These broad differences may reflect different news values or the different incidence of such types of event in local areas at the time of this study.

Table 64

News and Sports (nine-station sample)

Scenarios	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Random Deaths	5	.3	5	.6
Mandate Deaths	17	1.1	17	1.9
Mandate Uproar	35	2.4	35	4.0
Mandate Conflict	60	4.1	60	6.9
Legal Killing	4	.3	4	.5
Legal Injury	4	.3	4	.5
Legal Uproar	51	3.4	51	5.8
Legal Conflict	236	15.9	236	27.0
Random Criminal Violence	27	1.2	27	2.0
Murder with Hand Weapon	24	1.6	24	2.7
Other Murder	34	2.3	34	3.9
Assault with Hand Weapon	8	.5	8	.9
Other Assault	17	1.4	17	1.9
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	8	.5	8	.9
Criminal Threat	18	1.2	18	2.1
Non-Violent Crime, Socio-Economic Consequences	36	2.4	36	4.1
Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	45	3.0	45	5.1
Natural Disaster Deaths	13	.9	13	1.5
Natural Disaster Damage	21	1.4	21	2.4
Vehicle Death	26	1.8	26	3.0
Man-Made Disasters Death	24	1.6	24	2.7
Man-Made Disasters Damage	38	2.6	38	4.3
Potential Man-Made Disasters	32	2.2	32	3.7
Violent, no Scenario	69	4.7	69	7.9
Non-Violent	607	41.0	0	.0
Man-Made Disasters, Assault on Humans	16	1.1	16	1.8
Man-Made Disasters, Uproar	7	.5	7	.8
Total	1,482	100.0	875	100.0

Table 65

News Items			(nine-station sample)	
Scenarios	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Random Deaths	5	.4	5	.6
Mandate Deaths	17	1.2	17	2.0
Mandate Uproar	35	2.5	35	4.1
Mandate Conflict	60	4.4	60	6.9
Legal Killing	4	.3	4	.5
Legal Injury	3	.2	3	.3
Legal Uproar	51	3.7	51	5.9
Legal Conflict	233	16.9	233	27.0
Random Criminal Violence	27	2.0	27	3.1
Murder with Hand Weapon	24	1.7	24	2.8
Other Murder	34	2.5	34	3.9
Assault with Hand Weapon	8	.6	8	.9
Other Assault	15	1.1	15	1.7
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	8	.6	8	.9
Criminal Threat	17	1.2	17	2.0
Non-Violent Crime, Socio-Economic Consequences	36	2.6	36	4.2
Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	45	3.3	45	5.2
Natural Disaster Deaths	13	.9	13	1.5
Natural Disaster Damage	21	1.5	21	2.4
Vehicle Death	26	1.9	26	3.0
Man-Made Disasters Death	24	1.7	24	2.8
Man-Made Disasters Damage	38	2.8	38	4.4
Potential Man-Made Disasters	31	2.3	31	3.6
Violent, no Scenario	67	4.9	67	7.8
Non-Violent	513	37.3	0	.0
Man-Made Disasters, Assault on Humans	15	1.1	15	1.7
Man-Made Disasters, Uproar	7	.5	7	.8
Total	1,377	100.0	864	100.0

Table 66

Sports Items			(seven-station sample)	
Scenarios	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Legal Injury	1	1.0	1	9.1
Legal Conflict	3	2.9	3	27.3
Other Assault	2	1.9	2	18.2
Criminal Threat	1	1.0	1	9.1
Potential Man-Made Disasters	1	1.0	1	9.1
Violent, no Scenario	2	1.9	2	18.2
Non-Violent	94	89.5	0	.0
Man-Made Disasters, Assault on Humans	1	1.0	1	9.1
Total	105	100.0	11	100.0

Table 67

Canadian Items			(seven-station sample)	
	Number of	Per	Number of Violent	Per
Scenarios	Items	cent	Items	cent
Random Deaths	1	.1	1	.1
Mandate Deaths	10	1.0	10	1.5
Mandate Uproar	30	2.9	30	4.5
Mandate Conflict	40	3.9	40	5.9
Legal Killing	4	.4	4	.6
Legal Injury	2	.2	2	.3
Legal Uproar	42	4.1	42	6.2
Legal Conflict	192	18.7	192	28.5
Random Criminal Violence	19	1.8	19	2.8
Murder with Hand Weapon	21	2.0	21	3.1
Other Murder	29	2.8	29	4.3
Assault with Hand Weapon	3	.3	3	.4
Other Assault	7	.7	7	1.0
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	7	.7	7	1.0
Criminal Threat	13	1.3	13	1.9
Non-Violent Crime, Socio- Economic Consequences	26	2.5	26	3.9
Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	37	3.6	37	5.5
Natural Disaster Deaths	10	1.0	10	1.5
Natural Disaster Damage	19	1.8	19	2.8
Vehicle Death	21	2.0	21	3.1
Man-Made Disasters, Death	19	1.8	19	2.8
Man-Made Disasters, Damage	31	3.0	31	4.6
Potential Man-Made Disasters	20	1.9	20	3.0
Violent, no Scenario	54	5.2	54	8.0
Non-Violent	356	34.6	0	.0
Man-Made Disaster, Assault on Humans	12	1.2	12	1.8
Man-Made Disasters, Uproar	4	.4	4	.6
Total	1,029	100.0	673	100.0

Table 68

American Items			(two-station sample)	
	Number of	Per	Number of Violent	Per
Scenarios	Items	cent	Items	cent
Random Deaths	4	1.1	4	2.1
Mandate Deaths	7	2.0	7	3.7
Mandate Uproar	5	1.4	5	2.6
Mandate Conflict	20	5.7	20	10.5
Legal Injury	1	.3	1	.5
Legal Uproar	9	2.6	9	4.7
Legal Conflict	41	11.8	41	21.5
Random Criminal Violence	8	2.3	8	4.2
Murder with Hand Weapon	3	.9	3	1.6
Other Murder	5	1.4	5	2.6
Assault with Hand Weapon	5	1.4	5	2.6
Other Assault	8	2.3	8	4.2
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	1	.3	1	.5
Criminal Threat	4	1.1	4	2.1
Non-Violent Crime Socio-Economic Consequences	10	2.9	10	5.2
Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	8	2.3	8	4.2
Natural Disaster Deaths	3	.9	3	1.6
Natural Disaster Damage	2	.6	2	1.0
Vehicle Death	5	1.4	5	2.6
Man-Made Disasters Death	5	1.4	5	2.6
Man-Made Disasters Damage	7	2.0	7	3.7
Potential Man-Made Disasters	11	3.2	11	5.8
Violent, no Scenario	13	3.7	13	6.8
Non-Violent	157	45.1	0	.0
Man-Made Disasters, Assault on Humans	3	.9	3	1.6
Man-Made Disasters, Uproar	3	.9	3	1.6
Total	348	100.0	191	100.0

Three-Station sample:

In addition to the nine-station sample covering Ontario and American border stations, three London, Ontario, radio stations were coded. To the extent that London, Ontario, is basically average Canadian, as frequently intuited by consumer and market research organizations, it seemed a useful sample to indicate similarities and variations in news handling and to check out further the large random study.

The sample proved to contain somewhat more violence and conflict-related items than the 59 per cent for the nine-station sample:

Table 69

	Number of Items	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Three-station sample	486	313	64.4
CFPL	147	104	70.7
CJBK	244	146	59.8
CKSL	95	63	66.3

The content sample was organized as follows:

Table 70

| Three-Station Sample | Number of | | Number of | |
Broadcast Date	Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
May 18	70	14.4	49	15.7
May 19	64	13.2	33	10.5
May 20	75	15.4	47	15.0
May 21	75	15.4	51	16.3
May 24	69	14.2	45	14.4
May 26	59	12.1	36	11.5
May 28	74	15.2	52	16.6
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 71

| CFPL | Number of | | Number of | |
Broadcast Date	Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
May 18	17	11.6	15	14.4
May 19	19	12.9	11	10.6
May 20	22	15.0	17	16.3
May 21	28	19.0	22	21.2
May 24	22	15.0	14	13.5
May 26	18	12.2	11	10.6
May 28	21	14.3	14	13.5
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 72

| CJBK | Number of | | Number of | |
Broadcast Date	Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
May 18	34	13.9	24	16.4
May 19	34	13.9	16	11.0
May 20	40	16.4	20	13.7
May 21	33	13.5	20	13.7
May 24	34	13.9	21	14.4
May 26	29	11.9	17	11.6
May 28	40	16.4	28	19.2
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 73

| CKSL | Number of | | Number of | |
Broadcast Date	Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
May 18	19	20.0	10	15.9
May 19	11	11.6	6	9.5
May 20	13	13.7	10	15.9
May 21	14	14.7	9	14.3
May 24	13	13.7	10	15.9
May 26	12	12.6	8	12.7
May 28	13	13.7	10	15.9
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0

Table 74

Three-Station Sample Special Effects	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
No Special Effects	336	69.1	214	68.4
Special Effects	150	30.9	99	31.6
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 75

CFPL Special Effects	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
No Special Effects	112	76.2	80	76.9
Special Effects	35	23.8	24	23.1
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 76

CJBK Special Effects	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
No Special Effects	172	70.5	99	67.8
Special Effects	72	29.5	47	32.2
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

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Table 77

CKSL				
	Number		Number of	
Special Effects	of Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
No Special Effects	52	54.7	35	55.6
Special Effects	43	45.3	28	44.4
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0

Table 78

Three-Station Sample				
	Number		Number of	
Location of Action	of Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	7	1.4	4	1.3
Local	127	26.1	89	28.4
Provincial	97	20.0	60	19.2
National	130	26.7	87	27.8
U.S.	63	13.0	28	8.9
International	54	11.1	38	12.1
Canada-U.S.	8	1.6	7	2.2
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 79

CFPL				
	Number		Number of	
Location of Action	of Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
Local	37	25.2	29	27.9
Provincial	36	24.5	23	22.1
National	39	26.5	30	28.8
U.S.	9	6.1	3	2.9
International	25	17.0	18	17.3
Canada-U.S.	1	.7	1	1.0
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 80

CJBK				
	Number		Number of	
Location of Action	of Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	7	2.9	4	2.7
Local	67	27.5	43	29.5
Provincial	51	20.9	30	20.5
National	55	22.5	34	23.3
U.S.	39	16.0	17	11.6
International	20	8.2	14	9.6
Canada-U.S.	5	2.0	4	2.7
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 81

CKSL				
	Number		Number of	
Location of Action	of Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
Local	23	24.2	17	27.0
Provincial	10	10.5	7	11.1
National	36	37.9	23	36.5
U.S.	15	15.8	8	12.7
International	9	9.5	6	9.5
Canada-U.S.	2	2.1	2	3.2
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0

Content Characteristics.

Although there were variations of a few percentage points in the assorted totals recorded, it is perhaps most striking to note that all the content characteristics in the three-station sample were roughly the same as those of the larger radio study. Newscasts were roughly two-thirds violence-related in content, the principal agents and targets were humans, consequences of violence were unspecified about half the time, and the scenario aggregate of categories accounted for more than 90 per cent of all violent events coded.

Where differences were more noticeable, however, was in comparison of the individual stations in the sample. Here it could be seen that station profiles, in the same kind of sense as applied to musical fashions, seemed to affect news predilections. CFPL seemed to fall repeatedly into a middle-ground position between the extremes of the other two stations. CJBK seemed concerned more with conflict and property damage, and CKSL seemed to have opted for a strong people and physical-violence flavour.

Some comparisons of percentages:

Table 82

	Total Sample			Violence and Conflict Items		
	CFPL	CKSL	CJBK	CFPL	CKSL	CJBK
Unnatural Deaths	16.3	11.6	12.3	23.1	17.5	20.6
Criminal Violence	6.1	2.1	7.8	8.6	3.2	13.0
Damage in Disasters	3.4	5.5	7.4	4.8	7.9	12.3
Conflict and Non-Violent Crime	39.5	42.1	27.4	55.7	63.5	45.9
Violent, no Scenario	5.4	5.2	4.9	7.7	7.9	8.2
Non-Violent	29.3	33.7	40.2	–	–	–

Table 83

Three-Station Sample	Number of		Number of	
Generic Type of Action	Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
Non-Violent	173	35.6	0	.0
Physical Violence	127	26.1	127	40.6
Psychological Violence	1	.2	1	.3
Potential Violence	23	4.7	23	7.3
Non-Violent Crime	21	4.3	21	6.7
Conflict	141	29.0	141	45.0
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 84

CFPL	Number of		Number of	
Generic Type of Action	Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
Non-Violent	43	29.3	0	.0
Physical Violence	42	28.6	42	40.4
Potential Violence	6	4.1	6	5.8
Non-Violent Crime	6	4.1	6	5.8
Conflict	50	34.0	50	48.1
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 85

CJBK	Number of		Number of	
Generic Type of Action	Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
Non-Violent	98	40.2	0	.0
Physical Violence	66	27.0	66	45.2
Psychological Violence	1	.4	1	.7
Potential Violence	13	5.3	13	8.9
Non-Violent Crime	10	4.1	10	6.8
Conflict	56	23.0	56	38.4
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 86

CKSL	Number of		Number of	
Generic Type of Action	Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
Non-Violent	32	33.7	0	.0
Physical Violence	19	20.0	19	30.2
Potential Violence	4	4.2	4	6.3
Non-Violent Crime	5	5.3	5	7.9
Conflict	35	36.8	35	55.6
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0

Table 87

Three-Station Sample	Number of		Number of	
Agent	Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	175	36.0	2	.6
Legal Mandate	48	9.9	48	15.3
Humans on Their Own	127	26.1	127	40.6
Humans Illegally	70	14.4	70	22.4
Animals, Insects	4	.8	4	1.3
Natural Disasters	8	1.6	8	2.6
Man-Made Disasters	54	11.1	54	17.3
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 88

CFPL	Number of		Number of	
Agent	Items	Per cent	Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	43	29.3	0	.0
Legal Mandate	24	16.3	24	23.1
Humans on Their Own	42	28.6	42	40.4
Humans Illegally	21	14.3	21	20.2
Animals, Insects	2	1.4	2	1.9
Natural Disasters	2	1.4	2	1.9
Man-Made Disasters	13	8.8	13	12.5
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 89

CJBK	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Agent				
Unspecified	100	41.0	2	1.4
Legal Mandate	16	6.6	16	11.0
Humans on Their Own	53	21.7	53	36.3
Humans Illegally	35	14.3	35	24.0
Animals, Insects	1	.4	1	.7
Natural Disasters	5	2.0	5	3.4
Man-Made Disasters	34	13.9	34	23.3
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 90

CKSL	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Agent				
Unspecified	32	33.7	0	.0
Legal Mandate	8	8.4	8	12.7
Humans on Their Own	32	33.7	32	50.8
Humans Illegally	14	14.7	14	22.2
Animals, Insects	1	1.1	1	1.6
Natural Disasters	1	1.1	1	1.6
Man-Made Disasters	7	7.4	7	11.1
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0

Table 91

Three-Station Sample	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Activity				
Unspecified	173	35.6	0	.0
Murder	51	10.5	51	16.3
Assault	46	9.5	46	14.7
Detention	10	2.1	10	3.2
Assault on Property	32	6.6	32	10.2
Exercising Mandate	48	9.9	48	15.3
Expressing Conflict	113	23.3	113	36.1
Non-Violent Lawbreaking	13	2.7	13	4.2
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 92

CFPL	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Activity				
Unspecified	43	29.3	0	.0
Murder	15	10.2	15	14.4
Assault	12	8.2	12	11.5
Detention	3	2.0	3	2.9
Assault on Property	11	7.5	11	10.6
Exercising Mandate	24	16.3	24	23.1
Expressing Conflict	37	25.2	37	35.6
Non-Violent Lawbreaking	2	1.4	2	1.9
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 93

CJBK	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Activity				
Unspecified	98	40.2	0	.0
Murder	23	9.4	23	15.8
Assault	32	13.1	32	21.9
Detention	5	2.0	5	3.4
Assault on Property	19	7.8	19	13.0
Exercising Mandate	16	6.6	16	11.0
Expressing Conflict	45	18.4	45	30.8
Non-Violent Lawbreaking	6	2.5	6	4.1
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 94

CKSL	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Activity				
Unspecified	32	33.7	0	.0
Murder	13	13.7	13	20.6
Assault	2	2.1	2	3.2
Detention	2	2.1	2	3.2
Assault on Property	2	2.1	2	3.2
Exercising Mandate	8	8.4	8	12.7
Expressing Conflict	31	32.6	31	49.2
Non-Violent Lawbreaking	5	5.3	5	7.9
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0

Table 95

Three-Station Sample	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Target				
Unspecified	175	36.0	2	.6
Self	7	1.4	7	2.2
Human	100	20.6	100	31.9
Groups	162	33.3	162	51.8
Property	41	8.4	41	13.1
None	1	.2	1	.3
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 96

CFPL	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Target				
Unspecified	43	29.3	0	.0
Self	1	.7	1	1.0
Human	29	19.7	29	27.9
Groups	59	40.1	59	56.7
Property	14	9.5	14	13.5
None	1	.7	1	1.0
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 97

CJBK	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Target				
Unspecified	100	41.0	2	1.4
Self	4	1.6	4	2.7
Human	54	22.1	54	37.0
Groups	63	25.8	63	43.2
Property	23	9.4	23	15.8
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 98

CKSL	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Target				
Unspecified	32	33.7	0	.0
Self	2	2.1	2	3.2
Human	17	17.9	17	27.0
Groups	40	42.1	40	63.5
Property	4	4.2	4	6.3
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0

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Table 99

Three-Station Sample	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Direct Consequences				
Unspecified	320	65.8	147	47.0
Death	60	12.3	60	19.2
Injury	26	5.3	26	8.3
Uproar	23	4.7	23	7.3
Socio-Economic	7	1.4	7	2.2
Property Damage	34	7.0	34	10.9
None	16	3.3	16	5.1
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 100

CFPL	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Direct Consequences				
Unspecified	94	63.9	51	49.0
Death	22	15.0	22	21.2
Injury	8	5.4	8	7.7
Uproar	7	4.8	7	6.7
Socio-Economic	1	.7	1	1.0
Property Damage	10	6.8	10	9.6
None	5	3.4	5	4.8
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 101

CJBK Direct Consequences	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	157	64.3	59	40.4
Death	25	10.2	25	17.1
Injury	18	7.4	18	12.3
Uproar	12	4.9	12	8.2
Socio-Economic	3	1.2	3	2.1
Property Damage	21	8.6	21	14.4
None	8	3.3	8	5.5
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 102

CKSL Direct Consequences	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	69	72.6	37	58.7
Death	13	13.7	13	20.6
Uproar	4	4.2	4	6.3
Socio-Economic	3	3.2	3	4.8
Property Damage	3	3.2	3	4.8
None	3	3.2	3	4.8
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0

Table 103

Three-Station Sample Context	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	229	47.1	56	17.9
War	11	2.3	11	3.5
Crime or Lunacy	70	14.4	70	22.4
Ideological	31	6.4	31	9.9
Personal Gain	76	15.6	76	24.3
Accidental	67	13.8	67	21.4
Games and Sports	2	.4	2	.6
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 104

CFPL Context	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	65	44.2	22	21.2
War	11	7.5	11	10.6
Crime or Lunacy	19	12.9	19	18.3
Ideological	9	6.1	9	8.7
Personal Gain	25	17.0	25	24.0
Accidental	17	11.6	17	16.3
Games and Sports	1	.7	1	1.0
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 105

CJBK Context	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	119	48.8	21	14.4
Crime or Lunacy	38	15.6	38	26.0
Ideological	10	4.1	10	6.8
Personal Gain	33	13.5	33	22.6
Accidental	43	17.6	43	29.5
Games and Sports	1	.4	1	.7
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 106

CKSL Context	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	45	47.4	13	20.6
Crime or Lunacy	13	13.7	13	20.6
Ideological	12	12.6	12	19.0
Personal Gain	18	18.9	18	28.6
Accidental	7	7.4	7	11.1
Total	95	100.0	95	100.0

Table 107

Three-Station Sample Weapon or Means of Harm	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	218	44.9	45	14.4
Attack	30	6.2	30	9.6
Conflict	162	33.3	162	51.8
Calamity	72	14.8	72	23.0
Other	4	.8	4	1.3
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 108

CFPL Weapon or Means of Harm	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	60	40.8	17	16.3
Attack	10	6.8	10	9.6
Conflict	57	38.8	57	54.8
Calamity	18	12.2	18	17.3
Other	2	1.4	2	1.9
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 109

CJBK Weapon or Means of Harm	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	117	48.0	19	13.0
Attack	15	6.1	15	10.3
Conflict	68	27.9	68	46.6
Calamity	43	17.6	43	29.5
Other	1	.4	1	.7
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 110

CKSL Weapon or Means of Harm	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	41	43.2	9	14.3
Attack	5	5.3	5	7.9
Conflict	37	38.9	37	58.7
Calamity	11	11.6	11	17.5
Other	1	1.1	1	1.6
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0

Table 111

Three-Station Sample Time of Activity	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	266	54.7	93	29.7
Irrelevant	176	36.2	176	56.2
Night	6	1.2	6	1.9
Day	38	7.8	38	12.1
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 112

CFPL Time of Activity	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	66	44.9	23	22.1
Irrelevant	60	40.8	60	57.7
Night	4	2.7	4	3.8
Day	17	11.6	17	16.3
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 113

CJBK Time of Activity	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	149	61.1	51	34.9
Irrelevant	79	32.4	79	54.1
Night	2	.8	2	1.4
Day	14	5.7	14	9.6
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 114

CKSL Time of Activity	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	51	53.7	19	30.2
Irrelevant	37	38.9	37	58.7
Day	7	7.4	7	11.1
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0

Table 115

Three-Station Sample

Setting	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	207	42.6	34	10.9
Irrelevant	91	18.7	91	29.1
Urban	149	30.7	149	47.6
Rural	20	4.1	20	6.4
Mixed	3	.6	3	1.0
Other	16	3.3	16	5.1
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 116

CFPL

Setting	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	52	35.4	9	8.7
Irrelevant	27	18.4	27	26.0
Urban	53	36.1	53	51.0
Rural	11	7.5	11	10.6
Mixed	1	.7	1	1.0
Other	3	2.0	3	2.9
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 117

CJBK

Setting	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	116	47.5	18	12.3
Irrelevant	42	17.2	42	28.8
Urban	67	27.5	67	45.9
Rural	6	2.5	6	4.1
Mixed	2	.8	2	1.4
Other	11	4.5	11	7.5
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 118

CKSL

Setting	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Unspecified	39	41.1	7	11.1
Irrelevant	22	23.2	22	34.9
Urban	29	30.5	29	46.0
Rural	3	3.2	3	4.8
Other	2	2.1	2	3.2
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0

Table 119

Three-Station Sample

Scenarios	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Mandate Deaths	9	1.9	9	2.9
Mandate Uproar	10	2.1	10	3.2
Mandate Conflict	16	3.3	16	5.1
Legal Killing	2	.4	2	.6
Legal Injury	2	.4	2	.6
Legal Uproar	10	2.1	10	3.2
Legal Conflict	105	21.6	105	33.5
Random Criminal Violence	12	2.5	12	3.8
Murder with Hand Weapon	6	1.2	6	1.9
Other Murder	14	2.9	14	4.5
Assault with Hand Weapons	4	.8	4	1.3
Other Assault	6	1.2	6	1.9
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	2	.4	2	.6
Criminal Threat	6	1.2	6	1.9
Non-Violent Crime, Socio-Economic Consequences	10	2.1	10	3.2
Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	10	2.1	10	3.2
Natural Disaster Deaths	2	.4	2	.6
Natural Disaster Damage	9	1.9	9	2.9
Vehicle Death	17	3.5	17	5.4
Man-Made Disasters Death	5	1.0	5	1.6
Man-Made Disasters Damage	12	2.5	12	3.8
Potential Man-Made Disaster	7	1.4	7	2.2
Violent, no Scenario	25	5.1	25	8.0
Non-Violent	173	35.6	0	.0
Man-Made Disasters, Assault on Human	8	1.6	8	2.6
Man-Made Disasters, Uproar	4	.8	4	1.3
Total	486	100.0	313	100.0

Table 120

CFPL

Scenarios	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Mandate Deaths	7	4.8	7	6.7
Mandate Uproar	4	2.7	4	3.8
Mandate Conflict	8	5.4	8	7.7
Legal Injury	1	.7	1	1.0
Legal Uproar	3	2.0	3	2.9
Legal Conflict	36	24.5	36	34.6
Random Criminal Violence	3	2.0	3	2.9
Murder with Hand Weapon	2	1.4	2	1.9
Other Murder	4	2.7	4	3.8
Assault	5	3.4	5	4.8
Criminal Threat	1	.7	1	1.0
Non-Violent Crime, Socio-Economic Consequences	3	2.0	3	2.9
Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	3	2.0	3	2.9
Natural Disaster Deaths	1	.7	1	1.0
Natural Disaster Damage	2	1.4	2	1.9
Vehicle Death	8	5.4	8	7.7
Man-Made Disaster Damage	2	1.4	2	1.9
Potential Man-Made Disaster	1	.7	1	1.0
Violent, no Scenario	8	5.4	8	7.7
Non-Violent	43	29.3	0	.0
Man-Made Disaster Assault on Humans	1	.7	1	1.0
Man-Made Disaster Uproar	1	.7	1	1.0
Total	147	100.0	104	100.0

Table 121

CJBK

Scenarios	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Mandate Deaths	2	.8	2	1.4
Mandate Uproar	4	1.6	4	2.7
Mandate Conflict	6	2.5	6	4.1
Legal Killing	2	.8	2	1.4
Legal Injury	1	.4	1	.7
Legal Uproar	4	1.6	4	2.7
Legal Conflict	41	16.8	41	28.1
Random Criminal Violence	8	3.3	8	5.5
Murder	7	2.9	7	4.8
Assault with Hand Weapon	4	1.6	4	2.7
Other Assault	1	.4	1	.7
Violent Criminal Assault on Property	2	.8	2	1.4
Criminal Threat	4	1.6	4	2.7
Non-Violent Crime, Socio-Economic Consequences	5	2.0	5	3.4
Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	4	1.6	4	2.7
Natural Disaster Deaths	1	.4	1	.7
Natural Disaster Damage	5	2.0	5	3.4
Vehicle Death	5	2.0	5	3.4
Man-Made Disaster Death		2.0	5	3.4
Man-Made Disaster Damage	8	3.3	8	5.5
Potential Man-Made Disaster	5	2.0	5	3.4
Violent, no Scenario	12	4.9	12	8.2
Non-Violent	98	40.2	0	.0
Man-Made Disaster, Assault on Humans	7	2.9	7	4.8
Man-Made Disaster, Uproar	3	1.2	3	2.1
Total	244	100.0	146	100.0

Table 122

CKSL Scenarios	Number of Items	Per cent	Number of Violent Items	Per cent
Mandate Uproar	2	2.1	2	3.2
Mandate Conflict	2	2.1	2	3.2
Legal Uproar	3	3.2	3	4.8
Legal Conflict	28	29.5	28	44.4
Random Criminal Violence	1	1.1	1	1.6
Murder with Hand Weapon	4	4.2	4	6.3
Other Murder	3	3.2	3	4.8
Criminal Threat	1	1.1	1	1.6
Non-Violent Crime, Socio-Economic Consequences	2	2.1	2	3.2
Non-Violent Crime, Unspecified Consequences	3	3.2	3	4.8
Natural Disaster Damages	2	2.1	2	3.2
Vehicle Death	4	4.2	4	6.3
Man-Made Disaster Damage	2	2.1	2	3.2
Potential Man-Made Disaster	1	1.1	1	1.6
Violent, no Scenario	5	5.3	5	7.9
Non-Violent	32	33.7	0	.0
Total	95	100.0	63	100.0